









honda Anſel-cynnau:

OR

A COMPLEAT VIEW

OF THE

Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, &c.

OF THE

INHABITANTS OF ENGLAND,

from the ARRIVAL of the SAXONS,

till the REIGN of HENRY the EIGHTH.

WITH

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BRITONS,

during the Government of the ROMANS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By JOSEPH STRUTT,

Author of the REGAL and ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES OF ENGLAND.

VOL. I.

This deepe desire hath laſtly moved me
On Pilgrimage *Times* traces to enſue,
The reliques of his ruines for to ſee;
And for the love of my deere Nation due,
The things concerning them which I did view,
Tending to Engliſh honour earſt concealed,
Here in my Travels-Map I have revealed.

VERSTEGAN'S Prefatory Poem to his Reſtitution of Decayed Antiquities.

LONDON:

Sold by BENJAMIN WHITE, at HORACE'S HEAD, in FLEET-STREET.

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P R E F A C E.

To the R E A D E R.

THE study of antiquities is in itself both amusing and useful; it not only leads to extensive discoveries in ancient records but in great measure proves the truth and authenticity of those venerable remains; it brings to light many important matters, which (without this study) would yet lie buried in oblivion; and explains and illustrates such dark passages as would otherwise be quite unknown.

To a total want of proper taste in collecting of antiquities, and application to the study of them, are owing the ignorant errors committed by the unlearned illuminators of old MSS. and so far were they from having the least idea of any thing more antient than the manners and customs of their own particular times, that not only things of a century earlier than their own æra, are confounded together, but even representations of the remotest periods in history. The Saxons put Noah, Abraham, Christ, and King Edgar all in the same habit, that is, the habit worn by themselves at that time; and in some MSS. illuminated in the reign of Henry the Sixth, are exhibited the figures of Meleager, Hercules, Jason, &c. in the full dress of the great Lords of that Prince's court. At the latter end of one of these MSS. indeed the illuminator, reading something about a lion's skin, has covered the shoulders of the beau Hercules, with that kingly animal's hide over his courtly load of silk and gold embroidery.

Yet this is a lucky circumstance in the present want of antient materials, for though these pictures do not bear the least resemblance of the things they were originally intended to represent, yet they nevertheless are the undoubted characteristics of the customs of that period in which each illuminator or designer lived. If any one should say, by way of objection to this established rule, that though the illuminator has not given us the customs, habits, &c. of those people he designed to picture out, yet is it not most likely that such dresses as are given should be fictitious, agreeable rather to his own
wild

wild fancy, than to the real customs and habits of his own times ? To answer their objection, (and that because the chief materials of the present work are collected from the ancient MSS.) the reader must be informed, that many of these MSS. (especially such as are illuminated) were done as presents, or at the command of kings and noblemen, who are generally represented in the frontispiece in their proper habits, receiving the particular MS. done for them from the author, and they are generally pictured attended by their court, or retinue. That these figures should be habited in the true dress of the times will not be doubted ; and then, as far as the anonymous illuminations which may chance to follow in the MS. shall agree with those figures in the frontispiece, so far they may be allowed as authentic ; other MSS. were done for particular abbeys and monasteries, in the embellishments of which no pains were spared. But a still greater proof of the authenticity of these delineations is, that on examining all the illuminated MSS. of the same century together, which, tho' various, every one written and ornamented by different hands, yet on comparing the several delineations with each other, they will be found to agree in every particular of dress, customs, &c. even in the minutiae, which perfect similitude it would have been impossible to have preserved, had not some sure standard been regularly taken for the whole, therefore the fancy of the painter will be found to have little share in these valuable delineations.* Besides, these pictures constantly agree with the description of the habits and customs of the same period, collected from the old historians.

The following work (in its present dress) is quite new, and I believe the first attempt of this sort ever made in this kingdom. It may be needless to observe, that though this work is so very differently conducted, yet the original plan is the same with that of the celebrated Montfaucon's *Monarchie Francoise*. The design of completing the letter press in so full a manner as it is now done, was owing to the early perusal of Camden, Verstegan, Speed, &c. in whose works I met with vast materials, and such information,

* I can assert this fact with the greater positiveness, having examined such a vast number of different MSS. (I believe all in the public libraries that are illuminated, or at least all that have come to my knowledge) and, for an example, I will only mention as a fact, that in upwards of 30 MSS. of the Saxons with delineations, I have not found any variation worth mentioning. This assertion may in some measure be justified by the examination of the Saxon plates, collected from a vast variety of different MSS.

information, as naturally led me to the study of those very authors, from whence they themselves had traced out so perfect a picture of our national antiquities. I have (as the reader will see) consulted with great care and diligence, every author that could be thought likely to afford me any useful intelligence, and from those numerous volumes faithfully selected the chief materials of the following work.

How much labour has been bestowed to make this work as perfect as possible, I will leave to the judgment of the candid reader, on an impartial perusal thereof. My chief care has been to represent things in their true light, without long and unnecessary comments: whatever I have asserted, my reasons and authority are fully explained; if they are not looked upon as permanent and conclusive, I shall be sorry for having intruded on the patience of the reader: yet in excuse I must say, they are such as appeared to me in a more favourable light. The authors from whose works the chief matters are taken, are always mentioned in the margin, opposite to the quotation, so that the reader may easily refer to the original books themselves, for his satisfaction or further information.

If any defects should be found in the arrangement of the materials, I hope such defects will be kindly overlooked, and the difficulty of such an arrangement properly considered.

The stile of the writing defective as it is, as well as the faults of the press, (which may have escaped my notice) I hope the reader will also excuse; for I should not have commenced *author*, had not my love for national antiquities, and the absolute necessity of a full description of this my collection constrained me. Trusting therefore entirely to the candour and lenity of my judges, I have ventured to give this publication to the world, in its rough garb as it came from my pen. (excepting only, the few alterations it may have received from some of my kindest friends) I will now conclude with the words of the learned Verstegan.

“ I know I have herein made my selfe subject unto a world of judges, and am likest to receive most controulement of such as are least able to sentence me. Well I wote that the workes of no writers have appeared to the world in a more curious age than this, and that therefore the more circumspection and warinesse is
required

required in the publishing of any thing that must endure so many sharp sights and censures. The consideration whereof, as it hath made me the more heedie not to displease any, so hath it given me the lesse hope of pleasing all.

The thing that first moved me to take some pains in this study, was the very natural affection which generally is in all men to heare of the worthinesse of their ancestors, which they should indeed bee as desirous to imitate as delighted to understand.

Secondly, was I hereunto moved, by seeing how divers of divers nations did labour to revive the old honour and glory of their owne beginnings and ancestors, and how in so doing they shewed themselves the most kinde lovers of their naturall friends and countrymen."

Thus I present to my countrymen, the portrait of their great ancestors, and bring to light the elder glories of a noble nation: which ought with the greatest care to be preserved, and handed down to posterity.

J. S T R U T T.

T A B L E

OF THE

Principal Heads contained in the First Volume.

BRITISH ÆRA.

	PAGE.
M ANNERS and Customs of the Antient Britons	1
Government of the Britons	2
Arms and Accoutrements of War, &c.	3
Fortifications, &c.	4
Their Navigation	6
Husbandry	7
Habits of the Britons	ib.
Of their Priests, Religion and Idols	9
Some Observations on Stone Henge, Aubery, &c.	13
Of Roman Fortifications, &c.	14

ANTIEN T SAXON ÆRA.

Of the Antient Saxons, before their arrival into Britain	16
Arms and Warlike Customs of the old Saxons	ib.
Description of the Saxons	18
Antient form of Government of the Saxons	19
Of their Ordeals, &c.	ib.
Their Religion and Idols	21
Their Navigation	22
Habits, &c.	23

The ANGL O - SAXON ÆRA.

The Fortifications of the Anglo Saxons	24
Weapons and Warlike Habits of the Anglo-Saxons	29
Their Religious Buildings	33
Their Domestic Buildings	36
Their Regal Courts	37
Their Government and the Administration of their Laws	39
Navigation of the Anglo-Saxons	41
Their Husbandry, &c.	43
Domestic Employment	45
Dress and Habits, &c.	46
Their Banquets, &c.	48

Musical

T A B L E, &c.

Musical Instruments	-	-	-	-	50
Sports and Pastimes	-	-	-	-	ib.
Antient History of Burials	-	-	-	-	51
Of Monuments, &c. yet remaining in England	-	-	-	-	59
Of Barrows	-	-	-	-	ib.
Obelisks, Pillars, &c.	-	-	-	-	61
Of the Cromlech and Kist-Vean	-	-	-	-	ib.
Of Rocking Stones	-	-	-	-	62
Christian Burials of the Anglo-Saxons	-	-	-	-	66
Of the Arts and Learning among the Anglo-Saxons	-	-	-	-	70
The Marriages, &c. of the Anglo-Saxons	-	-	-	-	74

The D A N I S H Æ R A.

Of the Danes both before and after their Establishment in England	-	-	-	-	79
Observations on the Government of the Danes	-	-	-	-	82
Observations on the Arms, &c. of the Danes	-	-	-	-	83
Some Observations on Danish Fortifications	-	-	-	-	85
Sea Affairs and Shipping of the Danes	-	-	-	-	ib.
Some general Observations on the Dress, Habit, and Customs of the Danes	-	-	-	-	86

The N O R M A N Æ R A.

Of the Antient Normans	-	-	-	-	88
The Fortifications of the Anglo-Normans	-	-	-	-	89
Of the Soldiers, Arms, and Warlike Habits of the Normans	-	-	-	-	96
The Military Arrangement of the Norman Armies	-	-	-	-	99
The Religious Buildings of the Normans	-	-	-	-	102
The Domestic Buildings of the Normans	-	-	-	-	104
Some Account of the principal MSS. from which the Materials of this					
Work are chiefly collected	-	-	-	-	105
Description of the Plates	-	-	-	-	107

T H E

T H E
M A N N E R S A N D C U S T O M S
O F T H E
A N T I E N T B R I T O N S ,
F R O M T H E
A R R I V A L O F J U L I U S C Æ S A R ,
U N T I L L T H E
S A X O N C O N Q U E S T .

EVERY one who is conversant in the early parts of the British History, must be acquainted with the doubtfulness and uncertainty of it: and with how little fairness, much less truth and justice, any of the peculiar customs of the Britons can be truly set forth before the landing of Julius Cæsar.

The ridiculous and idle fables of that arch-dreamer Geofry Monmouth, (with several others of the same stamp) are entirely (and that with the greatest justice) excluded from the least share of authenticity.

Indeed the learned conjectures of many eminent men of later date, may very well deserve the attention of the curious; and for the ingenuity of them be extremely amusing. Yet with how little certainty we can depend even on them, is evident from the following circumstances; every author who has some favourite hypothesis to support, is often obliged to wrest, if not confound, the more perfect parts of history, to clear up the imperfect tracings of his own invention: and whatever degree of truth and reason he may appear to have on his side, it will be impossible (or at least hitherto it has been found to be so) for him to build on so sure a foundation, but that other learned men may start some hidden or neglected facts, whose irresistible force may greatly shatter, if not totally overthrow the ground-work of his labours.

And so it must always be, where the author is so much in the dark, as to be forced of necessity to guess at random; having besides this disagreeable circumstance attending, that, if by chance he should hit the mark, it is impossible for him to be certain that he is perfectly in the right.

Since then the history itself is so little known; how much less shall it be possible to point out the manners and customs of a people, whose existence is all we can be certain of.—I hope then it will not need an excuse, that I have omitted those things that are not confirmed by good authority; chusing rather to leave matters that are doubtful, in the dark as they are, than by intruding on the patience of the public, as well as wasting my own time, to render them, perhaps, more confused by endeavouring to clear them up.

Neither in my opinion will it be in the least necessary for me to meddle with the different opinions of the learned, concerning the several names, &c. with their derivations, that have been given to this island, and its inhabitants.—All I shall say, is, that it was before Cæsar's time known to the Greeks and Phenicians, by the names of Albion, Britannia, &c. who traded with the Britons bartering for their tin and lead, (which commodities are very plentiful in the Western parts of the island) both iron and brass, (these the Britons held in great estimation) as also earthen vessels, salt, &c. But for the manners and customs of the inhabitants, we have no account of credit till the arrival of Cæsar; whose Commentaries contain some curious matters touching them.—The Britons themselves, (according to this author) held it unlawful to set down the acts of their kings, and heroes, in writing, or any other matters, save only such public and private accounts as it was absolutely necessary to keep; which were put down in the Greek character, for which Cæsar gives these reasons, first, "Because they would not have their learning divulged among the vulgar; and, secondly, lest those who were learned should depend too much on their knowledge of letters, and by that means neglect to cultivate their memories."

See Camden,
Speed,
Sammes, &c.

Sammes
Brit.

Cæsar de
Bell. Gall.

Tacitus in
Vit. Agric.
colæ.

The Britons are divided by Cæsar into two sorts of people; of which he supposes the inland inhabitants to be the natives of the island, but those who were in possession of the sea coasts, were such as for the sake of war and plunder, had crossed over from the Belgæ, &c. almost all of whom retained the names of their provinces.—But Tacitus, (who lived sometime after Julius Cæsar, at a time when the Romans were much better acquainted with the island and its inhabitants) gives a nicer description of them.—"Who were the first possessors of Britain (says he) whether natives of its own, or foreigners, can be little known amongst a people thus barbarous. In their looks and persons they vary, from whence several arguments and inferences are formed; for the red hair of the Caledonians and their large limbs, testify their descent to be from Germany; the swarthy complexion of the Silures, and their hair, which is generally curled, with their situation opposite the coast of Spain, furnish ground to believe, that the ancient Iberians had arrived from thence here, and taken possession of the territory. They who live next to Gaul are also like the Gauls; whether it be that the spirit of the original stock, from which they sprang, still remains, or whether in countries near adjoining, the genius of the climate confers the same form and disposition upon the bodies of men."

Government of the BRITONS.

Antiently Britain was under the government of several petty kings, who were continually disputing with each other for superiority; to which intestine discords were owing the rapid conquests of the Roman arms. 'Tis true, that on the first arrival of Cæsar, Cassibelan was chosen by them to be the chief conductor of the war, but they unhappily soon fell off from this good order, to their old quarrels and dissensions, which rendered them an easy prey to the enemy. "For (says Tacitus) they were swayed by several chiefs, and rent into factions and parties, according to the humour and passions of those their leaders. Nor against nations thus powerful does ought so much avail us, as that they do not consult in a body for the security of the whole. It is rare that two or three communities

Vit. Agric.

munities assemble and unite to repulse any public danger threatening to all: so that whilst only a single community fought at a time, they were every one vanquished."

Arms and Accoutrements of War, &c.

The slight arms of the Britons were very unfit to withstand the Romans in close encounters, but, in light skirmishes, prudently made, they generally gained considerable advantage.

Cæsar tells us that they had a dart, or javelin, which they threw from their war chariots to annoy the enemy: besides this, they had a short spear for the infantry, with a bell at the nether end, and this they took with great violence before the battle, supposing that the enemy would thereby be greatly intimidated. They had also a large sword and a small buckler, according to Tacitus.—Cæsar de Bell. Gall. Vit. Agric.
 "The Britons (says he) who were possessed at once of bravery and skill, armed with huge swords and small bucklers, quite eluded our missile weapons, or beat them off, whilst of their own they poured a torrent on us, till Agricola encouraged three Batavian cohorts and two of the Tungrians, to close with the enemy, and bring them to an engagement hand to hand; as what was with those veteran soldiers become familiar by long practice, but to the enemy very uneasy and embarrassing; for the swords of the Britons which are so large and blunt at the end are unfit for grappling, and cannot support a close encounter. Hence the Batavians thickened their blows, wounding them with the iron bosses of their shields, and mangled their faces, bearing down all who withstood them."

To these arms Dio Nicæus adds a dagger.

We now come to their chariots of war; one sort of which is mentioned by Cæsar, and called *Effedum**. "This (says he) is the nature of their fighting from their chariots; they first ride in every part of the field and cast their darts as they think them advantageous, frequently breaking the ranks by the prancing of the horses, and whirling of the wheels: when they have wound themselves amongst a troop of horse, they alight from their chariots and carry on the attack on foot; the chariotteers meanwhile draw off a little from the engagement, yet, so as to be ready at all times to succour the fighting parties, by being placed where the retreat to them might be speedy and safe. Thus they make advantage of the nimbleness of the horses, and firmness of the foot; so expert are they from constant practice, that they can stop their horses when in full speed down a steep hill, and check and turn them in the smallest compass; run upon the pole, rise upon the harness, and with the greatest nimbleness from thence return to the chariot." Dio Nicæus Cæf. Com.

Pomponius Mela speaks of another sort of chariot, called *Covinus*. "They (the Britons) fight (says he) not only on horseback and on foot, but in waggons or chariots, after the manner of the Gauls: they call them covins, and they are armed with hooks, and scythes, set into the axle-trees." Pomponius Mela.

And Tacitus speaking of the Britons, tells us, that "Their principal force consisted in their infantry, tho' (continues he) some nations amongst them made war also in chariots, which the more honourable person always drove, and under

* Genus hoc est ex *Effedis* pugnæ, &c. Cæsar de Bell. Gal. lib. iv. cap. xii.

der his conduct his followers fought." By this it should seem that the use of war chariots were not universal in Britain, but particular only to certain provinces.

The first mentioned chariot or *Effedum*, does not appear to have been armed with hooks or scythes, like to the *Covinus*; to these two may be added a third chariot, called *Rheda*, but it is uncertain whether it was armed like the *Covinus* or not.

The Britons in their battles would often feign to fly, merely to draw the enemy to a pursuit, and when they saw a company following them from the main body, they would immediately face about, and attack them with such amazing fierceness and courage, that the pursuers paid sorely for their zeal in following of them.

**Tacitus An-
nal.** They fought not only under the conduct of men, but also of women, who were always admitted into their councils both of peace and war, and great deference was paid to their opinions; of which *sex Boadicia* was a wonderful example of courage and greatness of soul, under whose valiant conduct the Romans dreadfully felt the weight of British arms.

Cæf. Com. Before they began a battle they took several strange methods to intimidate the enemy, such as making great shouts, driving their chariots with great noise and violence up and down the field, and shaking their spears with the bells at the end, being themselves, to make their appearance more dreadful, painted of a blue colour, with horrid images wildly traced on their skin. We have this description

**Tacitus An-
nal. lib. xiv.** given us by Tacitus, of the inhabitants of the Isle of Anglesey, on the arrival of Paulinus Suetonius, "So the footmen (*viz.* the soldiers of Paulinus Suetonius) having passed over, the horsemen followed by the ford, or by swimming, if the waters were high. The enemy's army stood on the shore, well appointed with men and weapons; their women running up and down amongst them, with their hair dishevelled, and clad in most frightful attire, bearing fire-brands in their hands, like the furies of hell; and round about them were their Druids, lifting up their hands to Heaven, and muttering thousands of imprecations and dreadful curses. A fight so strange and unusual struck the Roman soldiers with amazement, they stood like inanimate beings, till they were by the General encouraged to put forward, and not to fear a band of women and men, whose frantic gestures were only meant to intimidate them."

It was the custom with the Gauls and Britons to draw up the men of different provinces distinctly, that each party might have an opportunity of displaying their valour.

Their Fortifications, &c.

Cæf. Com. Their fortifications were very rude, consisting chiefly of a natural force. The Britons, says Cæsar, call a thick wood which they have fortified with a ditch and rampire of earth, a town, within which they built huts or cottages for themselves, and stalls for their cattle. Their Houses, (according to Diodorus Siculus) were built with wood, the walls were made of stakes and wattlings, like hurdles, and were thatched with either reeds or straw. * Such was the rude state of the British fortifications, domestic buildings, &c. in the earlier æra; but soon after we find them (improving apace from their enemies experience) setting
up

* Dio Nicæus tells us, that the northern parts of them dwelt in tents, going naked:

up strong stakes on the banks of earth, as well as large stones rudely laid on each other without mortar. Tacitus thus describes the camp of Caractacus,—“ He Tacitus An-
nal. lib. xii. (Caractacus) chose a place for the battle, where coming in and going out was very inconvenient to us, at the same time most commodious and easy to himself, then he got to the top of a hill with his army, and where the passage was easy for us to get to him, it was stopped up with a heap of stones in the manner of a rampire; not far off ran a river, whose ford was dangerous and uncertain, and a great troop of his best soldiers were posted ready on the other side to defend the passage, and prevent the enemy from landing.”

However barbarous we may suppose the antient Britons to have been, they certainly were not unused to war, for long before the coming of the Romans, they were continually making inroads into each other's provinces, with constant disturbances and civil broils, that were generally decided by the sword. But here we should observe, this war was only amongst themselves; their manners of making war and offensive weapons were known to each other, the chance then depended much more on the courage, experience, and number of either army. But now 'tis not the naked Briton fighting against his fellow, but against a man cased up in strong armour, and trained by long practice and experience, under the greatest Generals in the knowledge of every requisite to make a good soldier. Neither courage nor number could much avail the Britons, for from their want of military order and discipline, joined with their own private controversies, (each scattered about and fighting after his own fashion) they were soon made the victorious triumph of the more experienced Romans.

When Cæsar crossed the Thames (in order to reach the city of Verulum, Cæf. de Bel.
Gal. lib. v. where Cassibelan was entrenched) which was only fordable in one place, he found it fortified with sharp stakes set into the bed of the river, and but for the treachery of one of the natives, who discovered this to Cæsar, he would have met with a warm reception, but the Roman soldiers being apprised of it, avoided the stakes and got clear over.—Bede tells us that these stakes were in his time to be seen, Ven. Bede
Eccl. Hist.
lib. i. about the thickness of a man's thigh, set into a beam, and cast round with lead to make them fast.

The Britons began about the time of Augustus to be upon better terms with the Romans, insofmuch that one of their Kings, named Cunobelin, (who was a Camden,
&c. great favorite of Cæsar's) coined money with his portrait on it, in imitation of the Romans, who had lately adopted that custom, and his subjects began in many matters to follow the Roman manners and customs. In the time of Claudius, the Romans grew into great favour with the Britons, for some of them being shipwrecked on the coast of Britain, were received in a very friendly and hospitable manner, and at *Camalodunum* (the chief city of Cunobelin, but won from his sons by Claudius) there was a temple built to the honour of this Claudius Cæsar, Tacitus An-
nal. lib. ii. for his great clemency to the conquered Britons. Seneca.

Again we find them under the tuition of Agricola, building temples, houses, and places of assembly; the sons of the chief Britons were instructed in the liberal sciences. “Already (says Tacitus) even in this early dawn of knowledge, Vit. Agri. the natural capacity of the Britons was preferable to the studied acquirements of the Gauls; they (continues he) began to honour our apparel, and the use of the Roman gown became frequent amongst them; they were proud of the arts, and learned the Roman tongue, which hitherto was not only hated but despised; they erected galleries and sumptuous baths, and were fond of grandeur and elegance in

in their banquetings.” Thus we see them advancing with hasty strides to sloth and luxury. The crafty Romans meanwhile, as much as possible, encouraged them in these pursuits, well knowing that by such means they should not only correct the natural ferocity of the Britons, but that in proportion as they gave way to luxury, the use of arms and military arts would gradually lose ground.

Of their Navigation.

Their navigation must have been very confined in this early time, not only from the nature and fashion of their vessels, but from their method of voyaging. Cæsar tells us that their boats were of a very slight construction, the keels and ribs were of some light wood, which was covered over with leather. And Lucan also further explains them, “First (says he) they were made of osiers twisted and interwoven with each other, which were covered over with strong hides.” And in these vessels the Britons ventured out to sea, sailing from hence to Ireland, which passage is often very rough and boisterous. Though some learned men have supposed that they had larger vessels for war and traffic *.

‘Tis said that when they undertook a voyage, they abstained from food ’till it was completed; whereby it plainly appears that they could not undertake any long voyages.

They traded with the Greeks and Phenicians; who, in return for the tin and lead of the Britons, brought earthen pots, brazen ware, &c. We find Augustus Cæsar levying a tax upon the commodities vended and received by the Britons, which, besides what was before mentioned, consisted of ivory boxes, iron chains, and many other ornamental trinkets.

They had no coined money according to Cæsar, who expressly says that “they used pieces of brass, and iron tallies of a certain weight, instead of money”; but Dr. Plott and Mr. Borlase, with other learned authors, are of the opinion that coined money was prior to Cæsar’s arrival. A gold coin (as is supposed) of Cassibelan, which Speed has given in his Chronicle, is brought as a sure proof of this assertion; but as this coin bears but the very doubtful traces of a name, and is attributed to Cassibelan only from those supposed letters of a name, it may be too hasty a conclusion in those that would give it as a certain proof: I must say, (with all due submission) that to me the workmanship of this coin seems much too good for those barbarous times; the man and horse are both considerably too perfect and well proportioned to be executed by a people, amongst whom the arts were not only not encouraged, but not known. Besides this, there is another coin in the same Chronicle, inscribed *Com: Rex*, supposed to be of that Comus (if, says Speed, he be a Briton) who fled to Cæsar, and became a traitor to his native country. But even allowing (which is not barely probable) this to be a coin of him, and he himself to have been a Prince of Britain, yet it is to be believed that he caused it to be done not only in imitation of the Romans, but also that he employed a Roman artist (or some one by them instructed)

Cæf. Com.
Lucan.
Polyhistor.
Hist. du Commerce.
Strabo.
Plott's Staffordshire
Borlase's Ant. of Cornwall.
Speed's Chron. of Eng. p. 30.

Speed's Chronicle.
page 29.

* Ou si outre ces vaisseaux, qui étoient pour leur usage journalier, ils n'en avoient point d'autres, de gros bois, et de matiere folide, comme Selden l'a cru, pour les voyages de long cours, & pour la guerre. Il est certain qu'on ne trouve aucun passage dans les livres des anciens, qui marque qu'ils eussent de grand vaisseaux bâtis de bois solide, selon la fabrique ordinaire.—Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens, page 202.

struſted) to fabricate this coin for him. This I dare ſay will readily be allowed upon the examination of it, and by comparing it with ſome rude ones, doubtleſs of the Britons, and evidently of a later date, the workmanſhip of which it greatly excels. I think the words of Cæſar ought, (as the Rev. Mr. Pegge obſerves) to be tranſlated and taken in their full ſenſe, * that is, that the Britons poſitively did not coin money prior to his (Cæſar's) arrival. Mr. Pegge attributes (and I dare ſay with the greateſt juſtice) the firſt coinage of money in Britain to Cunobelin, the favorite of Auguſtus.

See Pegge's
Eſſay on the
Coins of
Cunobelin.

H U S B A N D R Y.

The art of huſbandry was very little known to them till the arrival of the Romans, for their inteſtine quarrels and continual diſcords muſt neceſſarily prevent the proper cultivation of their lands, and hinder the progreſs of an art that can only flouriſh in the time of peace. They had great plenty of cattle, and grew ſome corn, the chief of which was barley, and of this they made their drink. Their corn, ſays Diodorus Siculus, they houſe in the ear, and reſh it out as they have occaſion for it; but this is to be underſtood of the more civilized Britons, for Cæſar tells us that moſt of the inland people ſow no corn, but live on milk and fleſh; and Dio Nicæus, ſpeaking of the northern parts of the iſland, informs us, that the inhabitants tilled no ground, but lived on prey which they got by hunting, and the fruits of trees; and though they have there great quantities of fiſh, yet they would not touch them: they dwelt naked in tents, going even without ſhoes: “theſe people (ſays he) would endure hunger, cold, and labour, with great patience; they would continue whole days up to the chin in boggs, without food; in the woods they lived on the roots of the trees, and had a kind of meat ready on all occaſions, of which, only taking the bare quantity of the ſize of a bean, prevented their ſuffering from hunger or thiſt.”

Solinus
Dioſcorides,
Diod. Sic.
Dio Nicæus.

Camden tells us, that cherries were firſt brought into England in the year 48. And from ſeveral authors we learn, that the Britons, in the time of the Roman emperor Probus, were permitted to plant vines both for uſe and pleaſure; tho' at that time they could not be much farther uſeful than being ornamental, and affording an agreeable ſhade; the proper method of cultivating them they learned from the Romans, who were an induſtrious people, and well verſed in every branch of huſbandry. Neither had they much occaſion to grow their own wine, their neighbours from the continent gladly ſupplied them, in return for their other commodities.

Camden's
Brit. 485.

They had, according to Strabo, ſome ſlight notion of planting orchards. And Pliny further adds, that they manured their ground with marl, and were not altogether ignorant of gardening.

Strabo.
Pliny's Nat.
Hiſt.

The Habits of the BRITONS.

We will begin with Cæſar, who tells us that they were cloathed in ſkins, and Cæſar Bel. ſtained themſelves with *wood*, to make their appearance more dreadful in battle: they

* “Utuntur aut ære, aut talcis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummo;”—Cæſar de Bel. Gal. lib. v.

they wore their long hair hanging down on their shoulders, and shaved all parts of their body, the upper lip excepted. Here it is necessary to observe, that Cæsar has told us there were two sorts of the Britons, of which, those inhabiting in Kent, and on the sea shore, (of whom he speaks chiefly) were much more civilized, and modest, than the inlanders: for Herodian writing after Cæsar of the more northern nations, tells us, that "the inhabitants knew no use of cloaths, but wore rings of iron and brass about their necks and middles, to shew their riches, as in other countries they do gold and precious stones: on their bodies, (continues he) they painted strange resemblances of hideous animals: and left the beauty (as they supposed it) of their painting should be hid, might be the prevailing reason for their going naked: they had a sword hanging by their sides, but were entirely strangers to the use either of the crosslet, or helmet, which they supposed, would be not only unserviceable, but burthenome to them in crossing the bogs and fens." This account of Herodian, agrees with what has been above said of the northern Britons, from Dio Nicæus, that they lived naked, dwelling in tents, &c.

Whether painting the bodies among the Britons was at all times, or in all parts, a constant custom, is much disputed; some suppose that it was only in war to make them look terrible, and at their festivals and sacred rites; when, says Pliny's Nat. Hist. Sammes Brit. they coloured themselves like Æthiopians, being naked with their wives and children at the solemnities; other authors assert, that painting of their bodies became much more general after the arrival of Cæsar than it was before, but perhaps that might arise only from the islands being then better known to the Romans, and of consequence the knowledge of the manners and customs of the people became much more extensive, unless we suppose with Sammes, that being after the arrival of Cæsar involved in almost a continual war with the Romans, they endeavoured to make themselves as frightful as possible to those unlawful invaders, by a constant staining and painting of their bodies. Some authors have also supposed, that the paint or die would wash off, which might be, unless those who painted animals, &c. (which seem chiefly to have been ornamental) cut the skin, and so pounded the colour into the wound.

We find the civiler sort in Varro's time wearing robes, one of which he describes as a thick hairy garment, which the Britons themselves called *Gaunacum*, from whence perhaps our modern word gown may be derived.

And Strabo, speaking of the more polite sort of the people, (inhabitants most likely of Kent, Cornwall, and Devon) assures us, that they wore long black garments reaching down to their ankles, walking with large slaves in their hands, (like furies in a tragedy.) However, Diodorus tells us that they were mild and gentle in their disposition, as well as plain and truly honest in their dealings.

Caractacus, King of the Silures, when he appeared before the Emperor Claudius Cæsar, is said to have been attired in the following manner: His body was for the most part naked, and painted with divers animals, an iron chain round his neck, and a second round his middle; his hair was long and curling, the hair of his upper lip was unshorn, and hung down on either side falling upon his breast; he neither hung down his head, (says Tacitus) or in words craved for mercy.

From several Historians we have the following description of the habit of our great British Heroine *Boadicea*: "She wore a loose robe of changeable colours, over a thick plaited kirtle, the tresses of her hair hanging down to her very

Herodian.

Dio Nic.

Pliny's Nat.
Hist.
Sammes
Brit.As Isidore
affirmeth.

Varro.

Strabo.

Diod. Sic.

Speed's
Chron.Tacitus
Annal. lib.
xii.Strabo.
Speed.

very skirts with a chain of gold about her neck, and carrying in her hand a short spear or dart.

Soon after this the British people began under Agricola to adopt many of the ^{Tac. Vit.} Roman manners and customs, to wear their robes, and habit themselves much ^{Agric.} after their fashions.

Of their Priests, Religion, and Idols.

Their priests were called Druids. Cæsar has given us a full description of ^{Cæf. Com.} the Druids of Gaul; and tells us, that "they were not only the same both in ^{Bell. Gall.} manners and customs with the British Druids, but further adds, that this discipline was first instituted in Britain,* and from thence transported to Gaul; so that those who would be thoroughly initiated in the Druid knowledge, came over from Gaul to Britain to learn it in its original purity. ^{lib. vi.}

Although the kingdom was anciently divided into several petty governments, ^{See Camden,} each having its own King and customs, yet the power of the Druids was universal; they were the arbitrators of all disputes, not only spiritual but temporal, ^{Stukeley, & Borlase.} determined all controversies, both public and private; if any crime was perpetrated, any murder committed, or dispute made about the right of inheritance, or bounds of an estate, the Druids were always the judges to examine and determine the cause: they would, according to their pleasure, decree rewards and punishments, and he who would not abide by such their sentence, was excommunicated, and barred from being at their sacrifices and solemn feasts, a punishment the most severe, for they who were thus excommunicated being reckoned amongst the vile and notorious wicked, were carefully shunned like a dangerous infection by every one.

The Druids had over them all one primate or chief, † who superintended and Cæsar possessed the supreme authority, at whose decease the next superior in merit was to succeed; but when there were many equals, the matter was determined by the votes of the Druids; though it sometimes happened that they had recourse to the sword, and disputed the sovereignty by the force of arms.

They of Gaul assembled, at an appointed time of the year, at a ^{Cæsar de} consecrated ^{place,} near to the borders of *Chartres*, supposed to be about the middle of Gaul. ^{Bell. Gall.} Hither they came from all parts who had disputes, and submitted them to the ^{lib. vi.} general determination.

It is the common received opinion, that the British Druids attended constantly at this meeting in common with those of Gaul, and that it was a great and general assembly of all the Druids, but I am of a contrary opinion; for Cæsar, who tells us this, immediately afterwards says, that those of the Gauls who were willing to be more deeply learned in the mysteries of Druidism, came into Britain in order to be thoroughly instructed. Now it seems most reasonable to suppose, that if this was so great and general a meeting of the Druids, the place of assembly

* Hæc Disciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur; & nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiuntur.—Cæsar de Bel. Gall. Lib. vi. Com. viii.

† Sammes and other authors make two of these chiefs, (of which one resided in the Isle of Anglesea) one presiding over the North, and the other over the South Britons.—Sammes' Brit. Illustrata.

See Stuke-
ley's Stone-
Henge.

bly would certainly have been in Britain, where Druidism was the best known, and of the longest standing; but it is most likely, that these were only annual meetings of the national Druids, assembled together to adjudge such causes as might either from their nature or difficulty have been left undecided by the particular Druids of each province; and that in Britain they had also their great annual meeting at some particular and consecrated place, perhaps *Stone-Henge*, (which has been evidently proved to be of British construction.) Besides, as this was also an annual asize, or tribunal court, every one must be struck with the inconvenience (not to say impossibility) of removing it out of the kingdom; and farther, it is to be remarked, Cæsar is here speaking of the Gaulish Druids only, who, says he, in all things copied those of Britain.

The Druids never went to the wars, nor did they pay any taxes, but held a free enjoyment of all things. This encouraged many of their own accord to frequent their schools, whilst others were sent by their parents. They learned a vast number of verses by heart, so that some of them continued twenty years in their education, it (as was before observed) not being lawful for them to commit any thing to writing, (the public records and private accounts excepted which were all kept in Greek characters.)

The Druids had the tuition of the youth; for it was not customary for the son to be seen with the father till he was able to bear arms.

Borlase's
Hist. of
Cornwall.

There were also an inferior order of Druids, called Bards, most remarkable for their memory, singing the actions of their kings, heroes, and great men. Their office most likely was to teach the pupils those hymns and verses that it was necessary for them to learn, whilst those of the superior order were employed in higher speculations, and the more solemn and secret mysteries of their duty. Those youth who were not to be initiated in the secrets of Druidism, were dismissed from the schools as soon as they had courage and strength sufficient to fight for their native liberty.

Cæsar.

The Druid doctrine was, that the soul cannot perish, but goes continually from one body to another. They constantly inspired the youth with thoughts of honor and glory, teaching them to sing the heroic deeds of their great ancestors, and above all things to hold those in the greatest contempt who manifested the least fear of death. They are supposed to have been very learned in natural philosophy, insomuch, that many authors have attributed to them the perfect understanding of the magnet, and, as some say, of the compass. However, Cæsar tells us, that they used to instruct their youth in the knowledge of the heavens, the course of the stars, and their motions, the magnitude of the world, and of the earth, as well as of the nature of things, and the power of the immortal Gods.

Stukeley's
Stone Henge
& Aubery.

Hist. & Ant.
of Cornwall

They had female Druids also, according to Borlase, of which there were three different classes.

The first were those who lived in perpetual virginity, and were constant attenders on the sacred rites.

The second class were those who were married, but only saw their husbands once a year, that they might have children.

And thirdly, those who were married, and never separated from their husbands, but governed their families, brought up their children, and laboured as much as became their sex and circumstances, nothing differing from the common duties done by other women.

Speed

Speed adds a sort of Druids, who forbade the worshipping of idols, or any other form intended to represent the Godhead. Speed's Chronicle.

However extensive the natural knowledge of the Druids may have been, their horrid superstitions and barbarous rites are sufficient testimonies of their ignorance concerning the benign nature of a merciful God, as well as a great proof of their wanting the common charitable feelings of human creatures. Not only beasts but men were equally the victims of their bloody and hellish sacrifices. They taught in common, that the Gods were never better pleased than when the life of one man was taken from him, in oblation for another; so that when a Briton was about to undertake any difficult and perilous enterprize, he either would offer, or vow to offer, up a *Man* to the immortal Gods, impiously supposing that they, in consideration of such a sacrifice, would preserve him with uncommon care and diligence. The Druid then was the minister to perform this devilish office; nay so fond did they imagine that their Gods were of the slaughter of the human specie, that they had public sacrifices, where, in a large wicker image, (made to represent a human figure) the unhappy victims were shut up alive, which being set on fire, the miserable wretches perish in the flames. Those thus burnt were generally malefactors, whose crimes had rendered them obnoxious to the law, and these they supposed were always the most acceptable to the Gods; but, says Cæsar, for want of these the innocent and harmless often suffer. Dio Cassius Solinus.

The rites and religious mysteries were by the Druids performed in their sacred groves, which were of oak. Max. Tyrius says, that the Celtæ, or Gauls, worshipped Jupiter, of whom they made the tallest oak to be the resemblance. Cæf. de Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

'Tis undoubted that they had the oak in the greatest veneration, especially when they found any thing growing round it, for then it was esteemed sacred, and they imagined that the Gods had chosen that tree for themselves. But particular regard was paid to the mistletoe, when it was found growing round the oak, which at a certain season of the year was gathered with great parade, and many superstitious ceremonies: First, they observed that the moon was six days old, for then they began their months, as well as the new year; then having the sacrifice prepared under the tree, two milk white bullocks were brought forth that had never worn a yoke, whose horns were then, and not till then, bound up; this done, the priest (habited in a white vestment) ascended the tree, and with a golden pruning knife cut off the mistletoe, which was carefully received into a white woollen cloth by them that attended below, over which many orations and incantations were muttered, then it was kept sacred; the decoction of which they esteemed as an antidote to poison, and a sure remedy for barrenness, as well as many other bodily diseases. Max. Tyr.

The Britons worshipped several gods; as Jupiter under the name of *Toramis*, or Thunderer; (the same with *Thor* of the Germans; from whence our Thursday).—Mercury under the appellation of *Tutates*: him they esteemed the inventor of arts, the patron and protector of travellers, and the great god of all merchants and merchandize. Cæf. Camden, Speed, &c.

Mars according to several authors bore the name of *Hefius**, the god of war: when they made war, they vowed to devote to him, whatever spoils they might get. Camden, Speed.

* In the Antient Universal History it is remarked, that this is a great error in confounding Mars with Hefius, or Efus, which signifies the great and supreme deity. They undoubtedly did worship Mars, but under another appellation. See vol. xix.

Cæf. de Bel. Gal. lib. vi. get in the progress of that war: whence, says Cæsar, (of the Gauls,) "one often meets with large heaps of spoils, laid up in their sacred places, in several provinces, which none dared touch; for the most terrible torment was the sure punishment to be expected, by those detected in the perpetration of that crime."

Camden. Hearne. Apollo, or the sun, was called *Belenus*, or *Belatucardus*†, and was a favourite god amongst the Britons.

Diana they named *Ardurena*, or *Ardoeuna*: they also worshipped the goddesses of victory, by the title of *Andrasse*: they had besides, Minerva, Janus, and several other gods.

Cæsar. But whether the Britons, like the Gauls, derived their original from the god *Dis*, is uncertain; yet, there is the same reason for thinking so, that Cæsar assigns for the Gauls, namely, counting the time by nights, and not by days; as fortnight, sevendnight, instead for fourteen days, seven days; unless we wholly derive this custom from the Saxons, who certainly reckoned in this manner.

Gildas. Hist. They had statues, and portraitures of some of their gods, which (probably not through intention, but want of skill) were hideously ugly; which made the religious Gildas mournfully exclaim; calling them "ugly spectres, merely diabolical." And of the grotesque figures of their deities, that were yet in his time, remaining on the ruined walls of their old cities; to declare, that they out-did the idolatry even of the Egyptians.

'Tis thought that the Druid worship continued in full force till the time of *Lucius*, about the year of our Lord 177; when christianity being embraced by him, and the nobles of the land, bishops were ordained, (and by the civil power protected) to preach unto the people, and to convert them. Thus the Druids being deprived of all their authority in civil matters, their power began by degrees to dwindle away, in proportion as the christian religion flourished, and became established in the realm.

Bell. Gall. lib. v. The wives of the Britons, according to Cæsar, were common to ten or twelve, especially ^{those of nobles to their brethren} ~~those of nobles to their brethren~~, and parents to their children. But whatever children were born, were always attributed to him to whom the woman was married.

Dion. Caf. The empress *Julia*, (consort of *Severus*) one day rallying a British lady, on this indecent custom of her country; she replied, Indeed we British women do herein much differ from the ladies of Rome, for we openly accompany with the worthiest men in the land; while here, they take up with every base fellow in a corner.

Bell. Gall. Men had the power of life and death over their wives and children: and when a king, or nobleman died, if the least suspicion was entertained of an untimely death, the wife in common was put to torture, the same as a servant; and if she was found guilty, she was tormented with fire till she died: from whence some have thought we still retain the custom of burning women, who murder their husbands.

Seldan. The funerals of the Britons were performed (if the parties were of distinction) with much pomp, and superstitious ceremony. They threw into the pile, all that they supposed the deceased held dear while living, not sparing the animals that he affected; nay indeed, Cæsar tells us, the Gauls used to put the favourite slaves into the funeral fire, to be burnt with their masters.

Some

† It is said by some authors that this god is erroneously called Apollo, and who suppose him to have been the same with Mars of the Romans. See Baxter's Gloss. and Gale's Comment, in Antoninus.

Some Observations on Stone-Henge, Aubery, &c.

I here take the liberty of offering some few words, concerning those venerable old remains of antiquity, Stone-Henge, Aubery, &c. Dr. Stukeley and Mr. Borlase, have between them, given a compleat account of the antient Druids; and Dr. Stukeley has taken infinite pains, to prove Stone-Henge, and Aubery, to be not only of Druid construction, but that they were also the temples of worship of the Druids. Mr. Borlase has partly agreed with the Dr. in their being temples of worship, but imagines, that they may also have been made use of as courts of judicature. My thoughts are, that they are beyond a doubt the rude structures of the Britons, but I think they were intended as courts of judicature only.

See
Stukeley's
StoneHenge
& Aubery,
& Borlase's
Antiq. of
Cornwall

All antient authors have told us, that the temples of the Druids were neither more, nor less, than a thick grove of oaks; or at least, if there should have been a rude temple, it was on a hill, surrounded with oaken trees. Indeed Mr. Borlase has advanced an assertion, that would entirely confirm the Doctor's opinion; when he says, "that Salisbury plain, however it is now a wild and barren plain, was antiently a thick wood;" and in the middle of which wood, he supposes Stone-Henge to have been built. But, I am afraid, Mr. Borlase has gone a little too far in his assertion, to be able to keep pace with proofs.

Dr. Stukeley himself did not start such a conjecture, but thought Cæsar, (or rather the transcribers of Cæsar) had mistakenly placed *luco*, pro *loco*,—a grove for a place. In short, (with all submission) the Doctor's account is most undoubtedly, very learned and ingenious, but to me it does not seem conclusive, since he is obliged to gain say the very authority that his strongest arguments are founded upon.

Cæsar tells us, that the Druids of Gaul met once a year at *Chartres*, to determine such difficult matters in public assembly, as each Druid, or private meeting of the Druids of each province, had not been able to settle. Certainly those of England also, had their annual meetings; for the same author informs us, that the Gaulish Druids in all respects resembled those of Britain. Allowing this, where can we suppose a better place for such a public assembly, than a large extensive plain? where all business might be transacted, "in the fair face of day." Neither does the supposed altar, or the burnt bones of animals, &c. found near it, in the least disprove this conjecture; for it is very clear that the Druids never began any important business, without first sacrificing to the Gods. Nor is the form, and construction, in the least unfit for such a purpose. And for those of more common structure, as Aubery, Roll-Rich, &c. they may have been the courts of judicature, for such particular provinces, or kingdoms; where the Druids of such provinces, might meet at certain stated times, to determine publicly all such matters, as might not require the decision of the whole assembly of Druids, &c. I hope the candid reader will (if this opinion should seem vague, and unlikely to him,) recollect that I mean it only as a conjecture of my own, and as such, have given it in as few words as possible; and, however slight or trifling it may appear, it has cost me an infinite deal of pains, in searching, and comparing the different authors that have written on this subject; and to get good reasons (or at least such as seemed to me conclusive) to establish this conjecture in my own mind; without which, I should have never presumed to present it to the public.

Of

Of the ROMAN Fortifications.

Before I take my leave of the British Æra, it may not be improper to say somewhat concerning the fortifications of the Romans; as well of their camps, as of their cities and fixed stations. Tho' I wish hereby to be understood only to mean such as are within this kingdom, and have fallen under the inspection of learned men; or such knowledge as I have gained in faithfully examining a considerable variety of them: and this I shall only treat upon as far as is absolutely necessary for the better understanding such camps, castles, &c. of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, as may have been successively improved from them by those succeeding people.

The Romans having first chose out a convenient spot for their camp, (generally near a river if possible) began by marking out the space it would require; then by throwing up a high bank of earth all round it, they made a deep ditch, which being well planted with stakes, and fortified with thick set palisadoes, was filled with water. Sometimes they made (as the place might from its situation require) not only one, but two or three banks of earth, and consequently as many ditches. On the vallum, or bank, was raised a parapet with battlements, and large stakes were cut branching out, (as Cæsar expresses it) like stags horns, and fastened in between the joints of the battlements; then they built at convenient distances, wooden towers round the whole work: those described by Cæsar in his camp were 80 feet from each other.

Cæf. de Bel.
Gal. lib. vii.

But in those camps where the emperor or chief general was present, there was a lesser fortification (of the same structure) within the large camp; this was called the prætorium, and therein they erected the general's tent.

The form of these camps were often varied; some few are round, others quite square, but they mostly are of an oval, or rather an oblong square, with the sharp corners taken off. (Plate 1, fig. 2.) is the representation of a very large, and perfect Roman camp, at Wallbury, near Hallingbury, in the county of Essex.

It is situated on an eminence precipitating off to the river Stort, having a double vallum, B. B. B. and D. D. D. and contains full thirty acres: the first ditch is almost closed up, except at F, where some traces of it yet remain, about 15 feet over: the outer and lesser vallum, D. D. D. is about 26 feet broad at the bottom, and as many high: the great ditch, C. C. C. is full 32 feet wide; and the inner vallum, B. B. B. is about 30 feet wide, and full that in height. At A, is a sudden precipice down to the river E, where the inner ditch C, is lost for full 30 yards, and the outer vallum and fosse far more than double that space; from the nature of the place they became entirely useless on this side; it being naturally so well fortified, by the vast steepness of the descent. The three divisions in the camp are the present entrances, of which the two broader ones appear to be the original, the lesser one being cut through for the convenience of carriages.

Besides these camps, which were only for the present use, or as rests from station to station, they had walled cities, the remains of several of them are yet to be seen in England; these were strongly fortified, and the walls so solidly built, that had they not been barbarously destroyed, and with great labour stubbed down, they would have stood for ages to come.

The

The original old wall of the city of London, was beyond a doubt Roman; said to have been built by Constantine, which Dr. Woodward, (who had an opportunity of examining it when Bishopsgate was taken down, and foundations dug for the new buildings) thus describes. "From the foundation which lay 8 feet below the present surface, quite up to the top, which was in all near 10 feet high; it was compiled alternately of layers of broad flat bricks and rag stone; the bricks lay in double ranges; each brick 1 inch 3-10ths. thick, the whole layer with the mortar interspersed, exceeded not 3 inches: the layers of the stones were not quite 2 feet thick of our measure: 'tis probable that they were intended for 2 feet of the Romans, their rule being somewhat shorter than ours. To this height the workmanship was after the Roman fashion. The mortar that was intermixed with the rag stone, was become as hard as the stone itself, and the thickness of the whole wall was full 9 feet." This description of Dr. Woodward's exactly agrees both in the measures and materials, with the Roman station at Chesterford in Essex, that I examined with the greatest care and circumspection, in the year 1772; great part of the wall then remaining, which has been since stubbed down. In 1773, stopping again at Chesterford, I had an opportunity of scrutinizing into the materials of the first foundation, which was a red sandy loam, intermixed with small stones, full 2 feet in height, on which was raised the more solid foundation, composed of rag stones and strong cement; this was full 3 feet in height, the top of which is almost equal with the present surface of the ground; and on this was built the wall, composed of rubble, stone, and cement, together with layers of bricks as above described. This station must have been very large, it is upwards of 1000 feet in length, and the breadth of the wall is full 12 feet.

The standard measure of the Roman brick, is 1 foot and $2\frac{1}{4}$ in length, and 1 foot in breadth, according to Vitruvius: "But (continues Dr. Woodward,) in measuring some of these very exactly, I found them 17 inches 4-10ths. in length, and 11 inches 6-10ths. in breadth, and 1 inch 3-10ths. in thickness of our measure." And this measurement exactly tallies with that which I made of those bricks from the old wall at Chesterford.

These walled stations do not appear to have been surrounded by a ditch, neither are they built on vallums or banks of earth, but on a strong foundation brought even with the surface of the ground.

See Dr. Woodward's Letter to Sir C. Wren, published by Hearne at the end of the 8th vol. of Leland's Itinerary.

THE END OF THE BRITISH ÆRA.

OF THE

ANTIENT SAXONS,

BEFORE

THEIR ARRIVAL IN BRITAIN.

BEFORE I enter upon the description of the manners, and customs of the Anglo-Saxons, it will be necessary to say something of their original, and more antient state. The people generally called Saxons, were composed of three nations, each bearing a different name: to wit, the *Saxons*, the *Angles* and the *Jutes*, all branches of the same stock, exactly agreeing in their language, customs and religion. They were (says Sammes) led under the conduct of their valiant chief *Woden*, from Scythia and Cimmeria, into the northern parts of Germany; whence they spread themselves all along upon the coasts of the Baltic Ocean, and so round to Belgium and Batavia, living chiefly by piracies; for their great valour and fierceness they were much dreaded by the neighbouring nations, nay, even the Romans themselves were apprehensive and fearful of them, so desperate and dangerous an enemy were they.

They are generally called *Saxons*, and were more particularly known in Britain by that name, as well at the time of their arrival as afterwards.

I shall pass in silence over the many fruitless and uncertain accounts of those authors who have endeavoured in vain to bring to light the true derivation of the names of these people, taking notice only of the opinion of Verstegan, who gives the Saxons their name from the swords worn by them, even the Romans themselves were apprehensive and fearful of them, so desperate and dangerous an enemy were they. "which (says he) were called *Seaxer*, or *Seaxen*, from *Saxen* a scythe, because these swords were long and bending like a scythe, having the edge the contrary way." But these crooked swords must have been of very ancient date, for the Anglo-Saxons entirely dropped the use of them, substituting in their stead long straight swords double edged, as will be clearly shewn hereafter.

The Arms and warlike Customs of the Old Saxons.

According to Verstegan, besides the long sword above mentioned, they had a knife or dagger; the sword, or long *Seax*, they wore by their side, whilst the dagger, or hand *Seax*, was kept in a sheath distinct by itself. This last was the sort of weapon made use of by Hengist and his followers on Salisbury Plain, when he met Vortigern, king of the Britons, (with many of the nobles of the realm in his train) in order, as the Britons supposed, to conclude an amicable peace; the unsuspecting Britons came unarmed to this meeting, while the treacherous Saxons had each a knife, or hand *Seax*, concealed under his garment, when, on the watch word "*Nem coup Seaxer*," (that is, take out your knives) being given, they suddenly drew their weapons forth, and inhumanly butchered the

Sammes's
Brit. p. 411.

Marcellinus
Zosimus.

Restitution
of Decayed
Antiq. p. 21.

Ibid. lib.
p. 22.

Nennius
Hist. Brit.
cap. 48.

the unhappy Britons. And this may also be the weapon mentioned by Witi-^{Witichin-}chindus, a Saxon writer, in these words, "Great knives, or rather bended^{us} swords, they trusted on little shields across their backs."

The Saxons were undoubtedly a stout and hardy people, delighting chiefly in war, holding it at all times far more honourable to take the necessities of life by force from others, than by their own industry to provide them for themselves. War was indeed a part of their religion, for they not only held it dishonourable for a man to die of a disease, or in his bed, but supposed that he would be entirely excluded from the joys of a happy state hereafter, which was a place in Woden's Hall, where, in an endless round of quiet and contentment, he should sit and quaff full cups of ale in the skulls of his enemies: this was their heaven; and their place of punishment plainly proves their detestation of sloth and indolence, for they supposed the torments to be a continual succession of laziness, sickness, and the most miserable infirmities. Tacitus

They had yet other spurs to awaken in them a thirst for glory, and an enthusiastic desire of martial fame; for if any quitted the field of battle without success, they were under a temporary disgrace; but if any one survived, and left the field where his Prince or General was slain, he was branded with perpetual infamy. Tacitus in Descript. of Germany.

If a soldier lost his shield in battle, he was debarred from being present at their sacred rites, for grief of which many of them destroyed themselves.

When they elected a General, (says Tacitus) which was done by the votes of the soldiers, he was set upon one of their shields, and borne on men's shoulders amidst the applauses and acclamations of the people. Tacitus Hist. lib. iv. cap. 6.

They prudently chose for a General one that had given undoubted proofs of his valour, and was well experienced in the art of war; because they reposed the greatest confidence in him when elected; implicitly obeying his orders, and following him with unwearied assiduity. They paid the greatest attention to order and military discipline, observing their ranks, taking the advantage of the field, benefit of the day, and constantly making their entrenchments in the dead of night; for fortune they held as always doubtful, but prudence and valour, they esteemed as certain. They would not go to battle, or undertake any great expedition without first consulting their wives, to whose advice they paid the greatest regard: they also superstitiously placed great faith in the neighing of horses. When they designed to declare war against their enemies, they set their spears before the temple of their gods, and the sacred horse* was led out; when if he put his right foot forward, the omen was held good, but, if on the contrary he stepped with his left foot first, the omen was esteemed as unlucky, and they desisted from the intended business. Also to know the event of a battle, previous to the engagement, they would arm one of their own men, and set him against an armed captive; and by the issue of this combat, they would judge the success of the field. They went singing to the battle, carrying before them the images of their gods from their consecrated woods, and had Runic characters engraven on their spears, which were held as magic charms. These Runic characters Camden's Brit. Sax. Gram. Tacitus de Mor. Germ.

D

* Perhaps this is the same horse that was kept in the temple of the idol Peperuth, on which they supposed the god would ride to help them in battle; and this they could not in the least doubt the truth of, because often after a battle, the horse was found entirely in a foam. But it is to be noted, the priests alone had the care of the horse, none dared to come near the place where he was kept, till they pleased to shew him to the people.

Sherringham characters were either invented, or improved by Woden, who taught the putting them into rhyme; the which, with the art of engraving them on tables of stone, they brought with them into Germany †.

Sidonius lib. viii. The Saxons had a most barbarous custom of sacrificing every tenth prisoner to Woden, who they thought, would highly delight in such horrid cruelty.

Verftegan Single combat, by them called Cemp or Kemp-fight, was often practised in matters that could not readily be decided in any other manner.

Tacit. Deff. No man was permitted to bear arms, 'till he was with great solemnity admitted in a general assembly, where his father, or some one of his nearest kindred, presented him with a shield and a framra, or short spear: thus the path of honour was opened to him, and this was the first step to glory and renown. Their arms they always held in the greatest veneration, so that a virgin given in marriage, brought as her dower, a shield, a sword, and a lance, these were received as the most sacred pledges, nay, as the very patron gods of matrimony: neither came they unarmed even to their councils, or feasts. They bound their leagues, and friendships in blood: and at their drinking festivals they would embrace each other, and cut a vein in their foreheads letting the blood fall from thence into each others cups, which, being stirred about with the wine, they drank it off, accounting it the highest mark of friendship to taste each others blood. And after this drinking, they anointed their heads with some cooling unguent to prevent the fumes of the wine affecting them.

P. Diaconus A man might not cut his beard till he had slain his enemy, or taken his stand from him. And they wore a ring of iron round their necks in token of bondage, till by their bravery and valour, they had it taken from them with honour.

As we have seen that they were strenuous and sanguine in the pursuit of glory, so were they equally firm and steadfast in misfortunes, bearing a mind too noble to be debased even in captivity. A band of them being taken by *Lyfima-chus*, (a Roman general) were led to Rome, with the design of producing them as gladiators at the public shews in the amphitheatre, for the pastime of the Romans, but they resolutely put an end to their lives the morning they were to be produced, chusing much rather to die, than disgracefully turn the edge of their swords against each other to pleasure their inhuman enemies.

Description of the SAXONS.

Verftegan. They are said to have been tall, fair complexioned, free and bountiful in their manners, of a chearful and modest carriage; and however they might appear fierce and savage to their enemies, they were very kind and loving amongst themselves.

Verftegan, page 57. They were composed of four ranks or degrees of people, the first of which were called Ethel, (noble;) the second were Fpu-leoð, (freeborn;) the third Fpugelaten, (letten or made free;) and the fourth class were Eagen, (own, proper, that is bondmen;) these generally married amongst themselves, yet if any one

† Woden also made a law, that the bodies of the dead, slain in battle, should be burnt, together with their arms, ornaments and money; and over the ashes of their kings and heroes, to raise large hills of earth: and on the sepulchres of those who had performed great and glorious actions, to erect high monuments inscribed with Runic characters.

one by his good and gallant deportment advanced himself, he was as much or more respected than if he had really been born in the station he had raised himself to.

Antient Form of Government of the Saxons.

Their state government was antiently conducted by twelve noblemen, chosen from the rest for their virtue, valour, and integrity. These in times of peace rode on their several circuits to see justice done, and the laws put in full execution; they had also their set times for the twelve to meet together, to consult on the management of public matters. In war one was chosen from the twelve to be made king, but that dignity continued only during the war, for on the re-establishment of peace he laid down his royal authority, and ranked again with the twelve, (from whence he had been elected).*

They were very severe in the due enforcement of their laws, particularly punishing adultery; for the offending woman had first her hair cut off, and then she was turned forth stark naked (or at least with her cloaths cut off to her girdle-^{page 62.}stead) from her husband's house, in presence of all her kindred, and was whipped from town to town till she died, without the least regard being paid either to her sex, wealth, or beauty. Her seducer was generally hanged on a tree. Those that were unnaturally lewd were stifled in filthy mud, and covered with hurdles.

Of their O R D E A L S.

If a person was accused, or suspected of a crime, which could not be fully proved, he was put to the ordeal, or trial, either by fire or water. The first fiery ordeal was thus: Nine red hot plough-shares were brought forth, and laid at unequal distances, and the accused person having his feet bare, and his eyes close blinded, was to walk over them, which if he performed without touching the shares, he was instantly declared innocent, if not, guilty. †

The next fiery ordeal was thus: The suspected person took a red hot iron into his hand, which if he held without being burnt, he was acquitted; but on the contrary, if it scorched his hand, he was instantly condemned; for they thought that Heaven by miracle would certainly interpose to save the innocent.

They had also two more ordeals by water, the first of which was after this manner: The accused was set before a vessel of boiling water, into which he was to plunge his naked arm, and sentence was given according as he was either scalded or not. The second was to thrust the accused into a deep water, where if he struggled in the least to keep himself on the surface, he was accounted guilty,

* But about the ninth century this form of government ceased entirely, when the perpetual name of duke, with the chief authority was given to one; the others were made lords and earls.

† This ordeal was put in force (if we may believe Ran. Higden) even in the time of Edward the Confessor, when Emma, mother to the king, being accused of incontinency with Alwin, bishop of Winchester, was put to the plough-share trial. This with the other fiery trial, were for the nobility only, the commoner sort were tried by the water ordeals. The above circumstance concerning Emma is not confirmed either by Ingulphus, Wm. of Malmesbury, or Matthew of Westminster, yet Higden, to prove it more fully, adds, "Tunc Regina Emma dedit Sancto Swithino ix Maneria, & Episcopus alia ix Maneria, propter illos ix Vomeres, quos Emma petranxit."—Polychronicon, lib. vi.

guilty, but if he remained on the top of the water without motion, he was acquitted with honour. Hence, without doubt, came the long continued custom of swimming people suspected of witchcraft; * which idle trick was lately put in practice on two poor old people in the Hundreds of Essex, by several stupid, illiterate blockheads, who affirmed that they had bewitched their cattle.

There is also the faint traces of these antient customs in another superstitious method of proving a witch; it was done by weighing the suspected party against the church bible, which if they outweighed, they were innocent; but on the contrary, if the bible proved the heaviest, they were instantly condemned.

However absurd and foolish these superstitious customs may seem to the present age, little more than a century ago there were several unhappy wretches not only apprehended, but also cruelly burnt alive for witchcraft, on very little better evidence than the above ridiculous trials. Several great and learned men have also taken vast pains to convince the doubting age of the real existence of witches, and the justness of their execution; but so very unbelieving are we grown at present in these and such like stories, as to consider them only as the idle phantoms of a fertile imagination. †

In other doubtful matters, the usual way of deciding was by lot, in the following manner: They took slips of wood (made from some fruit-bearing tree) and marked them on either side; these (being huddled together) after a solemn prayer, were cast out promiscuously on a white garment spread for that purpose, and according to the number of marks lying uppermost, the degrees of fortune were thought to be more or less favourable.

Their estates did not descend to the eldest son only, but were fairly divided among all the male children of the deceased; from hence came the Kentish custom of Lavelkind, antiently called *Grove all kind*, that is each child his part.

The virgins married but once, neither had their men a plurality of wives, (except their nobles) and then only if the first wife was barren; for it was held a disgrace to be without children; and though they are said to have been so very rude and unpolished in their manners, they were remarkably famed for their chaste and decent deportment.

They began their business by the increase of the moon, and not when she was on the wain, the course of which (says Verstegan) they contrived to calculate and set down on square pieces of wood, of a foot or two in length, from whence he derives the word *Almanack*, these being called *Al-mon-haght*, which is *Al-mon-hebe*, signifying to regard, or look to the course of the moon. But Sammes rejects this interpretation, saying, "Who knoweth not that *Almanac* is a word of Arabick composition, from which language we borrow many words both in Astronomy and Chymistry, as *Nadir* and *Zenith* in the first, and *Alchemy*, *Alembic*, &c. in the second, made up of Greek, and the Arabick particle *Al*." But though Sammes cavils with the word, (abusing poor Verstegan for his mistake) yet this manner of calculating is by no means to be taken from

our

* It was performed in this manner: The suspected parties were thrown into a deep water, with a rope about their middle; if they sunk they were held innocent, but if they swam, they were without further consideration hurried before a justice, and their warrant being made out with all speed, the wretches were sent to prison in order to take their trials.

† See a full account of the antient ordeals, with the prayers and invocations made use of on those occasions, in Hollinghead's Chronicle, page 98, of the Description of Britain, at the end of vol. 1.

King James the First.
Glanvilleon
Witches,
&c.

Verstegan.

Tacitus
Descript.
Germ.

Verstegan's
Restitution
of Decayed
Intell. p. 38.

Sammes
Brit.
p. 460.

our ancestors, which custom yet continues in Staffordshire, where the people use clogs, or perpetual almanacks, exactly like those described by Verstegan. * Dr. Plott's Staffordshire.

The following account of the antient Saxon months, with the interpretation of them, is from Verstegan :

Wolp-Monat, because in this month the wolves were most fierce and dangerous. January.

Sprout-Kele, from the sprouting out of the *kele wort*, the greatest pot herb of the antient Saxons. February.

Lengt-Monat, from the lengthening of the days. March.

Orten-Monat, either from the easterly winds that generally blow this month, or from a goddess named *Orten*. April.

Tu-Milki, because in this month they began to milk their kine three times a day. May.

Weyb-Monat, English *wade*, because in this month they turned their cattle into the marshes and meadows. June.

Heu-Monat, or Heý-Monat, hay month. July.

Apn-Monat; or Bapn-Monat, from their gathering their harvest into barns. August.

Lepst-Monat, Lepst, the name of barley, which is so called from beer, antiently named *Beer icigh*, and afterwards *Berlegh*, and so by corruption barley. September.

Wyn-Monat, wine month. October.

Wint-Monat, wind month, from the frequent storms of wind that generally happen in this month. November.

Wintep-Monat, winter month. December.

They did not reckon their time by years, but by winters, as was also practised among the Anglo-Saxons, in this manner:

Soðlice Abrahān leopode an hund wintra. 7 þar 7 hund þeowontri wintra. 7 he þonðþende on goðpe ylde. Ex MS. apud Bib. Cott.—Infig. Claudius, B. iv. fol. 41.

Now Abraham lived a hundred winters, and five and seventy winters, and he died in a good old age. De Anglo-rum Gentis Origine, page 329.

Mr. Sherringham also quotes an old Saxon MS. to the same purpose. Neither did they count by days, but by nights, as zd law of Ina

Cilo binnan þryttigum nihta rygefulpað.

A child within thirty nights (*after its birth*) shall be baptized.

Of their Religion, Idols, &c.

Their religion was paganism and idolatry; among their gods, *Thor* was held the chief; he was the son of *Woden*, who first brought the Saxons into Germany; it is reported of this *Woden* that he was a great and warlike man, who never fought a battle but he gained the victory, or undertook any difficult enterprize but he surmounted it. In order to make himself the more respected by his followers; it is said that he had two ravens so cunningly taught, that they would fly abroad and at their return always perch upon his shoulders, putting their beaks to his ears, as if whispering to him; those he pretended brought

* See a description of these clogs, and how they are used, with a print of one of them, in Dr. Plott's Nat. Hist. of Staffordshire, page 419.

brought him information of whatever was doing in the most distant parts of the world.* By such means as these he constantly deceived the ignorant people; which was no very hard task in those dark times, when their eyes were so miserably blinded with the worst of errors and superstitions.

Whenever he sent his men to battle, or made them acquainted with any dangerous adventure he was about to undertake, he laid his hands on their heads (by way of blessing,) which ceremony being finished, they set forward with the greatest courage; readily undertaking the most dangerous enterprizes; and in all perils they called on his name with the greatest confidence, faithfully relying on the hopes of his protection and assistance. He is also greatly famed for his knowledge in magic, the which he was by many of them held the inventor of. So well versed do they report him to have been in this mystical science, as to strike fear and terror into the souls of his most daring opposers; and by incantations and charms, to blunt the edges of their swords, and render them useless.

Speed's
Chron.

The industrious Speed, has given us from Adam Bremanis, the following account of a Saxon temple, erected in honour of their three principal gods; *Thor*, *Woden*, and *Frea*, wife to *Woden*. "In a temple (says he,) in their native and vulgar speech called *Ufsola*, which was all wrought with gold, the people worship the statues of three gods, in the following manner: *Thor* the mightiest of them, hath only a throne or bed; on either hand of him *Woden* and *Frisco* hold their places. And this is the signification of them; *Thor*, say they, beareth rule in the air, and governeth the thunder, lightning, winds, showers, fair weather, corn, and the fruits of the earth. The second *Woden*, that is strongest, maketh wars, and ministreth manly valour against the enemies. The third is *Frisco*, bestowing largely upon mortal men, peace, and pleasure, whose image they represented with a large priapus. *Woden* is seen armed like the *Mars* of the Romans."

Verftegan
Rest. of de-
cayed Int.
chap. 3d. &
Sammes's
Brit.

But besides these they had a variety of other deities, as the sun, the moon, *Tuisco* and *Seater*, who, with the three foregoing, gave the names of the week days; there are still more mentioned by both Verftegan and Sammes.

Their Navigation.

Argyrippus

It has been remarked already, that the ancient Saxons lived chiefly by their piracies on the borders of the northern seas. And it is very strange that they should have been so formidable, when we consider, that their boats were of the same slight construction with those of the Britons, (before spoken of) this is, of skins, stretched over a light frame of wood. Sidonius Apollinaris speaks of them thus,

Sidonius
Apollinaris

"Quin & *Aremoricus* piratam *Saxona* tractus
Sperabat, cui pelle salum fulcare *Britannum*
Ludus, & afflato glaucum mare findere lembo."

Their

* And from this reason the Danes bore a raven on their standards, as is mentioned by most historians.

Their Habits, &c.

Tacitus describes their habit as “a kind of cassock, called *sagum*, clasped before, or for want of a clasp, fastened with a thorn. And beside this (says my ^{Descrip.} author) they have no garment to hide their nakedness, except the richer sort; who distinguished themselves from the more common, by wearing a garment different from theirs, which were not like those worn by the *Sarmates* and *Parthians*, wide and open but strait, and shewing the just proportion of the body. They also wore *pelts*, or a sort of garment made of beasts skins: the drefs of the men and women differing, in that the women wore linen robes, interlaced and trimmed with purple, without sleeves, their arms bare, and their bosoms uncovered.” ^{Germ.}

But Paul Diaconus, in his description of the *Long Bords*, compares them to P. Diaconus the Saxons, “who (says he) wear large loose gowns, or cassocks, mostly of linen, trimmed and set out with very broad guards, or welts, parfelt and embroidered with various different colours, the richer sort wearing pearls. Their hair they set up in thin rings, or hoop of copper, on the crown of their heads, and from thence it fell curling on their shoulders.”

And from Sidonius Apollinaris we learn that they shaved their temples, leaving a tuft of hair on the crown, which they set upright with copper hoops. ^{Sidon. Apol.}

Witichindus tells us, that their men were habited in soldiers cassocks, and armed with long spears, confiding much in a small shield, that they bore at their backs. ^{Witichind.}

Verftegan, and Speed, &c. inform us, that they made use of crofs bows*; but I doubt they have not good authority for this assertion, as it neither appears in any antient history, or delineation, that they were ever known to the Saxons.

* “The crofs bow they had in great use in war.” Verftegan, page 56. Their weapons were long spears, broad swords, and crofs bows. Speed’s Chronicle, page 202.

THE END OF THE ANTIENT SAXON ÆRA.

OF

OF THE

A N G L O - S A X O N S,

UNTILL THE

DANISH CONQUEST, under KING CNUTE.

Their Fortifications, &c.

HAVING already said as much as is necessary, concerning the fortifications made use of by the Romans in Britain, I now come to the Saxons; and will endeavour, as clearly as possible, to explain and set forth, the alterations made by them in those remaining Roman camps, &c. which they never neglected to seize into their own hands, and fortify according to their own fashions. We have seen that the Romans threw up high vallums, (or banks of earth) pitching their camps therein: but the Saxons raised the whole surface of their station above the common level of the earth, in the shape of a keep, (or low flat hill;) and this keep, instead of banks of earth, was surrounded by a strong thick wall, within which, were built the stations for the soldiers, &c. without, round the whole work was made a deep broad ditch, encompassed with a strong vallum of earth, on which was built an exterior wall turretted, after the fashion of the Romans.

Plate 2. No. 3, & 4. represents the plan and perspective view of the remaining ground-work of a Saxon castle, yet to be seen at Maldon, in the County of Essex; and by historians reported to have been constructed by Edward the elder, when he rebuilt the town of Maldon.

Chron.
Mariani
Scot.
See Cam-
den's Essex.

Though this fortification is easily traced out, yet the out-works are not quite so perfect as that below it, No. 5, and 6. So that for want of proper examination, it has generally been said to be Roman; but it will very easily be proved to be Saxon, both from its being like the castles of that people raised into a keep, and from the breadth of the ditch; which (though narrower than that at Witham, No. 5, and 6.) greatly exceeds those of the Roman construction, even of a much more extensive fortification: and on these two circumstances are grounded the sure criterion by which the earth-works of the Roman and Saxon fortifications are to be distinguished from each other.

A (fig. 3.) is the keep which was surrounded with a strong wall, and within which, were the apartments of the garrison: its breadth is about 220 yards, and its length 290. B is the ditch, about 20 yards in breadth; at C is the imperfect remains of the outer vallum (or bank of earth) which has been greatly dug down to make room for the plough; but at D it is yet in a very perfect state, in some places full 4 feet high.

Fig. 4. is the perspective view of the same, supposing all obstacles removed.

The

The ground-work of another of these Saxon Castles, is yet remaining at ^{Camden} See ^{London} Witham, being between the church and the town, the form and size of it are in Essex. H. yet very visible; this castle was likewise built by Edward the elder, (who resided at the Castle at Maldon while this was completing) which was about the year 912 or 914. The middle circle A (plate 2. fig. 5.) contains the keep or castle, and is about 160 yards in diameter, and 486 yards round; the ditch B, is now much filled up with the digging down of the keep, and is in its present state 260 feet in breadth; beyond the ditch is the external vallum, which is yet in a very perfect condition full 4 feet high, and 18 or 20 feet in breadth; the circumference of the whole is about 1000 yards. Where the external vallum is broke off at D, there is a steep precipice down to a river, so that here the ditch seems only to be a common surface of earth below the keep; but this has been effected in labouriously digging down the external vallum, for the more easy ploughing up the ground round about it. Fig. 6, represents the perspective of the same, the trees, hedges, &c. taken away. ^{Hunt. lib. v. in Vita Ed- wardi}

The general form of the ground-work of these Saxon Castles were round, though they were often varied according to the nature and situation of the place where they were erected. That at Maldon (above described) could not well be round, on account of the steepness and sudden declivity of the hill (at the north west side) on the brow of which (to make the fortification more strong and inaccessible) it was built.

I have also for the better explanation of these castles, subjoined a view of *Castle Chyn*, in Cornwall, with the description of it, from the learned Mr. Borlase's history of that county. ^{Mr. Borlase's Hist. & Antiq. of Cornwall. Plate 1. Fig. 1.}

"Coming to the entrance W. S. W. where having passed the ditch A, you enter the outmost wall G, five feet thick at M, which is called the iron gateway, and leave on the left hand, the wall 12 feet thick for the strengthening the entrance; on the right there is a wall K, which traverses the principal ditch B B, thirty feet wide till it reaches within 3 feet of the principal wall C, (8 feet thick at the present top, but in the foundation thicker) then turns away parallel to it, to L, leaving a narrow passage 3 feet wide as a communication betwixt the entrance Q and the ditch K, B, H; the entrance Q flanked on the right by the wall K, and on the left by an opposite wall I, admits you by the passage O, through the great wall C, into several lodgments that are formed by a circular line of stone-work E, E, E, about 3 feet high, parallel to the wall C, and several partitions N, N, N, spring as it were, from the center of the whole work, and reaching from the line E, to the principal wall C; these divisions are all 30 feet wide, but of unequal bigness. The Area within these works is 125 feet from E. to W. and 110 from N. to S.

The principal fosse, B, has four traverses, two K and I, which secure the entrance, and two more H, H, which divide the remaining part of the fosse into three equal parts. At F, there is a well which has steps to go down to the water. By the ruins of these walls, I judge that the outermost wall could not be less than 10 feet high, and the innermost about 15, but rather more, and both walls well perfected." Thus far Mr. Borlase, from whose following observations, this appears rather to have been a temporary camp, than a fixed station of the Saxons. We find that antiently the Anglo-Saxons used to fortify these camps, much on the same plan with the camps of the Romans, setting thick rows of palisadoes, or strong stakes, on the vallums of earth. Ella first king of Diera

Scala
Chronica.

Camden's
Brit.

Wm. of
Malmbsbury
de Gestis
Regum Anglorum, Ca-
put vi.

Camden in
Essex.

(a division of Northumberland) built the castle of Bamborough with strong wooden pales, which Ida soon after (according to the *Scala Chronica*) caused to be walled round with stone : and *Old Bale* in Yorkshire (according to Camden) was first fortified with thick planks of wood, 18 feet in length, but was afterwards encompassed about with a wall of stone. These stones are generally by the historians called *four square stones*, and are so stiled by Wm. of Malmbsbury, where he speaks of the rebuilding of Exeter by Athelstan.

“Urbem igitur illam, quam contaminatâ gentis repurgio defæcaverat, turribus munivit, muro ex quadratis lapidibus cinxit.”

But from every remaining antiquity we find, that the walls of their fortifications were only faced with these four square stones, (both within and without) and the intermediate space between the facings filled up with rubble, or rough flint stones, mixed together with a strong and permanent cement.

There yet remains at Colchester (in the county of Essex) a curious old castle, which was built by Edward the Elder, when he repaired the walls and re-edified the town, in the beginning of the tenth century.

Its form is four square, (see plate 3.) flanked at the four corners with strong towers, and it is about 224 yards in circumference on the outside, all projections and winding included ; the four sides nearly face the four cardinal points.

The first foundation is strongly made of large pebbles rudely mixed with bricks, (most of which are Roman) and held together with a firm cement ; and where this foundation was cut through to make an entrance at the N. E. corner, it was found to be near thirty feet thick : this kind of rude work is continued, without any facing, to about nine feet, more or less, above the present surface of the ground, and on it is laid a double row of freestone quite round the whole castle ; then on this double layer of stone are the walls of the castle erected, the workmanship of which is, though rude, much more regular than that of the foundation. It consists of a layer of square freestone, and a layer of bricks, (chiefly Roman) alternately succeeding each other ; and thus it is continued to the present top, which is not near so high as it was in its original state ; the corners of the bastions and towers of the castle were all originally faced with square stone, much of which remains yet visible, notwithstanding the repeated shocks it has undergone. The main wall is about 21 feet thick at the bottom, and at the top near 13 feet and a half. *12 at the bottom and 11 at the top, 1799*

The principal entrance A, (see the ichnography plate 3,) is on the south side of the castle, through an elegant stone door-way arched over, but of later date than the castle itself ; first, because it is too perfect to have stood so many ages ; and next, because the stile of architecture is much more modern, and does not in the least accord with the simpler construction of the rest of the castle.

On the inside of the castle there ran antiently N. & S. two strong walls (B & C) parallel with the walls of the castle, dividing it into three equal parts, making partitions and support for the apartments. The easternmost (C) yet remains, but the western (B) is almost entirely taken down. The wall (C) now standing is composed of pebbles and bricks intermixed in herring-bone fashion.

The principal lodgings were at the uppermost part of the castle, two chimnies yet remaining on the east, (D D) and two on the west, (E E) which answer on the inside to the small projections or bastions on the outside of the E. & W. walls ; at the south corner, on the left hand of the entrance, is the grand staircase F, full nine feet broad, containing a flight of 58 steps, going up which you come

come to the apartments G, yet remaining on the South side, where there is a handsome chapel, in which formerly duty was done, and an elegant library fitted up by Charles Gray, Esq; the present owner, (and under that a large vault arched, now used as the prison;) from thence still mounting higher, the staircase leads you to the battlements, where you might formerly have passed round the whole work, a passage being made in the breadth of the wall at the top; see the section of the top of the wall. (plate 2. No. 1. fig. 1.) which being $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, is thus divided: the outermost part (A) is at present but four feet high, and four $\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick; the passage (B) is full two yards wide, and the inside part (C) which you look over into the castle, is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and 3 feet thick. At three of the corners are square towers or bastions, every one of which had a staircase in it, and, as is reported, a turret or round top, (not much unlike the present modern one.) On the south east corner, where there is the round bastion, it is supposed that there was no turret, as no marks of a staircase have ever been discovered.

I could not learn for certainty whether the top of the wall had been garretted or not, though an old man, who happened to be there when I was, informed me that he remembered something like embattlements at the top before it was so shamefully abused, great part of which were forced down with screws and gunpowder, and so falling down on the walls and vaults below, made lamentable havock and devastation, to the eternal shame of the despicable perpetrators, as it is to the great praise and honour of the present worthy owner, who takes great pains to repair and preserve this valuable antiquity.

All the arches of the chimnies, windows, &c. are perfectly round, and in the inside turned with thin bricks, or rather a sort of pavement; the windows, which are faced with stone without, are very small and long, but increasing in size through the thickness of the wall, they appear very large on the inside, (see the section and view of the windows, plate 2. No. 1. fig. 2 & 3.)

The chimnies are very curiously carried obliquely through the wall to the top, (see the arch of the chimney, plate 2. No. 1. fig. 4. and the section *ibid* fig. 5.) and left the wall should thereby be weakened, buttresses or bastions were added on the outside of each chimney to strengthen and secure it.

There was originally no door but the south entrance, except a small sally-port on the north, for the other entrances have been with great labour cut out of the solid walls. It was surrounded with the ditch H, H, H, H, full 30 yards wide (see the plan, plate 3.) and an external vallum I, I, I, on which was erected a strong wall, the foundation of it yet being quite visible upon the vallum, which is very perfect towards the N. & W. sides, but on the N. E. has been much dug away, so that it is impossible to determine whether the communication between the exterior gate on the vallum, and the door of the castle, was kept up by means of a draw-bridge over the ditch, or a regular causeway walled off, like that above described of *Castle Cbun* in Cornwall.

Underneath the castle are spacious vaults, turned with stone, the supports of which are in the form of a cross; and I am with certainty informed, that they went at least from end to end of the castle;* but going down into them, I could not get above half that length, for one of the most spacious vaults, together with a fine well that is in it, were destroyed in the attempt of John Wheely to beat down the castle walls.

It

* The foolish story of a passage under ground from this castle to that at Hedingham, is also told here.—See the Account of Hedingham Castle in the Norman Fortifications.

Camden in
Essex.

Morant Hist
of Essex.

It now remains to say somewhat concerning the antiquity of this venerable ruin : Some have called it Roman ; others say that it is British, and was the palace of king Coel, who built and gave the name of Colchester to the town. But Camden and most others seem to attribute it to the Saxons. A modern writer indeed has boldly declared, that “ the castle as it now stands was undoubtedly built since the Norman Conquest,” but does not give the least shadow of a reason, or the slightest authority for this assertion.

I do not, I own, much wonder that it should have often passed for Roman, because the Roman method of building is much preserved in it : the foundation (which is raised on sand) is made of pebbles, flints, bricks, &c. rudely mixed together with cement, like that described at Chesterford, (page 15) and on this (as has been above mentioned) is raised the main works, faced with large pebbles and square stones mixed together, and these alternately intermixed with layers of bricks, most of which are evidently Roman, and on the inside the arches of the windows, chimnies, &c. are turned with flat broad bricks, after the stile of the Romans ; and the walls are chiefly of the herring-bone fashion, that is, a row of flat bricks set obliquely from the right to the left, succeeded by an oblique row from the left to the right ; in which fashion the walls of the city of Rome are said to have been built ; from these appearances, a person slightly surveying it, may easily be led to conclude it to be of Roman construction ; but I hope the following observations, founded on a strict examination of the castle itself, will be thought sufficient to prove it otherwise :

See page

Camden's
Brit.

See also
Stukeley's
Carausius,
vol. i. p. 132

First, the Romans never used such facings as are here mentioned, the walls of their fortifications were (as is described by Dr. Woodward) made of rubble stone and cement, with layers of brick at certain stated distances ; or else they were built entirely of square stones, without cement and rubble stone, like the temple of Carausius, on the borders of Scotland, “ which was framed with square rough stones without lime, having the upper part so tenanted into the nether, that the whole work still rising narrower, supported itself by a mutual interlacing.”

Secondly, the Romans were very exact in the measure and distances of their layers of bricks from each other, not only in the walls of the same station all round it, but in all their stations ; keeping to the most regular method : so that going from one station to another, and measuring the distances on the walls of either, both shall be found exactly to agree. Now here there are several of the Roman methods of building cramm'd into one edifice, but that without the least regularity or order ; the layers of bricks not only not running strait, but often discontinued, and the distances between them frequently differing 2 or 3 feet.

Thirdly, That though many of the bricks are certainly Roman, yet the arches of the windows, &c. are turned with a sort of pamment, differing not only in form but in thickness and size, from any ever made use of by the Romans.

I will not in the least pretend to contradict the conjectures that have been started of its standing on the very foundation of a Roman fort, which in the days of Edward the Elder might have been ruined and decayed, and he making use of the old materials as far as they would go, erected a new edifice on the spot of the former, surrounding it with a wide ditch, which was a constant custom with the Saxons, together with an external bank or vallum, the evident remains of which yet plainly appear.

On the other hand, it is said to have been built on the remains of the mansion of Coel, the British king, who built the town of Colchester. “ Coillus filius Marii,

ab

ab infantia Roma nutritus regnavit apud Britannos, qui tributum Romanis solvit et vitam pacificam duxit. Ferunt nonnulli urbem Colcestriam quæ caput est ^{Polichroni-} ~~Eftfaxonum~~, ab eo fundatam." And as this man was educated at Rome, it is ^{chon lib. iv.} not in the least surprising that he should follow their fashions and customs. But whether it was this Coel, or him whose daughter was afterwards married to Constantius, who first built the castle, or whether built by neither, is of little signification to the building as it now stands.

But it seems to me very absurd to suppose it, as it is at present, to be of Norman construction, for it is every way different both in form and materials, from the plan of building made use of by that people; and this assertion the many numerous authentic remains of their fortifications, &c. in this kingdom will fully prove and justify; which I hope will be done to the satisfaction of the reader in the discourse concerning the fortifications of the Normans.

The Weapons, warlike Habits, &c. of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

Of their soldiers, weapons, &c. I shall not have occasion to say much; as I have with great care collected such authentic representations of them from their own delineations, as will convey a much more satisfactory idea of them than the best description that can be given,

We find them armed with long broad swords, double edged; (and not crooked like those described by Verstegan,) long spears; some of which were barbed and others were flat and broad.

Their shields were generally of a midling size, for the most part oval and always convex, having frequently a point projecting from the middle: they had also battle axes, (plate 4. fig. 6*) which (says Verstegan) they called bills, and from thence, (adds he) we have retained the name to this day. The Watchmen, &c. about a century and a half ago, had a kind of hatchets, which were called bills. But the cross bows given to the Saxons by the same author, do not occur in any of the Saxon delineations that I have seen; from whence, as well as from the silence of the old historians on this particular; I hope I may conclude with great justice, that they were not used among them. And though they had common bows and arrows, (see plate 17. fig. 10.) Yet, from the words of J. Rouse the antiquary, we may conclude that they only used them for their pastimes: for speaking of the battle of Hastings, he tells us, that "the Normans had the victory, especially by means of their wooden bows and arrows, which the English had not then in use."

They fought with their swords and shields like the gladiators of the Romans. Their armour appears to be, at best, but very slight; but in the very early MSS. they do not appear to have any armour at all; Witichindus also tells us, that they confided much in the shields that they carried with them.

The figure (plate 4. fig. 5.) seems indeed, to be habited in a kind of mail, not unlike the ancient Norman coats of mail, which were called scaly, from the resemblance they bore to the scales of a fish: they were made of small pieces of iron of an inch diameter, rounding off at the bottom, and these were set on a strong garment over each other, so that the garment would bend with the greatest ease, and at the same time, the iron scales would constantly cover each other very securely.

See pl. iv. & v. & pl. xxii. fig. ~~11~~ 26, 27.

*Plate 22. fig. 14, 15, 16.

About this time Verstegan wrote.

Plate xx. fig. 10, 11, 12. & John Rouse.

See more of this in vol. 2

The figures (plate 4. fig. 6, & 7.) are represented in another kind of mail, (if it is the coat of mail) not unlike that which continued very long in use with the Normans, and was composed of strong wires closely interwoven with each other, like fine wicker; with this the soldiers were clothed from the head to the foot: but in the present two figures, the shape of it is much more like the body armour of the Romans, ending at the bottom of the stomach, and a little below the shoulders, to give the arms full play. At this time, perhaps the Saxons had not the art of making the mail so flexible as might be required on the arms and legs, for which reason they were obliged to confine it to the body only. The difference of armour in the present figures, from that above-described (fig. 5.) may arise from that figure's representing the Chief or King. In the original it is intended for Abraham, who is there pictured attended by his armour-bearer, fighting against the five kings, to rescue his brother Lot (who had been taken prisoner by them.) He wears a crown on his head, as an emblem of superiority and chief command. According to Verstegan, the crown was anciently called "*Cinniz-helme*, that is to say, *king's-crown*, whereby (continues he) it may appear that the crowns of the most ancient English-Saxon kings were worn and used by them for the helmet in warre; and that it may be, that the crowns of all kings were at first intended for their helmets, and made of different fashion from other helmets, for the more ornament of their princely persons that wore them, who were by them to be knowne, respected and revered."

Gen. ch. 14.
vers. 15.

Verstegan,
Restitution
of Decayed
Ant. p. 215.

See pl. 4. & 5.

The helmets, or caps of the common soldiers, do not seem to be any thing more than the thick skin of some beast, with the hair turned outwards. The soldier (plate 4. fig. 7.) who is doubtless one of the officers, is perfectly equipt, according to the Saxon method, and has evidently an helmet on his head, tho' very different from those worn by the kings. See the different crowns and helmets, plate 23.

The arms of the Saxon kings and nobles were often very rich and magnificent; the hilts of their swords curiously wrought with gold, and studded with jewels; their shields and helmets also in like manner elegantly ornamented, and inlaid with gold and precious stones.

Πενγυτ &
Πορρα both
signify a
horse in Ver-
stegan, p. 121.
Bede Ecc.
hist. lib. 3.
cap. xi.
Speed's
Chron.

The banners, or ensigns, also, that were borne before them to the battle, and on other occasions, were generally grand and magnificent. Hengist and Horsa, according to Verstegan, had on their arrival from Germany, a banner borne before them, on which was wrought the representation of a white horse: and over the tomb of *Osvald* was laid an ensign of purple and gold. And in the time of *Elfred*, was taken the famous standard of the Danes, called *Reafsen*, on which (says Speed) was the picture of a raven, curiously wrought by the three sisters of *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, daughters to *Lothbrock* the Dane: add to these the banner of *Harold* the Second, on which was represented the figure of an armed man in a fighting attitude, curiously wrought in gold, and sumptuously ornamented with precious stones: see the form of an ancient standard, (plate xxii. fig. 4.) which is richly decorated with jewels down the middle.

Ninnius
Hist. Brit.
cap. 93.

Anciently banners were (either from their being composed of some religious relic, or from the representation which they were made to bear of holy things) held sacred, and much superstitious faith placed in them. *Arthur*, (the British King,) when he fought the eighth battle against the Saxons, carried the "image of *Christ*, and of the blessed *Mary* (always a *Virgin*) upon his shoulders."

And

And the Danes placed great faith in their *reafen*, because it bore the figure of a raven, which, with them, was esteemed sacred and holy: for this cause also, the honour of taking the banner was esteemed the greater; on the contrary, to those that lost them it was not only a great disgrace, but an unlucky and dreadful omen. Standards and banners were not confined to the service of war alone, but were also used by the priests, on particular occasions, in the beginning of Christianity.

When St. Augustine first came to preach the Christian faith to the Saxons, he had a cross born before him, with a banner, on which was the image of our Saviour Christ. And Edwin king of Northumberland was in such esteem, "that he caused a banner to be borne before him, not only in time of war, but in time of peace, while he rode from city to city, (to see a proper administration of justice,) which banner was called by the Romans *tufan*, but by the Saxons, *thpp*." *Tufa*, according to Speed, is supposed to mean a ball, or globe, and to be an emblem of sovereignty.

Crosses were also erected by many of the Christian kings before a battle or great enterprize, with prayers and supplications, for the aid and assistance of Almighty God. Oswald caused a cross of wood to be erected before he fought with Cadwallo, himself holding it till the earth was rammed in round about it, while all his soldiers kneeled down devoutly. Also before any great or decisive undertaking, they would visit the shrine of some particular saint, and there vow great donations to the monastery in which it was contained in case they returned victorious. Thus Athelstan in his journey to the north, (where the kings of Scotland and Wales, were committing depredations and ravaging the country) visited the tomb of St. John of Beverley, where earnestly supplicating for success, and not having any thing worthy enough with him to present to the Saint, he left his knife on the tomb, vowing that if he returned victorious, to redeem it with a worthy price, which he faithfully afterwards performed.

Their tents were of a very plain and simple construction, being only lines stretched from the top of a strong pole, and fastened to wooden hooks driven into the ground, which from the appearance of these tents, in the delineation (see plate 5, fig. 2. and 3.) I should fancy were covered over with a thick and strong cloth, or leather; on the top is a roof or guard, sloping either way (like the ridge of a house,) to prevent the rain from entering. To some of their tents, they had a door properly cut out, but others were entered into by pulling the covering aside each way (fig. 2. and 3. plate 5.) exhibits both sorts.

I do not know whether I may not with justice add to these arms and appurtenances of war a sort of chariot, not unlike those that we see on the coins and bas-reliefs of the Romans; it is drawn by two horses that run a breast (see plate 5. fig. 6.) and seems chiefly to be used by persons, who from their furious appearance and often being armed, may be thought to bear some analogy with war and disturbance; the present figure though unarmed, represents one of the vices who is furiously combating with prudence. Perhaps it may be esteemed too bold to say, that this is the faint traces of the old British *Effedum*, (mentioned by Cæsar) but if we consider, that neither in Tacitus nor any other ancient author, is the least mention of such chariots being used by the Germans: it may not be held improbable but that the Saxons might, among various other things, have learned the construction of these chariots from the Britons. I am aware of what Tacitus hath told us concerning the Germans, that on their Tacit. Def. learning Germ.

learning from the Romans the use of coined money, they always preferred those which had the resemblance of a chariot and two horses stamp'd upon them: but it should then be remembered, that the Germans had a sacred chariot dedicated to the island goddess, and placed great superstitious faith in horses; so it is not in the least surprising that they should prefer those that bore the images of their adoration. Yet I would not be understood to mean, that these chariots were ever in general use among the Saxons, but only that they had them, and on particular occasions might use them, perhaps like the Britons, in light skirmishes to annoy the enemy.

In matters, which could not be easily determined, the usual way of decision was (after the custom of their ancestors) by *Cemp-Fight*, or single combat, (which is represented in plate $\frac{1}{2}$, fig. 2.) while the fighting parties were animated with the sound of the horn, as also by the dancing and strange gestures of the by-standers. Besides this horn, they had a long trumpet, (plate 5, fig. 4.) which in the MS. is called *tuba* and *cornicinu*, *cupa æpea*, and in the interlined annotations, *cornu canen*, *cornua æpea*, by the side of the delineation is wrote.

Tubæ Silent Cladū Reconbuntur in Vagina.

"When the trumpet ceases to sound, the sword is returned to the scabbard;"

which agrees perfectly well with the character given to the Germans, by Tacitus and others. "No sooner was the sound of the warlike trumpet heard amongst them, but the husbandman leaving his plough in the field, caught up his arms and rushed with fury forth to the battle.

The antient method of knighting, (or permitting to bear arms) was (as has already been shewn) performed by giving a shield and lance to the party in the midst of the elders assembled together for that purpose. But with the Anglo-Saxons knighthood was held in great honour, and many ceremonies requisite. Edward the Elder himself made Athelstan a knight, putting upon him a soldier's cloak of scarlet, and girding him round with a girdle ornamented with precious stones, from which there hung a Saxon sword in a sheath of gold. And the necessary ceremonies which were first to be gone through, are explained by Ingulphus, who tells us, that in the days of the Saxons (before the Norman Conquest) the making of a knight was after this manner: "The evening before the day of consecration, he that was to be made a knight, was to make a full and penitent confession of his sins to the bishop, abbot, or priest attending, and after receiving absolution for the same, he should continue all night in the church at prayer and pious devotion; and on the morrow, after hearing divine service, he should offer his sword upon the altar, which when the priest had blessed upon the four gospels, was hung with his benediction on the neck of the party, who from that time forth was accounted a good and lawful knight; but this custom of knighting was by the Normans utterly abolished."

Thus we find in ancient times the priests as well as the kings had power to create knights; but this we find also abolished by the Normans, and the power confined to the king alone.

Wm. of
Malmibury.
de Gest. Reg.
Ang. lib. 2.
caput vi.

Ingul. Abb.
Monaf.
Croyland,
day of 512,
Hift. p. 512,
&c.

The Religious and Domestic Buildings of the SAXONS.

Our old ancestors being entirely deficient in the knowledge of perspective, the different drawings left by them of their temples, houses, &c. cannot by any means convey so good an idea of such their buildings as we could wish.

On their first arrival their minds were filled with war and destruction, and their thoughts too much engrossed with establishing for themselves a firm and solid footing in the kingdom. In this early period the neatness and elegance of their structures were considerations of too trifling moment; but on their being settled in the realm, the arts soon began to flourish, and were carried to a much greater length than they had ever been before in Britain. A christian Saxon, whose name was Benedict, travelled to Rome, where becoming a monk, he tarried some time, but came over again with Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, (about the year of our Lord 668) and brought with him from Rome several curious artists, as *Glaziers, Painters*, and the like.

About this time too, according to Bede, singing was introduced into the churches, with music. The clergy also were well versed in Greek and Latin, and learning was greatly esteemed amongst them.

Wm. of Malmibury informs us, that the first Christian church which was built in Britain, was constructed with watlings or hurdles, interwoven with osiers, or other pliable wood.

The Saxons also (in the early time) built much with wood. Edwine (the first Christian king of Northumberland) built a small oratory of wood, (where he was baptized;) but afterwards began one on a much larger foundation, with stone, which included the building first erected. So Aldwine, bishop of Durham, first built a small oratory of wreathen wands and hurdles, (where the body of St. Cuthbert was for a time deposited) but afterwards he caused a larger church of stone to be erected.

Their stone buildings were often beyond conception grand and magnificent, to compleat which no labour or expence was spared. Robert de Swapham, an author of good antiquity, saw the stones that composed the foundation of the church at Medishamstede, (now called Peterborough) that was built by Peada, (the first Christian king of Mercia) which stones were so large, that eight yoke of oxen could scarcely move any one of them.

It was customary to build their churches, monasteries, &c. where the holy relicks of some Saint had been found, or where it was reported he had lived; or over the tomb of some martyr, or else where he had been martyred. The famous chapel of Ina at Glastenbury, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, is reported to have been built over the very spot on which formerly stood the cell of Joseph of Arimathea. The amazing richness and grandeur of this building, is scarce to be conceived, Malmibury gives us the following account of it: "The same king (Ina) built also a chapel of gold and silver, with ornaments and vases of the same; for the construction of the chapel 2680 pounds of silver; the altar was made of 264 pounds of gold; the cup with the patena was of 10 pounds of gold; the censor of 8 pounds 20 *mancis** of gold; the candlesticks of 12 pounds and $\frac{1}{2}$ of silver; the covers of the book of the holy gospel 20 pounds 40 *mancis* of gold; the vessels for water, and other vessels for the al-

Bede Ecc. Hist. lib. 4.

Wm. of Malmibury Ran. Cestren. lib. 1. See Camden, Hollinghead, and Stow.

Wm. of Malmibury Ant. of Glast. lib. 1.

Bede Ecc. Hist. lib. 2. cap. xiv.

Wm. of Malmibury de Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. 1.

See Girald. Cambrensis.

Wm. of Malmibury, Art. Glast.

* A small weight of about 14 grains.

tar, of 17 pounds of gold; the vessel to wash in of 8 pounds of gold; and that which contained the holy water, of 20 pounds of silver; the images of Christ and the blessed virgin, together with those of the twelve apostles, of 175 pounds of silver, and 38 pounds of gold. The pall for the altar, as also the sacred habits for the priests, were interwoven with gold, and richly ornamented with precious stones. The materials of which amazing structure, with the ornaments, amounted to upwards of 365 pounds of gold, and 2887 $\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of silver.

Ingul. Abb.
Monaf.
Croyland,
Hist. p. 485,
B.

Ethelbald, king of Mercia, being desirous to build the church at Croyland with stone, which had formerly been built by St. Guthlac with wood, found the ground so hollow and spongey, as to be unable to bear the weight of a stone building; to remedy this he caused vast piles of oak to be made, and driven down, with a large quantity of solid earth rammed round about them, which was brought in little boats from the uplands, which were nine miles distant; and by this means they completed a firm and solid foundation.

The next thing that falls under our consideration will be the materials that were used by the Anglo-Saxons.

Their large and stately edifices are generally said by historians to have been built with square stones, but those of the inferior sort were only faced at the corners with them.

See Hearne's
Preface to
Leland's
Collec. vol.
i. page 28.
And
Hearne's
Miscell.
Plates of Antiq.
published
by J. Thane

The old part of St. Peter's church at Oxford, which Hearne with great reason supposes to be the original, as built by Grimbald, (in the time of Elfred) is constructed of large square stones, and in the inside are two rows of pillars forming the main arch, and two ayssles nearly as large as the main arch; the arches are semi-circular, and on the capitals of the four front columns are rude antique figures, with ornaments, conforming exactly with such as are constantly met with in the titles of the Saxon MSS. I examined this building when I was last at Oxford, with the greatest attention, and saw that it had been often repaired, and on the outside was growing in many places much more modern. In this, as well as in most Saxon buildings, the windows are very small in proportion to the size of the work.

Vol 1, Description of Brit.
page 85.

Hollingshead (in his Description of Britain) tells us "that of old tyme in our country houses instead of glasse they dyd use much lattis, and that made eyther of fine wicker or riftes of oak in chekerwise. I read also (continues he) that some of the better sorte in and before the tymes of the Saxons, did make panels of horne insteede of glasse, and fix them in wooden calmes, but as horne is quite layde down in every place, so our lattises are grown into less use, because glasse is come to be as plentifull, and within a very littel as good and as cheap as the other." But we are certain, that glazing of windows with glass was in the very early days of the Saxons put in practice. Benedict (as hath been before observed) brought this art with him from Rome, where it had been some time used; as Malmibury affirmeth, "*Vitrearum fenestrarum primus omnium Angliam asciverit.*" And again, "*Neque enim ante Benedictum lapidei tabulatus domus in Britannia nisi perrarò videbantur, neque perspicuitate vitri penetrata lucem ædibus solaris jaciebat radius.*" Mr. Dutens has also proved the antiquity of glass windows, in his learned and curious defence of the antients. Hollingshead continues afterwards to say, that "heretofore also the houses of our princes and noblemen were often glazed with beril, (an example whereof is yet to be seene in Sudley castell) and in divers other places with fine cristall, but this especially in the time of the Romaines, whereof also some fragments have beene taken up in olde ruines, &c."

Wm. of
Malmibury.
de Gest. Reg.
Brit. lib. i.

A comparison between the knowledge of the antients & moderns.

Hol. Des.
Brit.
vide supra

I am inclined to think, that the reason why the windows were so small in the buildings of our ancestors, was from their want of skill, as well as proper furnaces and implements necessary for the making large plates of glass; the small panes being found to be very inconvenient where the windows were large; and from this cause their structures were so dismally dark as to oblige them almost continually to keep candles of wax or lamps burning.

In the buildings of the inferior sort we shall be much at a loss, for such hath been the effects of time, or rather the more destructive hands of the ignorant and sacrilegious wretches, into whose power these venerable structures of our ancestors have fallen, that few of them are left, and of those that are it is very difficult to determine whether they are the actual remains of the original edifice.

It was with great pleasure that I surveyed the small remaining part of an old chapel (dedicated to St. John the Baptist) at Braintree, which from antient record should seem to be of earlier date than the conquest. The principal part of this ruin (now standing) is the east wall, 18 feet high; the chapel was very small, its breadth not exceeding 15 feet, and its length measuring in the inside about 30. The materials of the foundation (which was very strong) were of rough hewn stones, and it was near four feet thick, on which was raised the main walls, composed of rubble stone and cement, about two feet and a half thick, (the stones mixed with the cement seem mostly to be small pebbles, and not the rag flint as was used by the Normans;) at unequal distances there were intermixed with the rubble and cement large square stones, the uncouth appearance of which led me to conclude that they had been since added, till on a strict examination I found, that they in common with the rubble stone had been covered over with a strong plastering, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, nor had they the least appearance of ever having been disturbed till lately; besides, their situation was such, that the whole structure must have been manifestly greatly endangered in placing them there at any other time than at the first building of the chapel. The corners of the walls were ornamented with freestone cut square, as well as the windows, which were very long and narrow. An old man who lived near the spot informed me, that he remembered all the south wall standing quite perfect, and that both it and the east front were ornamented at the top with hewn flint stones, set in between the square stones, in diamond fashion; but these ornaments had been long since taken away, and about ten years ago all the rest fell down, (as it is said) leaving only what has been described standing. But it is mostly believed that the owner pulled it down, for the sake of a few shillings that he got for the materials; and all the rest had doubtless shared the same fate, but that it constitutes the support to some part of the wall of an adjoining cottage. Thus within these few years fell this valuable remnant of antiquity, that had so many ages braved the repeated shocks of time. I have rescued all that remained of it, (in the year 1772) left enveloped in ruin and desolation, the memory of it should be entirely lost, (see the east front of it, pl. 2. fig. 2.)

The Saxons antiently covered in their buildings with slate, but these I apprehend were of the inferior class, for their more magnificent structures are said by authors to have been covered in with lead.

Abbot Terketulus (in the time of Edgar) added large buildings to the monastery of Croyland, for the reception of poor monks, "*Omnia de lignis levigata facta sunt (quia molem lapideam fundamentum debile ferre non suffecit) plumboque cooperta.*"

In the county of Essex.

Ven. Bede
in Vita
Sanc. Cuth-
bert.

Before I take my leave of these old religious edifices, I will transcribe Bede's description of the Monastery built by St. Cuthbert.

Camden's
Brit.

The building was round, four or five perches wide between wall and wall, the wall on the outside was the height of a man, but within it was higher, so made by the sinking a huge rock, which was done to prevent the thoughts from rambling, by restraining the sight, and to keep the mind employed on holy matter, and Heavenly contemplations. The wall was not made of square stone or bricks, nor cemented with mortar; but of rough unpolished stone, with turf dug up in the middle of the place, and banked on both sides of the stones all round. (Some of the stones were so big that four men could hardly lift one of them.) Within these walls he constructed two houses and a chapel, together with a room for common uses. The roofs he made of unhewn timber, and thatched them in. Without the walls he had a larger house, to receive those that should visit him, and not far off a fountain which continually served them with water. Add to this the description of Westminster-Abbey, as it was built by the Confessor, transcribed in Camden from an old MS. The body of the church inroofed with lofty arches of square work, the joints answering one another, but on both sides knit together. Moreover, the cross of the church (made to encompass the middle quoir of the fingers, and by its double support on each side to bear up the lofty top of the middle tower) first rises singly with a low and strong arch, then mounts higher with several winding stairs artificially ascending, and last of all with a single wall reaching to the wooden roof, well covered with lead. This was as it stood before it received those great alterations and enlargements, afterwards made by Henry the Third.

Ibid. p. 318

Of their Domestic Buildings.

It will, I fear be impossible to give a perfect description of their domestic structures, as well from the silence of historians in general on this particular, as from the improbability of meeting with any authentic remains of them. Tacitus of old informs us, that the ancient Germans did not build cities, nor did they suffer their houses to join each other, either from a fear of fire, or from their unskilfulness in building. They wanted not either parget or mortar, for they understood not the use of stones and bricks; their houses were constantly built with timber, rough and unhewn, which they neither squared or wrought into any form. Their walls were diligently (considering their natural inattention to ornaments,) daubed or plastered over with a clear shining earth, on which they made the rude and barbarous tracings of coloured figures. These buildings were thatched over with reeds and rushes, and were chiefly intended as summer residences; for they had also caves dug down into the earth, which were covered with dung; those served both for granaries for their corn, and a place of refuge from the bitter colds of the winter: neither were they useless in the time of war, for in these holes they would skulk and hide themselves from the pursuits of the enemy.

On their first arrival their houses might be but rudely made of stakes and hurdles, thatched with reeds, &c. yet, on their establishment in England, among the various, improvements, those in architecture were not in the least neglected by them; for their churches, palaces, and public structures, we find from
miserable

miserable sheds of wood, and twisted osiers daubed over with clay, are easily traced on to grand and magnificent buildings of stone and bricks: so we may justly conclude that their own habitations improved in proportion, as their notions of grandeur and elegance (joined with the knowledge of useful materials) increased.

By the help of the Saxon delineations, joined with the slight hints left us by some few authors, we may conclude that the frames of their houses were of wood, and the walls plastered. Those of the better sort were faced at the corners with stone or bricks, with which the arches of their windows were also ornamented. They had bricks, which were by no means used in common, but as ornaments only to the better sort of buildings: and the reason may be, that they had not then such ready and convenient methods of making and burning them as we now have; so that the great fatigue and trouble that was necessarily bestowed, might so far enhance their price, that stone (particularly in some parts of the kingdom) might be cheaper, and better for the general use.

The form of the houses were, without doubt, varied according to the fancy of the builder, or desire of the employer. (Plate 1. No. 3.) is the delineation of a Saxon house: the wing A, seems to be wholly constructed either with large bricks or squared stones: the whole of it is well covered in with slates. And (plate 6) which represents the workmen building a house, for I am ashamed almost to call it by any other name; is intended for the building of the Tower of Babel: yet, it however, plainly shews how much their notions and ideas of things were confined to the manners and customs of their own nation.

Of their Regal Courts.

Their regal court was thus held: the king was seated on his throne, habited in his robes of state, a crown on his head, and a scepter in his hand; on his left hand appears his sword-bearer, who was fully armed, and is generally represented standing; though in (plate 8. fig. 1.) which represents Abimelech making a lasting covenant with Abraham, attended by Phicol the chief captain of his host, who perhaps, because he is (in the Sacred Writ) spoken of as a man in great esteem with the king, is represented sitting and covered; or it might be the usual custom with our ancestors, for the chief captain or general, to attend the grand courts, where he might in this manner take his seat on the left hand of the king bearing the naked sword, the symbol of his office.

In (plate 7. fig. 2.) we find the king (in the midst of his court, who are all seated and covered) bearing himself the sword in one hand, and a scepter in the other; for the better explanation of this drawing, let us observe the words of the Sacred Text which relate to it, for it is the representation of Pharaoh king of Egypt, holding a court in honour of his birth-day. "And it came to pass on the third day, which was Pharaoh's birth-day, that he made a feast to all his servants; and on this day he restored the chief butler to his butlership again, but he hanged the chief baker, as Joseph had interpreted to them."

Thus we find, that though only "a feast to all the (king's) servants," is here mentioned, yet the illuminator, knowing it to be common in his own country, that

Gen. ch. 31.
V. 22.

Gen. ch. 40:
verf. 20.

that not only a court, but a grand and splendid one should be held on such an occasion, did not scruple in the least to represent it as such, according to those customs which came immediately under his own knowledge; and here the king himself bears the sword, signifying that as he himself was next to God at the head of justice and equity, so he was ready to receive and protect them that were wrongfully or unlawfully oppressed, and to do them right. The scepter being used instead of the curtana, (or blunt sword of mercy) for we find the king is intended to be represented in the midst of this great meeting of his nobles, administering both justice and mercy, hanging the baker, and restoring the butler.

From these specimens the following conclusions may be drawn.

First, that in the common and more friendly meetings of the king and his nobles, the sword was borne by a knight, or other respectable person, either by proxy for the nobleman whose office it was, or for distinction sake.

Secondly, in the more august assemblies, the peer himself bore it.

And lastly, where the king sat as the chief judge, he then himself took the sword in his right hand, while he held the scepter in his left.

And this we find very clearly demonstrated to have been the usual custom of the nation, from the various and different delineations copied here; and more especially from those copied in the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities. For wherever we find the king granting any particular honour, or finally deciding any cause, he is always represented bearing the sword himself; when on the contrary he is receiving any thing, his attendant bears the sword; and at coronations, together with other solemn assemblies, the sword was borne by the peer whose office it was according to the law of the land; unless the nature of the office of such peer, required double attendance; then some other lord by him deputed, bore it by proxy for him. John of Gaunt, uncle to Richard the Second, at the coronation of that prince, among other claims (which he then made demanded in right of his earldom of Leicester, to be high steward of England; and as duke of Lancaster, to bear the King's chief sword, &c. these petitions being found just, were confirmed to him; and the earl of Derby, his son, by proxy, to bear the sword, while the duke was employed about the other offices as steward.

Plate 8, fig. 3, represents Pharoah in great estate seated on his throne, receiving a visit from the Patriarch Jacob, ushered in by Joseph his son, who was evidently much respected and esteemed by Pharoah. "Go (says he to Joseph) take your father and his household, and come to me and I will give you the good of the land of Egypt." And again, "Regard not your stuff, for the good of all the land of Egypt is yours." And though it is only in the sacred writ expressed, that "Joseph brought in Jacob his father and set him before Pharoah," yet the illuminator has made him sitting, both on account of his age and infirmities; as well as in his special mark of amity, caused him to be seated on the king's right hand. The king holds in his hand a scepter, on the top of which is the representation of a dove, the true emblem of peace and friendship; and this scepter was often used on these occasions by the Saxon kings, inasmuch, that Edward the Confessor, the first who used the broad seal, placed it thereon. And this dove scepter is to this day used, in the coronation of the kings of England. The figure on the outside of the court, (marked A) is most likely the venerable patriarch after his interview with Pharoah, returning to his

Regal &
Ecc. Antiq.
of England.

Nero D. vi.
MS. apud
Bib. Cott.
Regal &
Ecc. Antiq.
of Eng.

Gen. 47. 7.

Ibid. ch. 45.
V. 18. 20.

Speed's
Chron.
and
Dr. Ducar-
rel's Ang-
Norman
Antiq.

his habitation, supporting his aged and feeble body with a staff. In the same plate (8. fig. 2.) we see the representation of a king on horseback with his retinue: it is easy to conclude that the figure behind him is superior to the rest of the followers, not only from his heading the rest, but from his being covered, particularly with the sort of cap worn only by the nobility and chief officers of the realm. He is perhaps the principal captain of guard, or an attendant lord. We are not in the least surprised, at all times to find the king wearing his crown, which we have heard originally was no more than a helmet, or covering for the head, so ornamented for distinction sake.

I once more refer the reader to the delineation described above, where Abraham and Abimelech are confirming the covenant made between them by a solemn oath. "And Abimelech and Phicol, the chief captain of the host, spake unto Abraham, saying, God is with thee in all that thou doest. Now therefore swear unto me here by God, that thou wilt not deal falsely with me, nor with my son, nor with my son's son: but according to the kindness that I have done unto thee, thou shalt do unto me, and to the land wherein thou hast sojourned. And Abraham said, I will swear."—In the delineation the figure of Abraham hath his right hand laid on the stone pillar.—Saxo Gramaticus & Ola. Wormius inform us, that the Danes used at the election of their kings, and other solemn assemblies, to stand upon stones set into the earth, and thence give their votes, tacitly declaring the firmness of the act by the stability of the stones they stood upon. At other times they sat upon stones, or stood by stone pillars. Now as the Saxons and the Danes, with all of those northern nations, originally sprang from the same stock, and nothing differing either in religion or customs from each other, without doubt something of the same manners and ceremonies were preserved by the succeeding branches, the tracings of which are yet to be discovered even among the Christian Saxons. Thus much then seems with them to be remaining of this their antient ceremony, that in taking a sacred and solemn oath, they put their hands upon some firm fixed pillar or stone, as if declaring thereby their oath to be equally firm and inviolable.

Of their Government, Administration, Laws, &c.

The Saxon kings in general acted by the advice of their council; and the laws, if temporal, were made and ratified by the meeting and concordance of the chief lords and people of the realm: but if they were touching ecclesiastical matters, they were referred to the synod, (or meeting of the bishops) whose disputes, together with the king's approbation or dislike, were often laid before the pope for his final determination.

The laws of Ina (king of the West Saxons) were made in a full convocation; or assembly of the principal peers, &c. of the kingdom. The preamble runs thus,

Ice Ine mid Eodes Lype West Seaxna cýning mid gebeaht 7 mid læne Cen-
neber minre Fader. 7 þeoder minre byrceoper 7 Encenpales minre byrceoper.
7 mid eallum minum Ealdrmannum 7 þam ylðerstan pítan minre þeode. 7 eac
mýcelne romnuge Eoder þeopena: þar smeazende be þære þæle urna rapla. 7 be
þam stæþole ureþ riceþ. 7 nýht æpe. 7 nýht cýnedomas. purh ure polc gepærte-
node. 7 getrýmmes pæpon. 7 næ nuz Ealdrmannna. ne ur underge þeodenþra
æfter þam. þære apendende þar ure Domas.

A seal
of Edward
the Confess.
in possession
of T. Astle,
Esq;
See pl. 8.
fig. 1. the
figure of
Phicol, &
pl. 7. fig. 2.
the figures of
the Court of
Pharaoh.
Plate 8, fig.
1.

Gen. chap.
xxi. ver. 22,
23, & 24.

Saxo Gram.
Ola. Worm.

I Ina, by God's gift, West Saxon king, with the council, and with the doctrine of Cenred my father, and Heddes my bishop, and Ercenwald my bishop, and with all my aldermen and those antient and learned of my people; and also a great congregation of God's servants; when it was then considered of for the health of our souls, and for the supporting our kingdom, that right laws and right judgments might be to all our dominions; and they were thus compleated; and henceforth no alderman, nor any of my subjects after him, shall dare to prejudice or change these our judgments.*

Justice was administered by magistrates, appointed in each particular town or city for that purpose; and the kings themselves generally (in times of peace) rode alternately from town to town through each province, to see that a due and impartial regard was paid to the laws and constitutions of the kingdom by each particular magistrate. Edwine, king of Northumberland, used to ride from city to city, and from province to province, with his retinue, (in time of peace) to administer justice. So also did Edgar, who punished with the greatest severity those magistrates that he found either partial or neglectful of their duty.

Ven. Bede
Ecc. Hist.
lib. 2. cap.
16.

Wm. of
Malmesbury,
Gest. Reg.
Ang. lib. 2.

Polydore
Virgil.

Holling-
thead, p. 304

But how the magistrates of each particular province administered justice, whether they had the sole power invested in themselves, or how extensive their power might be, historians have not recorded. Polydore Virgil and others have imagined, that the jury of twelve was first instituted under the government of the Saxons; but Hollingthead, who attributes this institution to the Normans, writes thus, "There may be *some* perhaps (as Polydore Virgil saith) that will mayneteyne how this manner of proceeding in the administration of justice by the voices of a jurie, was in use before the conquerours dayes, but they are not able so to prove it by any antient recordes of writers, as he thynketh; albeit by some of our histories they shoulde seeme to bee firste ordeyned by Ethelred or Egelred."

Bede Ecc.
Hist. lib. 2.
chap. 15.

Wm. of
Malmesbury,
lib. 2. cap. 4

But be their particular methods of justice what they would, it is most certain that the greatest order was kept up, as well as the strictest regard paid to the laws of the kingdom. Edwine caused ladles or cups of brass to be fastened to the clear springs and wells, for the refreshment of the passengers; and such was the good order preserved in the kingdom, that none dared to touch them but for their present use. And in the time of Elfred, a virgin might go from one end of the kingdom to another without the least lett or molestation; and bracelets of gold were hung by the way side, yet none were so hardy as to take them away.

One of their methods of punishing offenders, was to put them into a double (or rather split) piece of pliant wood, which was bent round them, and fastened at the top, (from whence doubtless came our present pillory, see plate 15, fig. 5.) and while the prisoner was thus confined, he was whipped with a scourge of three cords, each having a large knot at the end of it. I cannot trace out for certainty of what magnitude the crime was, for expiation of which this punishment was assigned. The crime must have been very great and enormous that reached the life of the offender (especially if he were rich) for murder and many other great offences, they bought themselves off with paying a fine, greater or less
in

* *Galdop* so written in our antient language, is properly as *Elder* or *Senior*, yet an *Galdopman*, which we now call an *Alderman*, was such in effect among our ancestors, as was *Tribunus Plebis* with the Romans, (i. e.) Governor of the common people, and protector of their rights. Velft. p. 326.

in proportion to the quality of the person slain, except women that killed their husbands, who were burnt alive; and traitors also were generally put to death. For theft (if a man had not wherewithal to pay the stipulated fine) he forfeited his hand or his foot, which were to be cut off. Some were also hanged on a gallows, * (plate 15, fig. 6.)

Which law
is yet in
force.

The exact time that England was divided into shires and counties is not known, but authors in general have attributed to Ælfred the first making these divisions: (and it is certain according to the authority of Ingulphus, that he made more particular divisions in his kingdom than any king who had gone before him) yet, some learned men have (with the greatest justice) disputed this point, and by no means allow Ælfred to have been the first that divided his kingdom; for Matthew of Westminster tells us, that Offa reigned over twenty-three provinces, and Edwine rode from city to city, and province to province, &c. Many other authentic matters may be found to prove some divisions made in the particular kingdoms, long before those made more perfect by Ælfred.

Ingulph.
Ab. Monast.
Croy.

Flores Hist.
page 788.

Bede

Manors were given, grants and conveyances made, and held good, (without writing) by the donor's confirming his promise by gift of his sword, or his head piece: nay even the most trifling matters says Ingulphus, as a drinking horn, a bow, an arrow, a spur, or even a quill, or a curry comb. Speed tells us, that Offa king of the East Angles, sent a ring from Port George, to Edmund son of Alkmund, adopting him his successor by that token. Their written charters were also confirmed with the donor's name, and a cross of gold. These customs the Normans quite abolished, introducing seals of wax, signed with the signet or seal of the donor, or impressed with some mark, as Stow affirms in his copy of the charter of lands, given by the conqueror to the Norman hunter, one of the last lines of which runs thus;

Ingulph.
Hist. p. 512.
cap.
Speed
Chron.

Stow ex. lib.
Richmond.

“ To witnesse this is toothe,
“ I bite the white waxe with my toothe.”

The common current coin of the Saxons were pennies of silver, which were very thin and flat, most of them have the head of the king at whose command they were made, rudely stamped upon them, surrounded by the name; and on the reverse is generally found a cross, with the name of the coiner, or city where it was coined. Mr. John White, in Newgate Street, (who has a most curious and capital collection of British and Saxon coins) favoured me with a sight of both copper, and gold coins of the Saxons; these last are esteemed as very great rarities.

Navigation of the SAXONS.

It has already been observed that the antient Saxons were great sailors, living chiefly by their piracies and plunder; and the slight construction of their vessels, has already been shewn. On their first arrival into England, they all came in three long ships, which Verstegan informs us they themselves called Keeler,

G

Bede Ecc.
Hist. lib. 1.
cap. 15.
Verstegan p.
126, con-
firmed also
by John
Pomarius

* For further information concerning the crimes and punishments of malefactors, together with the fines to be paid, see the laws of Ina, Ælfred, Athelstan, and Edgar, &c. at the latter end of the Latin and Saxon edition of Bede's Ecclesiast. Hist.

and that their number was 9000 men, 3000 to each ship. But this is improbable, if not impossible, unless their ships were built of different materials from those of the Saxons described by Lucan and other authors.

See page 22.

Speed
Chron. 349

William
Malmſbury
lib. 2.

On their settlement in Britain they began to improve their navy from time to time: and though it may be justly observed, that we do not read of any very memorable actions performed by the Anglo-Saxons on the sea, yet we often find their kings fitting and sending out fleets of ships, to curb the power of the pirates, as well Danes as others, who often landed and ravaged the sea coasts. The royal navy of Edgar is said to have amounted to the number of 3600 ships, which he divided into three parts, and sent them to three several stations, that they might scour the seas, and secure the coasts: he himself would also in the summer, sail with the fleet of one station to the other, and so back again, going alternately to every different station; by which means the sea was kept clear from pirates, and the kingdom greatly strengthened.

Plate 9. fig. 1. represents the form and construction of a more improved ship of the Saxons (sometime before the Norman conquest) when they began to build with planks of wood, and deck them over. The stern is richly ornamented with the head and neck of a horse: the two bars which appear at the stern, were for the steering of the ship, instead of a rudder: on the middle near the mast is erected the cabin (in the form of a house) for the commodious reception of the passengers: the keel runs from the stern, still growing broader, and broader to the prow or head of the ship, which comes gradually decreasing up to a point, for the more ready cutting the water in the ship's course. When the vessel had received her full burthen, she was sunk, at least, to the top of the third (nailed) board; so that the prow itself was nearly, if not quite immersed in the water. Over the prow is a projection, which I at first imagined (like those strong bars of iron at the heads of the Roman vessels) was used in running with great force against the sides of the enemy's ship; but in the delineation we see the end of the prow comes still further out, which would of course strike first and prevent the desired effect of this machine; its shape also (which is crooked) is very badly calculated to sustain the shock of such a violent stroke as would be necessary. It was, perhaps, either for the convenient fastning of the ship's rigging, or to hold the anchor: the sail being furl'd up, we cannot so well judge of the method used to fasten and work it while the ship was under way: but from its present appearance, it may very justly be concluded that it was managed in the same manner with those of the Normans, which were of very little use, except when the ship went before the wind. It should seem that this was a sailing vessel only, for there are no holes or places made for the using of oars. The length of this ship does not bear the least proportion to the height; so that unless the breadth was more answerable, it was impossible for it to weather up a side wind. But I think the vessel ought to have been made longer, and that either the illuminator who was confined by the breadth of the MS. (being willing to give in on as large a scale as possible,) was obliged to make it too short; or else too ill skilled in the knowledge of proportion to be thoroughly acquainted with his error: unless we suppose that having finished his outline, he thought it too much trouble to do it entirely over again.

See the ac-
counts of
the Nor-
man navi-
gation &
the life of
Offa, No. 42

William
Malmſ. de
Geſt. Reg.
Ang. lib. 2.
cap. 6.

The Saxons were very magnificent in the appearances of their royal vessels; king Athelstan had one (which was presented to him by Harold king of Norway) whose head was wrought with gold, the sails were purple, and the deck was elegantly

elegantly gilt all round with gold. Earl Goodwin to appease the anger of Har-
dicnute (who accused him as being accessory to the murder of his brother) pre-
sented to him a ship, the head of which was richly made and wrought with gold,
as was also the rigging and furniture: within it were contained eighty soldiers,
whose garments and arms were also ornamented with gold, and each of them
had two golden bracelets on either arm, (weighing 16 ounces) the helmets on
their heads were also richly gilt with gold; and round their waists each man
had girded a rich sword, whose hilt was of massy gold; and every man had a
Danish ax on his left shoulder, and in his right hand he held a lance, called in
English *Hateger*.

Flores Hist.

Besides these rich habiliments, Mat. of Westminster adds a triple coat of
mail wrought in gold, to each man, with a shield embossed with gold, and or-
namented with nails richly gilt.

They had also boats and other small craft. The boats used at the building the
monastery of Croyland, are, by Ingulphus called *scaphis*, and Matthew of Westm.
only give the name of *naviculum* to the boat or barge in which Edgar was
rowed up the river Dee. Ingulphus.
Matt. West.

The haven where ships were first built in Britain, is generally reported to have
been at Sandwich. See Somner's
Ports & Forts.

Husbandry, &c. of the Anglo-Saxons.

We find of old that the Germans not only hated, but held it a disgrace to
till their lands, or provide by honest industry for the support of their lives: Tacitus
"they committed, (says Tacitus) the care of cultivating their lands to the old
and feeble, whose decrepid age prevented their attendance on the wars; and also
to their women. Tacitus
Descript.
Germ.

The only grain that they cared about was barley, with which they made
their drink: but (continues he) those that live on the banks of the Rhine have
wine.

On their settlement in Britain, more especially on the flourishing of christi-
anity, their minds became more polished and improved; they then began indus-
triously to manure and cultivate the ground, occupying of farms, sowing care-
fully their grain, and grazing and keeping of cattle: their sheep also they sheered
at the proper season, and dressed the wool; which, being first spun, was wove
into sumptuous garments and clothing. See the Laws
of Ina, &c.

The better to explain their rural improvements, we will go regularly through
with the months, as they follow; see plate 10, 11, and 12.

January, exhibits the husbandman in the field at plough, while his attendant Pl. 10. fig. 1.
diligently following his steps, is sowing the grain.

February, the grain being put into the earth, the next care was to prune
their trees, crop their vines, and place them in order. Ibid. fig. 2.

March, then we follow them into the garden, where the industrious labourer
is digging up the ground and sowing the vegetables for the ensuing season. Ibid. fig. 3.

April, now taking leave of the laborious husbandman, we see the nobleman
regaling with his friends, and passing this pleasant month in carousings, banquet-
ings, and music. Ibid. fig. 4.

May, brings the lord into the field to examine his flock, and superintend the
shearing of the sheep. Pl. 11. fig. 1.

June

Pl. 11, fig. 2. *June*, with this month comes the gladsome time of harvest, here are some cutting down the corn, while it is by others bound up in sheaves and laid into the carts, to be conveyed to the barns and granaries; in the mean time they are spirited up to their labours, by the shrill sound of the enlivening horn *.

Ibid. fig. 3. *July*, here we find them employed in lopping the trees and falling of timber, &c. See also a man chopping of wood, (plate 13, fig. 6).

Ibid. fig. 4. *August*, In this month they cut down the barley, with which they made their old and best beloved drink.

Pl. 12, fig. 1. *September*, here we find the lord attended by his huntsmen, pursuing and chasing the wild boars in the woods and forests.

Ibid. fig. 2. *October*, and here he is amusing himself with the exercise of that old and noble pastime, *hawking*.

Ibid. fig. 3. *November*, this month returns us again to the labourers, who are here heating and preparing their utensils. See also a blacksmith (plate 7, fig. 3.)

Ibid. fig. 4. *December*, in this last month we find them thrashing out the grain, while some winnow (or rather sift) it to free it from the chaff; and others carry it out in large baskets to the granaries proper for its reception; in the mean time the steward (or superintendant) keeps an account of the quantity, by means of an indented or notch'd stick.

Their principal grain was barley, yet they by no means neglected the proper cultivation of wheat, of which their best bread was made; though many have supposed that their bread was chiefly made of barley-meal. Their barley drink, or *ale*, was held in great estimation with them. I know it has been by some authors affirmed, that though the English had wine, yet they did not grow it themselves, neither did they trouble themselves about the cultivation of vines, or planting vineyards.

Camden. *Probus* (the Roman emperor) first gave the Britons permission to plant and cultivate vines, not only for their pleasure, but also for their use and profit: they had also wine of their own making, as had the Saxons in after times.

Ecc. Hist. "Vineas etiam quibusdam in locis germinans, &c." says the venerable Bede.
Lib. 1. cap. 1. And William of Malmesbury, speaking in praise of Gloucestershire, adds, "This
Lib. 4. de county is also famous for its vineyards, the wines that are grown here have a
Pont. tartness not at all unpleasant, being little inferior in sweetness to the French wines, for the grapes are sweeter here than in any other county in England."

And says Stow, "At Windsor Park, as well as in other parts of England, they grew vines and made wine:" then he quotes an old M S. roll, at that time extant in the exchequer of honour at the gate house of the castle: "In which (says he) among other things, is to be seene the yeerely account of the charges of the planting of vines; that in the time of Richard the second, which grew in great plenty within the little parke, as also of the wine itself, whereof some part was spent in the king's house, and some part sold to his profit; the tithes whereof

* Their harvest seems to come very early. In January they are sowing the corn, and in June beginning to reap it. I am apt to think that the illuminator has ignorantly misplaced this and the following month, for at the latter end of July harvest is often known to have been begun, and sometimes very forward: besides in the time of harvest, there is no opportunity for them to take off the men to fall timber, which generally is done before harvest at present, and this mistake might easily happen, for it was seldom the same person who wrote the M S. that illuminated it; that being generally done by people who made it their sole employment.

whereof were payed to the abbot of Waltham, then parson both of Old and New Windfore." See an antient wine press of the Saxons, plate 7, fig. 1.

In these early days there was but a small part of the land cultivated for the growth of corn, according to Stow, who tells us, that "the English people might have been said to be rather graziers, than plowmen; for almost three parts of the kingdom were set apart for cattle." Stow's Chron.

The next subject that falls under our consideration is wheel carriages, the first of which is a four wheel'd hammock (plate 9, fig. 2.) contrived only for the convenient conveyance of people: from the simplicity of it, it may justly enough be esteemed as the first invention of coaches, and (excepting that the person who rides therein were rather confined for room) I should fancy it were both easy and convenient: this carriage is always set apart for the use of the principal personages, the commoner sorts always riding in carts. When Joseph went out to meet his father it is expressly said, that "He made ready his chariot," so at this meeting which is represented in the M S. he is put into one of these vehicles, while Jacob his father is in a cart; it is called *caræt*, in the M S. Joseph *gegeapode his caræt*,) and *Joseph made ready his chariot*: as the drawing is so very perfect, I leave it to the reader's own conception without any further description, only I will add, that the antient Saxons made great use of leather, as well for the cloathing of the meaner sort of people, as for the covering of their boats; and it may not be improbable but that the body of this chariot might be made of strong hides well sewed together. Add to this the carts (plate 9, fig. 3.) and also those of (plate 11.) together with a man digging (plate 7. fig. 4.) and the utensils of husbandry, &c. in this miscellaneous plate, all of which need no other description than what is given of the plates in general. Gen. 46. v. 29. M S. apud. Bib. Cot. Infig. Claud. B. 4.

Domestic Employment, Habits, &c.

The Saxons were great enemies to sloth: those things that they had were such as was absolutely necessary to supply their natural wants, and not in the least calculated for the encouragement of idleness and indulgence. Plate 13, fig. 2. exhibits a bed of a very simple construction, it seems to be nothing more than a thick boarded bottom, the covering is very thin, and the pillows stiff and hard; in short, from the view of the whole together, ease was but little considered. This (though so rude in appearance) being a royal bed, is ornamented with curtains, which are fastened to the top, but they had also others that slid with rings on an iron rod. The leisure hours of the women (even of better rank) were spent in spinning, and such like servile employments; neither was it any dishonour for the *pleap-bien*, or lady of the house to be among her maids, helping them and performing the duties of the household in common with them, while the *plapopb**, or lord, was with his men assisting and overlooking them; many instances of which may be brought to prove the antient simplicity and plainness of their manners. Tacitus. Verstegan. Decayed Antiq. 316.

I own

**plapopb* according to Verstegan in the Saxon language implies a provider, or afforder of bread, signifying justly the lord or master of the house, who provides the necessaries for his family, while the *pleap-bien*, or bread-giver, distributes it out as it is wanted: in which office the lady yet (with us) officiates, when she sits at the upper end of the table, giving forth the bounty of her lord to the surrounding guests.

Ingulphus
Ab. Croy.

I own myself much delighted with the account left us by Ingulphus, of Edgitha queen to Edward the confessor. "I have often seen her (says he) while I was yet a boy, when my father was at the king's palace, and as I came from school, when I have met her, she would examine me in my learning, and from grammar she would proceed to logic, (which she also understood) concluding with me in the most subtle argument, then causing one of her attendant maids to present me with three or four pieces of money I was dismissed, being sent to the larder where I was sure to get some eatables;" which plainness would but ill suit the refinement of this more polished age; this honest national simplicity has been with scorn put forth, to make room for the insincere compliments, and foolish fopperies of a giddy rival people.

The Dress and Habits of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

The kings and nobles, when in their state dress, were habited in a loose coat which reached down to their ancles, and over that, a long robe fastened over both shoulders, on the middle of the breast, with a clasp or buckle. These buckles (as may be seen by the different Saxon figures) vary greatly in their form, being sometimes round and sometimes oblong, which last seem to be the ornamental and distinguishing part of the dress of kings and noblemen; for they are only seen to be worn by them, and never appear but when the garment was fastened on the middle of the breast, which is also a distinction used by the nobility. One of these round ones, which was lately dug up in Kent, I have now in my possession, the representation of which is in (plate ^{* 23. R. J.} 22, fig. 19.) the exact size of the original, which is of silver: in the middle, formerly I suppose, there had been set a precious stone, which time has robbed us of; the rim that surrounds it was gilt, and the four small round holes were ornamented with pearls, the other four small squares were gilt at the bottom, and over that gilding in each of them was set a piece of chrystal, which with the gilding is yet perfectly preserved: the other opposite view is the back, shewing how the tongue or clasp of the buckle was fastened; it went with a spring and caught in the hook, exactly similar to the *fibula* of the Romans. It was found in a small barrow in an urn, together with some beads of chrystal.

The edges and bottom of their coats, as well as of their robes, were often trimmed with a broad gold edging, or else flowered with different colours.

The soldiers and common people wore close coats, reaching only to the knee, and a short cloak over their left shoulder, which buckled on the right; this cloak was often trimmed with an edging of gold. The kings and nobles also in common, were habited in a dress very similar to this, only richer and more elegant. See perfect drawings of the close coat, (plate 15, fig. 7 and 8.) which are thus drawn in the M S. to represent the coat of Joseph, brought by his brethren (after they had sold him) to Jacob their father. From the form of it, it appears to have been put on over the head like a shirt; the bottom edge of these garments were also ornamented in various manners according to history; those of the richer sort were adorned with pearls and pretious stones: it was by them called *tunican*, for when the brothers present it to Jacob, they say, *par tunican pe pundon. This tunican we found.*

Gen. chap.
37. ver. 32.

The

The women were habited in a long loose robe reaching down to the ground, and large loose sleeves; besides this, they added a hood (or vail) over the head, which falling down before, was wrapped round the neck with great order; their robe was often ornamented with broad borders of different colours, as well at the knees, as at the bottom, &c. Verstegan contradicts their wearing linen in general, but does not give any satisfactory reason for so thinking: but however, certain it is, that if they did, it was commonly dyed of different colours, for white is seldom seen in the coloured illuminations of the Saxons. The women do not appear to have any other covering for their heads than the vail, or hoods; but the men wore caps which came to a point before; perhaps they might be made of the skins of some beasts dressed with the fur part turned outward.

Both men and women wore shoes or rather slippers, the pointed shoes said by Verstegan to have been worn by them, are not seen in any delineation whatever; the legs of the men were covered half-way up with a kind of bandage wound round, or else a strait stocking reaching above the knee; while the commoner sort went naked-legged, and often bare-footed: they also wore a sort of boots which were curiously ornamented at the top.

(Plate 15, fig. 1,) represents the interview between Judah and Tamar his daughter in law, who is in the disguise of an harlot. Judah promised to send her a kid from his flock, and as pledges for the performances of his promise, he (at her desire) left with her his *ring*, his *bracelet*, and his *staff*. In the MS. it runs thus: *Sæpæth heo þinne hƿung 7 þinne beah 7 þinne reaf þe þu on hana hæfste. Leave (said she) thy ring, thy bracelet, and thy staff, that thou hast in thy hand.* In the process of time, Tamar being pregnant, it was told to Judah that his daughter in law had played the harlot, on which he commanded her to be brought forth and burnt; but she then sent him his pledges that were left with her, which she had carefully kept; these tokens being known to him, he remembered that 'twas herself (whom he supposed to be the harlot) who met him by the way side. (Plate 15, fig. 2,) represents the servants bringing the pledges to Judah. This bracelet exactly corresponds with one that I lately saw, which was dug up in the eastern part of Kent. It was of massy gold, and big enough to be put upon the arm (up to the shoulder) of a middling sized man. There is no doubt but that it was an ornament for the men, as it is here shewn as the bracelet of Judah, as well as from the size of it. Wm. of Malmesbury tells us, that Ælfred caused bracelets to be hung by the way side; and the soldiers who were in the ship presented to Hardicnute by Goodwin, had two bracelets of gold on each arm, weighing 16 oz. (here I should note, that the weight of this is exactly 8 oz. and $\frac{1}{2}$.) Malmesbury also, complaining of the luxury of the English in the time of the Confessor, tells us, that "they adorned their arms with massie bracelets of gold." But what is very extraordinary is, that though this bracelet is here so well represented, and with such exactness, yet it is difficult in any other delineation to find any certain resemblance of it, so as to determine its situation on the wearer, unless we judge from the servants wearing his ring as he ought on his finger, that he also wears the bracelet in its proper place; if so, we may very reasonably conclude, that those appearances of borders at the end of the sleeves of the kings, nobles, &c. (which are generally in the MSS. of a different colour from the garment) may be designed to represent these golden ornaments.

Neither the men nor the women appear to have any particular dress set apart for riding, but go always in their usual habit. They had saddles to their horses and

Decay'd
Ant.

Gen. chap.
xxxviii. ver.
12, et infra.
Ring or Sig-
net in the
Sacred Text.

Gest. Reg.
Ang. lib. 3.

and stirrups; they had also spurs, though they are often represented riding without either, (plate 8, fig. 34.) The rowel to the spur does not by any means appear to be known at this time; most probably the Saxons were the first that brought spurs into England, and that this is the first invention of them, being only a single point, (plate 8, fig. 2.) The rowel does not appear in any delineation till the latter end of the thirteenth century, (see the life of Offa.) The women rode sideways as they do at present, having a whip or scourge of three strings, with a knot at the end of each, (plate 17, fig. 7.)

In the Norman Era.

The men always were armed with their spears, after the old custom of their ancestors: and that love of their arms still continued amongst them; for the old warrior Earl Siward, (in the time of Edward the Confessor) finding himself at the point of death, caused his armour to be brought, and his attendants to dress him in it, saying, "It was dishonourable for a soldier to die like a woman on a bed."

Wm. of Malmfbury.

Of the Banquets of the Anglo-Saxons, Music, Pastimes, &c.

Wm. of Malmfbury.

Tacitus tells us of the Old Saxons, that at their banquets their diet was rude, and when they sat down to table, every man had his mess to himself: their drink was made of barley, corrupted (says he) into a likeness of wine; and their meats were simple, as wild apples, fresh venison, curds and cream, &c.

In almost all of the Saxon delineations, where they are represented at meat, the table being decently covered with a clean cloth, we see that a cup of horn is presented to every one, which may contain some pottage or soup, or their barley drink. In the delineation copied (plate 16, fig. 1.) there are three noble personages represented at table, who are served by two attendants on their knees: in the middle dish there is a fish lying, and the figure on the right also holds one in his left hand, and a knife in his right; the other opposite figure to the left is employed in cutting something that is presented to him by the attendant. I must own I cannot conceive any other idea of it, than that it is a spit, with a piece of roasted meat, which the abovementioned figure is cutting from it into a plate that is also held by the servant under it.

The round things which appear on the table, together with those bits that are broken, are done to represent the cakes of bread. The knife and spoon that lie near the middle figure, are perfect enough; but what those two bowls on each side contain, I am at a loss to know, unless it is some boiled meat brought on to the table with soup, which may be the reason of having such deep dishes; and indeed the spoon being on the table, may be thought in some measure to confirm this opinion.

The middle figure seems going to drink, and is addressing himself to the figure next him, who appears to be answering of him.

Verstegan.

The old health by historians reported to have been drank by Rowena (the daughter or niece of Hengest) to Vortegren, (king of the Britons) was after this fashion: She came into the room where the king and his guests were sitting, *(with a cup in her hand)* making a low obeisance to ~~him~~ ^{the king}, she said, Waer heal, Hlapod Cinning, *(be of health lord king)* then having drank, she presented it on her knees to the king, who (being told the meaning of what she had said, together with the custom) took the cup, saying Opunc heal, *(I drink your health)* and drank also.

The

The old manner of pledging each other when they drank was thus : the person who was going to drink asked any one of the company that sat next him, whether he would pledge him, on which, he answering that he would, held up his knife or sword to guard him whilst he drank, (for while a man is drinking, he necessarily is in an unguarded posture, exposed to the treacherous stroke of some hidden or secret enemy.) This custom, as it is said, first took rise from the death of young king Edward, (called the Martyr) son to Edgar, who was by the contrivance of Elfrida his stepmother, traiterously stabbed in the back as he was drinking. The above delineation seems perfectly well to agree with the reported custom ; the middle figure is addressing himself to his companion, who tells him that he pledges him, holding up his knife in token of his readiness to assist and protect him.

William

Malmbsury

There is on the table (plate 16, fig. 2,) an oblong square dish or plate, together with a round one, and by the bowl there lies a large spoon, (or rather a ladle) from whence it is not an unlikely conclusion to make, that the bowl itself should be filled with broath or pottage.

In fig. 3, (of the same plate) there is the head of an animal in the bowl, which often occurs in the antient delineations of feasts, and most generally appears to be the head of a boar dressed whole. There also stands another bowl upon the table, which is filled with apples, or such like fruit ; the rest must be left to the conjectures of the learned readers.

Regal and

Eccle. Ant.

of Eng. pl. 2.

By most authors we are told, that the northern nations were much addicted to hard drinking, which may be the reason that at their banquets they seem much better provided with drinking horns than with plates and dishes, especially if all those vessels which are generally held by every one of the guests, are set aside for drinking only. It was among the antient Germans (says Tacitus) no disgrace for them to be sitting day and night both carousing and drinking : and such great drinkers were the Danes (who were in England in the time of Edgar) and so much did their bad examples prevail with the English, that he, by the advice of Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, put down many ale-houses, suffering only one to be in a village or small town ; and he also further ordained, that pins or nails should be fastened into the drinking cups and horns, at stated distances, and whosoever should drink beyond those marks at one draught, should be obnoxious to a severe punishment.

Descript.
German.

Wm. of

Malmbsury.

Hardicnute is reported to have been so great a glutton, that he had his table furnished four times in the day, in a most costly manner : and we read that Ercombert, because the people were much given to excess, commanded that the forty days of Lent should be strictly kept. The monks in general, in the earlier time, were not permitted to drink either wine or ale. When Ceowulf, king of Northumberland, (following the example of many others,) zealously quitted his crown for a cowl, he permitted the monks of Landisfarn, where he had taken his residence, to drink both ale and wine ; whereas bishop Aydan, the first founder, prescribed only water and milk.

Speed
Chron.

It appears by the drawings that the Anglo-Saxons chiefly boiled their meat : Having killed the animal, and cut it into pieces, it was put into a large kettle, which was set on a trivet of three legs, over the fire made on the earth, they stirred it and took it out with a hook or fork, which had two prongs that were turned horizontally to the handle, (see plate 17, fig. 2.)

H

Their

Their Musical Instruments, &c.

Besides the horn and the *cornicinus* or trumpet before mentioned, they played on two flutes, (like the Romans) and this they accompanied with a lyre of four strings, which was beat with a small instrument for that purpose, and to this music they danced, (plate 17, fig. 4.) They also excelled in their performance upon the harp; by which means Alfred, in disguise of an harper, got admission into the Danish camp, where, while he pleased them with his music, he discovered their designs and negligence, and by this means he gave them a total overthrow: which same trick was by Anlaff (the Dane) retorted (some years afterwards) on the Saxons; for coming to their camp in the same disguise, he met with the same reception, and departed undiscovered: though 'tis said that a soldier, who had formerly served Anlaff, knew him, and after his departure made it known to Athelstan, who reproving the soldier for the neglect of his duty, in permitting so dangerous an enemy to escape, was thus answered by the soldier, "I once served Anlaff, under his pay, for a soldier, and gave him the same faith that I have now done unto you, and if I had then betrayed him, what trust could you have reposed in my truth? Let him die, if such be his fate, but not through my treachery; yet now he is escaped, secure yourself from danger, and remove your tent, lest he should assail you unawares." Which spirited and honest answer of this faithful soldier, greatly recommended him to the king's favour.

Speed
Chron.

And one in
the time of
Henry VII.
in the 2d.
vol.

* See Description
of the Plates.

They accompanied the harp with the *cornicinus* and violin; the strings were screwed up with the four pegs set horizontal at the end of the nut, (plate 19.) This violin has only four strings, but another (plate 32 of the Norman æra) drawn about the time of Henry the Second, has five; and there are others in the second volume that have only three. * As to the figure (on the present plate) opposite to him, that is playing the violin, with the knives and balls, I cannot possibly make the least discovery of what he is doing, whether they were thus thrown up, and caught alternately one on the other, to chime in with the music, or to answer the beating of time; and perhaps they made use of knives to shew their great dexterity in catching. There is also an old lyre on the last miscellaneous plate 21. fig. 8. of the Saxons, together with several other musical Instruments; for the account of them, which is taken from the MS. see the general description of the plates; but so very imperfect do the drawings appear to me, that I fear their use will not very readily be discovered.

Wm. of
Malmibury,
de Pontibus.

The organ was also used among the Saxons; for Wm. of Malmibury tells us, that archbishop Dunstan erected one in the time of Edgar at Glastenbury, in honour of St. Adhelm.—"Et organa ubi per areas fistulas musicis mensuris elaboratus," &c.

Their Sports and Pastimes.

Def. Germ.

Their sports and pastimes (says Tacitus) speaking of the ancient Germans, are the same at every assembly, that is, young men tutored for that purpose, who cast themselves naked between swords and lances set up at certain distances.

And

And (continues he) so remarkably fond are they of dice, and play at it with such earnestness, that they frequently stake their liberty on the hazard of the game ; when the loser enters into a voluntary servitude, suffering himself to be bound and sold, though he be superior both in strength and age to his antagonist. But whether these customs were continued among the Anglo-Saxons, cannot well be determined ; yet they, like their ancestors, were most remarkably fond of hunting and hawking. The pretence made use of by the Danish leaders, MS. of Lid- Hinguar and Hubba, for invading and ravaging the coasts of England, was, that gate. one Lothbrock (their father) amusing himself with his hawk near the sea shore ; in pursuit of some game the hawk fell into the sea, which to recover he took a little boat, and put forth from shore ; when a tempest suddenly arising, he was driven out to sea, and after having narrowly escaped drowning, was driven ashore on the coast of Norfolk, where he was well received by Edmund, then king of the East Angles ; who conceiving a great esteem for him, but especially because of his great skill in managing the hawks, and hawking, insomuch, that *Berick*, the king's falconer, being greatly envious and jealous of him, slew him privately in a wood, where his body was discovered by means of his favourite spaniel ; and Berick being convicted of the murder, was condemned to be put into the same boat in which Lothbrock came, without rudder, oars, or sail, and so left to the mercy of the waves ; but fate conducted him to the very port from whence Lothbrock had first put to sea, where he being known, was seized by the Danes, but to free himself from punishment he accused his master, king Edmund, of being the sole contriver (if not the perpetrator) of this cruel murder ; in revenge of which Hinguar and Hubba, the sons of the deceased Lothbrock, brought a great army into England, where proving victorious over the forces of king Edmund, himself was taken prisoner, and shot to death with arrows, &c.

Antient History of Burials.

Before I enter into the description of the funeral ceremonies, and manner of interment of the antient English nation, it will be necessary for the fuller explanation of them, to go back to histories far more remote, and trace out these ceremonies from their first origin, or at least, as nearly as possible, considering the great confusion of the materials ; and this, at least, may throw some light on the uncertain state they now are in, if not fix a sure criterion, by which we may nearly ascribe each different relick in this kingdom, to its respective nation and constructors.

The most ancient way of burying, because the most simple, was that of committing the body to the earth without either embalming or burning ; in holy writ we find the patriarchs thus burying their dead, without the least mention made of any further ceremony till the death of Jacob, who went down into Egypt, and died there, and his body was at the command of Joseph, embalmed. The method of embalming among the Egyptians, arose from a belief, that as long as the body endured uncorrupted, so long the soul continued with it : and Servius also declares that "hence the Egyptians skilful in science, do keep the body

Gen. chap.
50. ver. 2.
Greaves's
Descrip. of
pyramids.

Serv. Com. body embalmed, that the soul may longer continue by the uncorrupted remains.*
 in *Æneid*. On the contrary, the Greeks and Romans, with other nations, supposed that while the body of the deceased remained unburied, the soul was continually wandering about restless and disturbed." And for this reason they committed the dead bodies to the earth, and performed the funeral obsequies as soon as they conveniently could. The Persians are said to have exposed the bodies of their dead on towers erected for that purpose, where they might be devoured by the birds of prey; lest they should defile or pollute the elements, which they held sacred, and esteemed those that any ways polluted them, worthy, not only of death in this world, but of the severest torments in the next.

Herbert's
 Travels into
 the East.
 Ant. Uni-
 versal Hist.
 v. 5. 166.

Sophocles
 Tragedy of
 Ajax Act 5.
 Scene 1st.

Plutarch in
 the Life of
 Solon.

The Greeks originally buried their dead, for Teucrus (in the last act of Ajax a tragedy of Sophocles) preparing to inter the corps of Ajax, says, "some quickly make a deep grave, others put the tripod over the fire to prepare the sacred washings for the dead body. And Solon, in the argument which he brought to justify the Athenians right to the isle of Salamis, against their competitors the Megarensians, declares that the bodies there buried, were after the Athenian fashion, that is, the carcass turned to the East, and a single sepulchre for every one; whereas, the custom of the Megarensians was to turn the body to the West, and lay two or three into one grave.

Nat. Hist.

The Romans also buried their dead as well as burnt them; which is confirmed by Pliny, † and others: and that both these nations, Greeks and Romans, burnt their dead, is by no body doubted.

Indeed we find it common with most of the antient nations to bury, as well as burn the dead; and the funeral either way, seems equally concordant with their religious and superstitious notions: then allowing the burying of the dead to be the most antient custom, some reasons may be necessary to account for the burning of them.

1 Sam. ch.
 31. ver. 9.
 & infra.

In the holy bible, it is said, that "the Philistines having got the dead bodies of Saul and of his sons into their possession, they stripped them of their armour, and cut off the head of Saul, and nailed all the bodies to the wall of the city of Bethshan: and when the inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead heard that which the Philistines had done to Saul, all the valiant men arose, and went all night, and took the bodies of Saul, and the bodies of his sons, from the wall of Bethshan, and came to Jabesh Gilead, and burnt them there.

Nat. Hist.

Lucius Flo-
 rus.

And says Pliny, it was customary with the Romans always to bury their dead, untill they began to understand that the bodies of those slain in the wars far off, were sometimes taken forth from their graves, and barbarously abused; and Lucius Florus also tells us, that the Germans, among other indignities offered to the Romans, rooted up the body of Varus their general, which they treated with great inhumanity. To prevent the like barbarity for the future, they ordained burning before tumulation. And that the same inhuman treatment of dead bodies was usual with the Greeks, (and other nations) may be

Homer's Ili.
 22.

of certainty concluded from the authority of Homer; who represents his hero Achilles

* It was not usual with the Egyptians to inter the bodies of their friends thus embalmed, but to inclose them in wooden coffins, and keep them as holy relics in their houses, except the kings and princes, who had sumptuous monuments, and a stately pyramid for their reception.

† Numa was buried entire in a stone coffin: and the family of the Cornelli were also buried till the time of Sylla the dictator, who was burnt. See Plutarch's Life of Numa, and Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. vii. Cap. 54.

Achilles, dragging the breathless corpse of Hector round the walls of Troy, bound to the end of his chariot: and Sophocles in his Ajax, makes Agamemnon refuse permission to Teucrus to bury the body of Ajax; saying, "and even dead, is it not just that we insult him:" for this reason the soldiers always exerted their utmost strength, to prevent the bodies of their generals falling into the hands of the enemy. Such Homer tells, was the great striving between the Greeks, and the Trojans for the body of Patroclus. And when they had got the dead corpse of the enemy in their possession, it was first striped of its armour and ornaments, which were esteemed as the conquerors due: then it was either left naked to the rage and barbarity of the army, or thrown out a prey to the beasts or fowls of the air: thus Sophocles makes Ajax, in his last moments offer up a fervent prayer to Jupiter, that his brother Teucrus might find his dead body, and perform the obsequies, "left (says he) first seen by the enemies, I be cast forth to the dogs, and to the birds a prey." Sophocles Tragedy of Ajax. Act 5.

Also what hazards were run by the soldiers to rescue the bodies of their chiefs from the possession of the enemy: the men of Gilead went all night to take the bodies of Saul and his sons from the wall of Bethshan: and Homer makes old Priam venture not only into the camp of the Grecians, but even to the tent of the stern Achilles to supplicate the dead body of Hector his son. And in Sophocles, we find Antigone attempting to perform the funeral obsequies of her brother Polynices, who by Creon's order was to lie unburied, though she was certain that she should be put to death for her piety: "I knew (said she) that I should die," (and after adds) "but how could I obtain more glory than by entombing my brother." Iliad. 17.

And in order to prevent such inhumanities, no doubt the burning the bodies of their heroes first arose and was the first cause why they raised large tombs of earth over their ashes, the monumental honour of the great. 1 Sam. 31. ver. 12.

The Saxons, Danes, with other northern nations, burned their dead, in consequence of a law made by *Woden*. Iliad 24.

The Gauls and Britons also burnt their dead. Soph. Tragedy of Antigone Act 2.

The bodies being burnt, their ashes and bits of bones were by the friends of the deceased, gathered carefully up, and put into an urn. Thus, among the Greeks, Homer describing the magnificent funeral of Patroclus, adds: Ossæ Worm. Sheringham.

Next the white bones his sad companions place
With tears collected, in the golden vase.

Others sometimes of the commoner soldiers, were put into earthen pots, and sometimes the ashes were raked up in a heap, and covered with earth, without an urn; (but this was only when they were in haste.) Iliad 23.

The arms of a soldier, were (if his body was not burnt) buried with him, and his sword laid under his head: thus the prophet Ezekiel expresses it, "and they shall not lie with the mighty, that are gone down to hell with their weapons of war, and they have laid their swords under their heads;" and Sophocles makes Ajax say, after giving his shield to his son, "my other armour shall be buried with me." Ezekiel ch. 32. ver. 27.

If the bodies were burnt, the arms were thrown upon the funeral pile, and particularly such spoils as the deceased had taken from the enemy. Thus Virgil, describing the funeral of the soldiers slain in the battle which was fought by Æneas against Turnus, king of the Rutilians, tells us, that they cast into the flames helmets, swords, bridles, and chariot wheels, and that the by-standers also threw in costly gifts. Æneid xi.

The

The next thing to be considered is, the monuments erected over the bodies, or ashes of the dead, and whether it was a general or particular custom with the antient nations to erect such monuments, which on a careful survey and examination of the different authors, will appear to be only made in honour of great heroes, kings, and soldiers slain in battle, or in commemoration of some memorable event. I will begin with the Jews, and the first mention that I find in holy writ of their sepulchres, is where Abraham (who was come into a strange land on the death of Sarah) is bargaining with the sons of Heth for a place of burial; they civilly offered him his choice of any one of their sepulchres, but he being willing to secure a place of burial not only for Sarah, but for himself and his successors, purchased "the field that was before Mamre, in which was the cave of Macpelah, and there he buried Sarah." Afterwards we find Jacob swearing Joseph his son to bury him in this *family monument*, "where (says he) they buried Abraham, and Sarah his wife; where they buried Isaac, and Rebecca his wife; and where I buried Leah." Thus we find, that the family monuments of the Jews were nothing more than caverns, covered only with a stone: for such we find in after ages was the tomb of our Saviour, "hewn out of a rock, and a great stone rolled to the door." And that of Lazarus was a cave, with a stone laid upon it. Now it sometimes happened that while the Patriarchs were on their travels, some of their family might die by the way, and they being too far from their own sepulchre to convey the body to it, were constrained to bury it on the spot, yet they never failed to leave some pious memorial of the corpse there buried. Thus when Rachael died in child-bed, at the delivery of Benjamin, she was buried by the way side, and "Jacob set a pillar on her grave, that is called the pillar of Rachael's grave unto this day."

But monuments raised over the bodies of the dead were not always honorary; for Achan, who was stoned to death (for stealing of the treasure which was by God accused) had a heap of stones thrown up over him; and so had the king Ai, who was hanged at the command of Joshua; so also Joab, after that he had slain Absalom, threw him into a pit, "and raised a very great heap of stones over him."

We find the sepulchres of the kings distinguished from their family caverns. The remains of the burnt bones of Saul and Jonathan, were buried in the sepulchre of Kish, Saul's father. Most of the kings from David's time, were buried in the city of David; "and Asa slept with his fathers, and they buried him in his own sepulchre, which he had made for himself in the city of David, and laid him in a bed which was filled with sweet odours, and divers kind of spices prepared by the apothecary's art;* and they made a very great burning for him." And again we are told, that at the funeral of Jehoram, a wicked king, that his people made no burning for him, like the burning of his fathers. † Howbeit they buried him in the city of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings."

Their

* From this custom of the Jews, of laying their kings on beds with spices, precious ointments, &c. and solemnizing the funerals with burning, perhaps came that of the heathen nations, of laying an image of the deceased on a rich bed filled with odours and spices, which was with vast pomp carried to the place of burial, and there burnt with many great and solemn ceremonies. This must be only understood to be at the consecration of those emperors who were deified after their death: see the 4th book of Herodian. These ceremonies were performed after the obsequies of the true body.

† We must not conclude from hence that the Israelites used to burn the bodies of their kings, for this passage is fuller explained in Jeremiah, who prophesying concerning the death of Zedekiah, says, "But thou shalt die in peace, and with the burnings of thy fathers, the former kings which were before thee,

Their common family tombs were set apart in particular places for that purpose; for the man possessed with the legion of devils, is expressly said in St. Mark's Gospel, to have had his dwelling among the tombs." And St. Matthew expresses it, "coming out of the tombs, &c".

Next we will consider the Egyptians, who did not inter the bodies of their dead friends, but they being embalmed, were put into wooden coffins, and set round about in their habitations; also at their feasts they were set forth about the table. And, says Lucian, one being in want of money, is supplied by giving his father or brother in pledge. Yet still for their kings and nobles they had stately monuments, and large pyramids of stone: "What are these (says Dugdale) but so many huge barrows of masonry instead of earth." And Servius informs us, that with the antients, noblemen were buried either under mountains, or in mountains, whence came the custom that over the dead, either pyramids were made or huge columns erected. Pausanias tells us, that the custom of burial among the antient Sicyonians, was to cover the body over with earth and raise pillars over it.

Mark chap.
v. ver. 3.
Mat. chap.
8. ver. 28.

Greaves's
Descrip. of
the Pyramids
Lucian

In his War-
wickshire.
Ser. Com. in
Æneid xi.

Pausan. Co-
rinth. lib. 2.

Now then we come to those of the Greeks and Romans, who besides their costly mausoleums, and the other vast monuments of their kings and emperors, had also monuments of less beauty, though of equal honour, which are large heaps of earth, called *barrows*, though some are made of stones and earth mixed, and others though few, of stones alone.

Borlace's
Ant. of
Cornwall

The most antient barrow we read of, is that of Ninus, the founder of the Assyrian empire, whose queen, Semiramis, raised a tomb of earth over him. Of the Greeks, Homer hath left us the description of that raised by Achilles, in honour of his friend Patroclus.

That done they bid the sepulchre aspire,
And cast the deep foundation round the pyre;
High in the midst they raised the swelling bed,
Of rising earth memorial of the dead.

Pope's Ho-
mer's Il. 23.

And also that of Hector.

Last o'er the urn, both stones and earth they spread,
And raised the tomb, memorial of the dead.

Iliad 24.

So Sophocles in his *Antigone*, makes the messenger describe to Eurydice, the funeral of Polynices in this manner. "I followed your husband to the field, where lay the miserable body of Polynices torn to pieces by the dogs; (and beseeching the goddess of the ways *Proserpine*, kindly to restrain her rage) they washed in sacred water what was left of the body, and with green boughs we burnt it, and raised a high tomb of earth that was hard by."

Sophocles in
his Trag. of
Antigone
Act 5th

The

thee, so shall they burn odours for thee, and lament for thee, &c." The burning of the bodies of Saul and his sons by the men of Jabesh Gilead, is the only instance in the whole bible; and this may be well accounted for, when we consider that the bodies must have been some time dead, from which cause they might be so offensive as to require immediate tumulation; and they burnt them, lest the enraged enemy might again root them up, and misuse them. I am very much surpris'd that Claude Guichard should have quoted the above prophecy, to prove that the Jews really did burn the bodies of their dead, when it so plainly declares, that the odours were burnt in memory of their kings, and not the body with them. See Claude Guichard's *Funeraillles & diverses manieres d'ensevelir des Romains, Grecs, & autres Nations, &c.* 3me. livre chap. xi.

The same custom (according to Virgil) was usual among the ancient Laurentines.

Trapp's Vir.
Book xi.

Beneath a lofty hill, a tomb there stood
Of high rais'd earth; for king Dercernus reared,
Antient Laurentian king, and cover'd o'er
With gloomy oak.

This author also describes Æneas, performing the same pious work in honor of his lost friend.

1b. lib. 3.

Then straight a lofty tomb of earth we made,
Sacred memorial of lost Polydore.

Shering. 252 The Saxons, and other antient northern nations, had these tombs in consequence of a law made by *Woden*. *Woden* enacted a law, that the dead should be burned with all their moveables, especially their money, for those should be esteemed most welcome to the gods that had the greatest quantity of treasure burnt with them. He also further ordained, that they should raise large heaps of earth over those that were slain in battle; and on the monuments of those who had performed any great and glorious actions, there should be erected high obelisks inscribed with the Runic character. And Wormius gives us the following account of the Danish funeral ceremonies, which he distinguishes into three ages. The first *Risgold*, the second *Høigold*, and the third *Christendoms-Old*. The brief matter of his explanation is this: the first *Risgold*, *Brende-Old* (*the age of burning*) was when the defunct was brought out in the fields near the highway, or estate that belonged to him while living; where they made an oblong place with great stones for the reception of the body, and there burnt it, collecting the ashes into an urn; round which they set great stones; then with sand, gravel, or earth, they threw up a little hillock in form of a mount. The second was called *Høigold* or *Høelstid*, (*the age of burying*) which was when the body was brought entire with its ornaments, and laid (unburnt) in the middle of a large circle of stones, then over it they (as before) raised a mount of earth, &c. these mounts were sometimes plain, made only of earth, and cast up like a cone, and sometimes they were ornamented with a circle of stones, but this was only for their generals and great men. The third age was *Christendoms-Old*, which was when christianity began to prevail, and they buried as we are wont to do at this time.

Barlace

Barrows (as was before observed) were built of different materials. Some have supposed that those of earth alone, were of a sort inferior to the rest; but the contrary may be easily proved, that of *Ninus* was of earth, as was also that of *Patroclus*, as well as that of *Dercernus* mentioned by Virgil. I am ready to think that among the Hebrews, Greeks and Romans, barrows of stones were rather marks of dishonour and indignity, than to perpetuate the fame of those buried under them. With the Jews we read of *Achan* stoned for theft; the king *Ai* who was hanged; and *Abshalom* who had rebelled against his father, were all buried under heaps of stones. And of the Greeks we are told, that *Laius* was with his servants (who were slain by *Oedipus*) so buried; we are to remember that *Oedipus* took *Laius* and his followers for robbers. And with the Romans, Virgil thus informs us in his distich on the famous robber *Balaista*.

Virgil

Monte

“Monte sub hoc lapid^{um} tegitur Balista sepultus.”
Under this mount of stones, lies Balista buried.

It is objected indeed, that the tumulus of Hector was of stones and earth : but if we consider well that passage in Homer, we shall find it expresses “pouring them on,” which is well explained by Camden. “It was (says he) an antient custom for every foldier that survived after a battle, to bring his cap full of earth and pour it out upon the dead body of his fellow, so that this expression of “stones and earth poured on,” seems only to be a poetical description of the earth and stones as they are commonly mixed together, poured from the helmets of the foldiers ; or perhaps Homer may have only so mentioned it, to make a trifling variation from that funeral so lately described of Patroclus. But even admitting this to be made of stones and earth mixed together, it can by no means prove that those made of large rude stones alone, should not be monuments of disgrace. With the Danes indeed it is certain, that they were by no means disgraceful ; for Wormius tells us, that those of their noblemen were, for distinction sake, ornamented with stones. And it is also proved, not only by the heap of stones called *bubble flow*, thrown up over the body of Hubba the Dane ; but by the multitude of those monuments wherever those people landed, and committed their depredations, that ^{they} were with them monuments of honour. “These tumuli are mostly large heaps of stones (says Camden) done up without any order, and most probably were brought here and shot down in a heap promiscuously ; and it was (continues he) customary in many places so to bury self-murderers, and malefactors : and in Wales, where they are called *Karns*, the most passionate wish that one man can make to another, is that a *karn* may be his monument : and ’tis also the name for the most desperate and basest of villains. These says he, were antiently the funeral piles of men of the most distinguished quality ; but on the introduction of christianity, they became monuments of disgrace.” Now if this was the true reason, why did not the *Kist Vean* another sort of stone monument, and always held honourable, as well as barrows of earth, &c. fall under the same predicament ? The reason most probably was, because the Britons always held the *karns* dishonourable, while on the contrary, the *Kist-vean* being the ancient esteemed monuments of their fore-fathers, was yet held sacred, and put them in remembrance of their old manners. The Anglo-Saxons indeed might dislike them because they were much used by the Danes ; as ’tis known how much that nation was hated by the English, and so very distasteful their customs were to them, that on their departure it was held a disgrace to retain the least tracings of them.

For the size of all these barrows there was no fixed rule, that depending entirely on the quality and well-deserving of the party deceased : the old one of Ninus is said to have been nine furlongs high, and ten broad ; and that which Achilles made for Patroclus, though a moderate one, was one hundred feet in diameter (the size of the funeral pile) Achilles thus gives his order :

Mean time erect the tomb with pious hands,
A common structure on the humble sands,
Hereafter Greece some nobler work may raise,
And late posterity record our praise,

Iliad 23.

Which nobler work the succeeding Greeks piously did perform, and raised the tumulus to so great a height, that it served as a sea-mark to those that failed in the Helespont. We have also some barrows of an immense size here in England. So great was the expence which many bestowed upon these monuments, that Plato advised, that none but barren places should be chosen for the burial of the dead; and that no sepulchre should be thrown up larger than what five men in five days could compleat.

Plato

Tyrants, parricides, and other criminals, among the Danes and other northern nations, were denied, both urns and tumuli; their bodies were burnt, and their ashes thrown into the air, or scattered into the river.

Saxo Gram.

“Non urna, non tumulus nefandas offium reliquias claudet
Nullum parricidii vestigium maneat.”

But on the contrary, no pains or labour were spared to enlarge and adorn the barrows of good men, and great heroes, often ornamenting them with immense stones, insomuch that they were three years in compleating a single one. *Haraldus* it is said, employed his whole army and a great number of oxen in drawing one vast stone to adorn the monument of his mother.

Borlase
Ant. Corn-
wall.

These barrows were not always erected over the body or ashes of the dead, for if they were lost, the tumulus was erected to their memory; thus we find *Æneas* raising a heap of earth, “a memorial of lost Polydore.” And *Cæsar* also made a barrow on the spot where the body of his rival *Pompey* had been burnt.

Æneid. 3.
Hist. Rom.

Thus we find that though most nations had these extraordinary monuments for their kings and heroes, yet they had also their vaults and common places of burial. Among the Jews the sepulchres of their kings, &c. were distinguished from those of the better sort, who had their family caves or caverns for their dead. Although the Egyptians did not inter their dead, yet they had their pyramids and other stately monuments for their kings and distinguished heroes: and in all the Grecian and Roman histories, we do not find these tumuli raised over others than great men, or such as fell in battle; they having also their common places of burial without the cities. And for the northern nations, the law of *Woden*, though it commands all the dead to be burnt, yet confines the tumuli to those slain in battle, kings, &c. And that the same customs were observed also in England, is proved by these tumuli being generally found near the ways, or stations of the Romans; or else where some battle is, by his history, recorded to have been decided, or hero slain. It should be here remarked, that there has not been many antiquities of the Romans found in barrows, but large quantities in the more common burying grounds near their stations, and without their cities, or the sides of their great roads; and these are most frequently discovered without the least mark or vestige of any kind of funeral monuments. Hence 'tis evident that they (like other nations) did erect barrows only on particular occasions; their general method of interments being performed in their common places of burial.

Monuments, &c. yet remaining in England.

Before I enter upon this subject, it will be necessary to say somewhat of the old Druids: Martin tells us, that they neither used urns, or raised barrows over their dead: "yet says Mr. Borlase, he informs us, that they allowed urns to those unhappy victims who perished at their sacrifices and religious rites: but Martin's Hist. of the
(continues he) is it likely that they should allow such funeral ornaments to those wretched victims, as they denied to their own chiefs, and kings?" and again, in another place (he says) "what kind of sepulchers they had, may be disputed; but without question, they burned their dead, and therefore it is most reasonable to think that the chief priests and great men, had urns which they placed in a grave or stone vault (KIST VEAN.)" But I have not heard of urns found under either the *Cromlech*, or *Kist Veau*; for the remains there dug up, are either ashes or entire bones, which I shall endeavour to account for in the description of those monuments: and in the mean time, I will only remark, that it will be a matter very difficult to prove that the Druids had either urns for themselves, or for their victims. Antiq. Cornwall.

The monuments found in England, are chiefly of these sorts:

First, *Barrows* of earth, of stones, and of stones and earth.

Secondly, *Obelisks*, with and without inscriptions.

Thirdly, the *Cromlech*, or stone table.

Fourthly, the *Kist Veau*, or stone chest.

Fifthly, *Rocking Stones*, &c.

Of Barrows.

Barrows which are heaps of earth, &c. thrown up, of different forms and sizes, and are thus divided: Stukeley's Stone-Hege.

First, small circular trenches with a little elevation in the middle, these are called (by Dr. Stukeley) Druid Barrows.

Secondly, ordinary barrows of a conical form.

Thirdly, barrows surrounded with a ditch and vallum, and are most commonly made in the shape of a well-turned bell.

Fourthly, oblong barrows, both with and without trenches.

Fifthly, oblong barrows with stones set in order all round them.

Sixthly, a sort of barrows like horse shoes, (mentioned by Stukeley) and found near the earth-work of what he calls *alate* or winged temples. Stuk. Aubrey.

Barrows are for the most part sepulchral, for on opening of them there are generally found either urns, or coffins, in those of the better sort; and in those which are ruder, instead of urns, the ashes or carcases of the defunct were laid in a cavern cut out of the solid earth, for their reception; especially where the soil was of a chalky nature. They were generally built of such materials as were easiest come at: though it has been said by some authors that they fetched them from afar off; because (say they) the greater the distance from which the materials were brought, the more honourable was the funeral pile esteemed; But Mr. Borlase has evidently proved to the contrary: and Dugdale has very ingeniously accounted for there being no appearance or mark near these barrows, from whence the earth or stones of which they were composed, was taken; "because (says he) they skimmed the surface of the ground round about, and with the green turfs thrown up, they formed the mount or tumulus." Ant. Corn. Dugdale's Warwickshire.

There

Camden's
Brit.

There are some instances of these barrows not being sepulchral, for Camden telling us of coals dug out of a hill at Stanford Cone, in Northamptonshire; adds, "Siculus Flaccus says, that either ashes, coals, or potsheards and broken glaſs, together with bones half burnt, lime, plaister and mortar were wont to be put under their (the antients) land-marks or limits." And St. Augustine also says, "is it not a wonderful thing, considering that coals are so brittle, that with the least touch they break, with the least pressure they are crushed to pieces, yet no time can conquer them, inſomuch that they that pitched land-marks, were wont to throw them underneath, to convince any litigious fellow whatever, that ſhould come ever ſo long after, and would affirm that no land-mark had been made?"

In the
County of
Eſſex.

Happening myſelf to be (in the year 1773) making ſome curious reſearches near Maldon, I was informed, that at a place called *Burrough-bills*, (from a number of barrows that are there remaining) a large hill had been dug down by the owner of the field wherein it ſtood; and that in making a deep ditch acroſs one part of it, they came to aſhes, brickbats, poſtheards, and the like. Curioſity naturally led me to the place, where I carefully examined the above particulars. When I came there, I found it to be of an oblong form and of a great extent; though at preſent, not above five feet above the common ſurface of the ground.—The ditch which has been dug in it, is in general about four feet deep; and all along, in a ſtraight line, from one end of the hill to the other, (about a foot thick at the bottom of the ditch) lie theſe poſtheards, and ſeem (from their preſent ſituation) to have been firſt regularly ſpread over the whole ſurface of the ground, and over them was thrown the earth, of which the hill was made. Indeed I ſhould obſerve, that above this row of bricks, poſtheards, &c. is a thick ſtiff clay for full one foot (or rather more) in height, and from thence to the top of the hill an exceeding rich mould. I cauſed ſome to be dug out, and found bits of large ſquare bricks, bits of ill-ſhapen clumsy pots of common red clay, upwards of one inch thick, which did not ſeem ever to have been baked; with pieces of more ſhapely and handſome veſſels, urns, &c. but none whole. I alſo found cinders and charcoal very perfect, together with bits of bones (not human) ſo very rotten, as to be cruſhed to pieces with the leaſt preſſure. I picked out of a great quantity of theſe things (for ſeveral cart loads were found) ſome of the moſt perfect, which I have preſerved ſtill by me. This mount cannot be a funeral monument, becauſe of the vaſt quantity of theſe veſſels, as well as from the narrow compaſs they lie in, and the ſtrange mixture of ſuch different materials: the place itſelf (near the water ſide) is not unlikely to require a land mark or limit.

Dr. Salmon.

The other hills near it (which are barrows) are evidently of a different form, being like an obtuſe cone, and much ſmaller than the above deſcribed, not bearing the leaſt analogy to it. The late Dr. Salmon, a phyſician, at Chelmsford, (who was both a learned and ingenious man) ſuppoſes the barrows (for this hill eſcaped his notice, becauſe it had much more the appearance of a natural hill, than one raiſed by art) were funeral ſepulchers of the Danes and Saxons; for he imagined (which is not at all unlikely) that the Danes came up this river, with intent to ravage the coaſts, but were met by the Saxons who oppoſed their landing; and ſo a bloody conflict enſuing, theſe were left as the ſtanding monuments thereof, erected either on or near the ſpot where the battle was decided.

See alſo
Hen. Hunt

The

The barrows of stone, or *karns*, were not always funeral; for Giraldus ^{Camden} Cambrensis, making mention of Harold's expedition into Wales, where he ^{Girald.} ravaged the country through and through, "infomuch(faith mine author) that he ^{Camb.} scarcely left any alive behind him." And in memory of which total defeat, he threw up many hillocks of stones (after the antient custom) in those places where he obtained victories, with pillars containing this inscription.

"Hic fuit victor Haraldus."

Obelisks, Pillars, &c.

Pillars and obelisks are sometimes with and sometimes without inscriptions, some stand by themselves, and others (like those of the Danes) are surrounded ^{Camden} with earth or stones, or else they stand on barrows; and some of them are orna- ^{Brit.} mented with scrole or mosaic work, bearing at times the representation of a cross, with rude antique figures, &c. the last of which seem to be what were set up in the beginning of Christianity, not only by the Saxons, but the Britons them- ^{Plott's} selves, to whom we may attribute those of the ruder sort: they are says Mr. ^{Staffordshire} Borlase, sometimes sepulchral, and sometimes in memory of particular and ^{Antiq. of} memorable actions, or military trophies, and sometimes they are boundaries. ^{Cornwall}

These sort of pillars, together with rude stones, were often set up by the Pa- ^{2. Sam. ch.} triarchs, on particular occasions, or in memory of some great accident. Absalom ^{18. ver. 18.} set up a pillar, saying, "I have no son to keep my name in remembrance." So he called the pillar after his own name, to perpetuate his memory to future time. Such were the pillars set up by Hercules at the extent of his conquests, &c.

Of the Cromlech, and Kist-Vean (or Stone Chest.)

The Kist-Vean and Cromlech, are often put for each other, and in short, are seldom properly distinguished. The cromlech, or stone table, is a flat stone laid across two or three others, and sometimes more, which were set perpendicular. These are by Stukeley and others, all called *Kist-Veans*, but Camden very clearly distinguishes them from each other, who, in describing a *Kist Vean* which he ^{Stukeley's} saw in *Cardingshire*, writes thus: "it was four feet long, and three in breadth, com- ^{Aubery.} posed of four stones, one at each end and two side ones; the highest is a foot out ^{Camden's} of the ground, and is called the grave of the Welch poet *Taliesin-ben-beirdd*." ^{Descrip. of} The bishop of London tells us of a rude barrow composed of earth, stones and ^{Cardingshire} turfs, supposed to be British, and a royal sepulcher, "because, says he, it is too rude for the Romans, and for the Saxons and Danes, they had nought to do here any farther than plundering the sea coasts: a flat stone (continues he) on the top being removed, under it was found a barbarous monument, called a *stone chest*, 3 feet long, and 4 broad, narrower at the east than at the west, made of seven stones; the covering stone being one, two side stones, two end ones, and one behind each of the end stones by way of bolster; all equally rude and thick, except the two last which were the largest and thickest; in it were seen pieces of bricks, &c. but not going to the bottom of the chest, we cannot tell what further

Camden's
Brit.

In Kent
Stow's
Chron.

further there was therein." Now how properly this bears the name of *stone chest* will strike every one; and how different from the cromlech, one of which is described by Camden, and called *Lbech y Gowres*: "it is composed, says he, of one vast stone placed on four pillars, 5 or 6 feet high, and two others on an end under the top stone, but much lower, so as to bear no part of the weight; three rude stones lay on the ground beside it, and at a little distance stands another rude stone, which probably bears some reference to it:" and another is the monument of Catergerne, son to Vortimer king of the Britons, which is also of the table kind, and is thus described by Stow who saw it: "It is, says he, composed of four flat stones, one of them standing upright in the middle of two others, and the fourth laid flat aloft on the other three, and is of such height, that men may stand on either side the middle stone in time of a storm or tempest, safe from the wind and rain: about one coits cast from this monument lieth another great stone, much part thereof is in the earth, as if fallen down from where the same had been fixed:" these and such like, are most properly called *tables*, while the former are *stone chests* *. Both these are supposed always to be sepulchral.

Rocking Stones.

Borlase
Camden

Borlase
Antiq. of
Cornwall

Rocking stones are composed of large stones laid across others on so just an equilibrium, that they may be moved backward and forward with the greatest ease; there are but few of these in the kingdom, and it is not known to what use the antients appropriated these monuments, some have said that they were for religious purposes, and others have supposed them to be sepulchral.

Add to these huge stones with holes made in them, that are often found in Cornwall, and other parts of the kingdom, which Mr. Borlase does not take to be sepulchral, but that the Druids caused them to be erected for some religious purposes; and tells us of the abolishment of an old custom, from a French author, "*Qu'on ne fasse point passer le batail par un arbre creux*" (*that they should not make their cattle pass through the trees with holes in them,*) and adds, that men crept through one of those perforated stones in Cornwall, for pains in their backs and limbs: parents also drew their children through at certain times of the year, to cure them of the rickets. So he fancies that they are faint remains of the old Druid superstition, who held great stones as sacred and holy.

Now the chief difficulty will be to determine, which of those remaining monuments ought to be attributed to the Britons, which to the Romans, or which to the Saxons, Danes, &c. On a strict examination, not only of the things themselves, but nicely observing, and comparing the different opinions of those authors who have wrote concerning them, together with such things as have been

* Mr. Wallace describes some antient stone monuments in the island of Orkney. "In the links of Skeal (says he) where the sand was blown away, were found four square tombs of stone well cemented together, about a foot square, covered with a stone at top. One was found which was of an entire round stone like a barrel, on the top was a large stone, answerable to preserve the whole; nothing was found therein but red clay, and burnt bones, which, says he, are perhaps Roman," and that is very likely, for they had stone boxes or chests, like these just described, in which the urns of the better sort of people were deposited, to keep them the longer from decay: but these are easily distinguished from the rude chests of our ancestors; those of the Romans have mostly inscriptions, or bas reliefs upon them, and coins, &c. contained within them.

been found in or near them, I think the following conclusions may be drawn with the greatest justice.

First, that such rude barrows as are found with a hole simply cut in the earth, for the reception of the bones, or ashes, and covered with a stone, or blocked up with stones, or having those barbarous chests, or *kist-veans*, (before described) on the top of them, together with the *kist-vean* by itself without a barrow, are all most probably (not to say certainly) the rude sepulchral tombs of the ancient Britons, and that not only from their barbarous form and construction, but from the great difference between them and the monuments of any other nation in the known world. The *cromlech* (or tables) with other monuments of that kind, whether covered with an impost or not, may undoubtedly be attributed to the constructors of these stupendous structures Stonehenge, Aubery, &c. which without doubt were also the works of the Britons; and these tables may have been the ancient monuments of their kings and chief Druids, while the *kist-vean* and the rude barrows were to perpetuate the fame of their great generals, and other men of note. Both in the *kist-vean*, barrows, &c. as well as under the tables, are often found the ashes of such as were burnt, and the entire bones of those who were buried, without the least appearance of burning; it may therefore be objected, that as the Britons constantly burnt their dead, the unburnt bones could not be the remains of their dead, and so of course the monuments must not be attributed to them. I answer, without doubt the Britons, while ignorant of the truths of christianity, did burn the dead, yet, on their conversion, this custom was by degrees abolished, and as no old and standing customs are left off entirely at once, so though they neglected to burn the dead, yet they for a time erected monuments in imitation of their forefathers: thus was Catigerne buried under a table or *cromlech*.

Those barrows that are found near the Roman ways or stations, (for the Ro- See page 56.
mans were forbid by the law of the twelve tables to bury in their cities or camps, &c.) which when opened are found to contain urns of fine earthen ware, or others more costly, and of handsome workmanship; and if in the urns are found (exclusive of ashes) instruments of Roman construction, or, which is an undoubted proof, Roman coin, such may without the least hesitation be attributed to that people. Besides the things abovementioned, they put into their urns lamps, lachrymatories, (such small vessels as were filled with purchased tears) Borlase
and other utensils of mourning. There have been instances of finding a lamp still burning on opening some of their ancient sepulchral repositories. Camden
tells us, that the tomb of Constantine was found at York, in the walls of the city, and that on opening it there was discovered a lamp still burning. The antients (continues he) had the art of dissolving gold in a fat liquor, and so Funeral
preparing it, that it would, if undisturbed, burn for ages. Weaver also informs Mon. p. 648.
us, that at Coggerhall in Essex, an urn was discovered by some labourers, and on the top of it was a Roman tile, which being taken off, a lamp was found burning, but that it soon extinguished on being exposed to the fresh air; and with it was found a curious *patera*, or little dish, of fine red earth, inscribed COCCILLI:M.

Combs, inlaid boxes, nippers, favorite jewels, bracelets, &c. are often found in the urns of the women, and also in the rude chests and female tombs of the Britons: when these are found in barrows, they are likely to be either British or Saxon, because barrows were only erected for those who by their valour and
courage

Wm. of
Malmſbury.
Hen. Hun-
tingd. 204.
Speed
Chron.

courage had made themſelves famous; and among the Britons, not only men but women often led the battles, or at leaſt ſhared the common danger of war with the men, therefore 'tis but juſtly reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the ſame monuments ſhould be for them erected, as were ſet up in honour of their noble men, and that with them alſo they burnt or buried their ornaments; ſo that thoſe found in the rude tombs of the Britons, as above deſcribed, may be attributed certainly to them; and thoſe found in urns in the more ſhapely and handſome barrows, may be Saxon; for we do not want inſtances of the courage and reſolution of the Saxon women. Seburgh, (wiſe to Kenwald, king of the Weſt Saxons) took upon her the government of the kingdom, on the death of her huſband, acting with great ſpirit and reſolution: and Elfheda, or Ethelſheda, (daughter to Ælfred, whom Speed calls the Engliſh Zenobia) perſonally attended the wars, gaining many ſignal victories over her enemies.

But when ſuch trinkets are found in the burying ground of the Romans, (without barrows) or in fine and well-ſhaped urns, they are moſt likely to have belonged to ſome of that people: but the beſt way of deciding ſuch matters will be by the workmanſhip; the urns, &c. of the Romans in general much exceeding thoſe of our anceſtors both in ſhape and elegance, and more particularly in the fineneſs of the clay. Roman urns have been alſo found of braſs, ſome of glaſs, and others of porphyry, &c.

In other barrows, particularly thoſe of ſtone, if there ſhould on opening them be found rude urns, (often of unbaked clay) or in default of them the aſhes, together with the bones of animals are found on the ſurface of the ground, with the ſtones or earth heaped over them, (and more certainly if near the ſea ſide) they may rather be attributed to the Danes than to the Saxons; for the Danes continued much longer in ignorance of the chriſtian faith than the Saxons: therefore may reaſonably be thought much longer to continue their ſuperſtitious rites; and the reaſon why their monuments are found ſo imperfect, may be, that in their pirating and ravaging the coaſts, the enemy might ſuddenly ſurpriſe them, and make an inſtant retreat neceſſary for the common ſafety of them all; ſo that bringing all their dead together, they immediately burnt them, raking the aſhes up in a heap; or if they could come at clay, making rude clumſey urns for their reception, (not ſtaying to bake them any otherwiſe than might be done by ſetting them before the fire of the funeral pile) over which they haſtily reared rude heaps of ſtones or earth, or whatever came firſt to hand. But when ſtone coffins, or ſkeletons entire, are found without any mark of burning, they may rather be taken for Saxon than Daniſh, becauſe the Saxons becoming chriſtians ſoon after their arrival, left off their heatheniſh method of burning; though they ſtill continued to raiſe high mounds, and to erect ſumptuous monuments in honour of their dead ſlain in battle, as well as of their victories, holding it by no means contrary to their received faith, to perpetuate the fame of good and great men.

See Hol-
linghead's
Account
of Barklow
Hills.

It was common with both the Saxons and the Danes to bury with the dead knives, arrow and ſpear heads, ſwords, axes, and other implements of war, the axe is by many thought (though unjuſtly) to be Daniſh only, ſo alſo urns found upſide down are attributed to that people. Coins are very ſeldom found in the urns, &c. of either the Saxons or the Danes.

See in Cam-
Wallace's
Account of
the Iſland of
Orkney.

“ In the links of Skeal, where the ſand was blown away, were found graves, in one of which was a man lying, with his ſword on one hand, and a Daniſh axe on the other: others were found with combs, knives, and often dogs, which had been

been buried with them ; which, says Mr. Wallace, seems to be an instance of the Danish manner of interment, (perhaps on their first embracing of the christian faith ;) and there are also many little hillocks, which (continues he) may have been the burying places of the *Peights*, (or *Pights*) and Saxons. In one of the hillocks were found nine fibulæ of silver, like a horseshoe, only round ; these most likely were the same with the bracelet described (page 47.) which has often been mistaken for a *fibula*, but there clearly proved to be a Saxon bracelet.

Now having brought the funeral ceremonies of the antients down to the time of christianity, it will be requisite in the next place to consider what alterations were then made, and how it affected the old customs and ceremonies of our ancestors.

In a letter from Dr. Woodward to Sir Christopher Wren, concerning such things as were found when Bishopsgate was pulled down, and new foundations laid, he tells us, that among other antiquities then found, they discovered many urns with ashes and burnt bones, together with entire skeletons without the least mark of burning, which he thus accounts for, “ Until the first beginning of sepulture without burning took place, the Romans generally used to burn their dead, (though Numa and some few others were buried) but as christianity began to prevail amongst them, it was in the end totally abandoned ; yet (says he) to fix the time precisely will not be very easy, because no doubt it was a considerable time before it was entirely left off, some chusing yet to continue the old customs that they had learned of their forefathers, as may be proved by finding urns, with burnt bones in the common cœmeteries, with the entire skeletons of the buried bodies, &c.

Published by
Hearne in
Leland.

And the bishop of London, speaking of the old works of *Wroxcester*, the *Uronium* of the antients, (after telling us of many Roman and other antiquities being found) says, “ the way of burial here (when they did not burn the corps, and put the ashes into an urn) has been observed to be thus : First, they made a deep grave, in the bottom whereof they fixed a bed of very red clay, and upon that laid the body ; with the same sort of clay they covered it, fencing the clay with a sort of thin slates against the mould or earth, which would otherwise have been apt to break through to the dead bodies : lastly, they filled the grave, and covered it with great stones, sometimes five or six upon a grave, which are now shrunk into the earth : some part of the bones thus interred (that have happened to lie dry in the clay) remain pretty sound to this day.” “ It is not all surprising, (says Dr. Woodward) that the bones should continue so long, when ’tis considered that they were found in a clay so stiff and close, that they might, had they not been disturbed, have lasted for many ages longer.” “ As to the urns of *Wroxcester*, (adds the bishop) there are several of them have been found whole in the memory of man, when they have had occasion to dig three or four feet deep in the sandy land ; for as the dead bodies are buried in red clay, so the urns are lodged in a red sand.”

Camden's
Brit. Addi-
tions, Col.
522.

Leland tells us, that “ at Northburn was the palace or Maner of Edbalde, Ethelbert's sunne. There, but a few yeres syns, yn breking a side of the walle, yn the howle were found two children's bones, that had bene mured up as yn brielle yn tyme of Paganite of the Saxons ; among one of the children's bones was found a styffe pynne of laten.” But I rather suppose, that this was not in the time of their heathenism, but on the early dawn of christianity ; for though

Itin. vol. 7,
page 102.

church-yards for the reception of the dead were not instituted till the time of St. Cuthbert, yet they buried in the church and church walls before that time, as will be proved more fully hereafter.

It was also customary to bury ornaments, &c. with the dead bodies after the establishment of christianity.

Addition to
Camden,
Col. 743.

On September the 12th, 1664, upon opening of a grave (at the church of St. John of Beverly, in the east riding of Yorkshire) they found a vault of square freestone 15 feet long, and two broad at the head, but at the feet but one and a half; within it was a sheet of lead four feet long, and in that the dust; six beads (whereof three crumbled to dust with a touch, of the three remaining two were supposed to be cornelians) with three great brass pins, and four great nails of iron; (by which it was supposed, that the body originally was buried in a wooden coffin, and those were the nails which fastened on the cover;) upon the sheet of lead lay a plate also of lead, with this inscription upon it:

+ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI MCLXXXVIII COMBUSTA
FUIT HÆC ECCLESIA IN MENSE SEPTEMBRI IN SEQUENTI
NOCTE POST FESTUM SANCTI MATHÆI APOSTOLI. ET IN AN:
MCXCVII. VI. IDVS MARTII FACTA FUIT INQUISITIO RELIQUIA-
RIUM BEATI JOHANNIS IN HOC LOCO, ET INVENTA SUNT HÆC
OSSA IN ORIENTALI PARTE SEPULCHRI ET HIC RECONDITA.
ET PVLVIS CEMENTO MIXTUS IBIDEM INVENTUS EST ET RE-
CONDITUS.

Cross over this there lay a box of lead about seven inches long, six broad, and five high, wherein were several pieces of bones mixed with a little dust, yielding a sweet smell: all these were carefully interred again in the middle isle, where they were taken up.

Christian Burials of the Anglo-Saxons.

Having first washed the dead corpse, it was clothed in a straight linen-garment, (or put into a bag or sack of linen*) and then wrapped closely round from head to foot with a strong cloth wrapper; but it was customary with them to leave the head and shoulders of the corpse uncovered till the time of burial, that such relations and acquaintance who were desirous so to do, might take a last view of their deceased friend, which is represented in plate 14, fig. 2, where the friends are mourning over the dead body, (the head and shoulders of which being there uncovered.) To this day we yet retain (in our way) this old custom, leaving the coffin of the deceased unscrewed (unless the body be offensive) till the time of burial.

Then before the body was put into the sepulchre, the head and shoulders were also closely covered over with the wrapper, (see plate 14, fig. 1 & 4.) The delineation (ibid. fig. 3) differs much from the rest; this represents in the MS. the burial of Joseph, who, according to the scriptures, was embalmed, and put into a coffin in Egypt; and this is intended to represent the coffin ornamented with elegant-carved work: for the coffins of the Egyptians, painted over with hieroglyphics, were not known to the Saxons, who were obliged to have recourse to the manners and customs that they daily saw before them, that is, their own.

When

Gen. chap.
50, ver. 26.

* Bedæ corpus prim^o translatus a Girwi & collocatus in sacco lineo cum reliquiis S. Cuthberti. Ex. Collec. Lelandi, vol. 2, page 378.

When the body was brought to the tomb, it was held by two persons, one at the head, and the other at the feet, (but whether they were the relations or servants of the deceased is not known) while the priest perfumed it with incense; then those two who held the corpse knelt down, and laid it into the grave, which while they were performing the attendant priest prayed and blessed it.

The manner of preparing the body, and the funeral procession of the famous Wilfred, archbishop of York, who died at Oundle in Northamptonshire, A. D. 708, and was buried at Rippon, are thus described by his historian Eddius: Eddius in Vita Wilfredi. "Upon a certain day many abbots and clergy met those who conducted the corpse of the holy bishop in a large hearse, and earnestly begged that they might be allowed to wash the sacred body, and dress it honourably, according to its dignity, and they obtained permission; then one of the abbots, named Bacula, spreading his surplice on the ground, the brethren deposited the holy body upon it, washed it with their own hands, dressed it in the pontifical habits, and then taking it up, carried it towards the appointed place, singing psalms and hymns in the fear of God. Having advanced a little, they again deposited the corpse, pitched a tent over it, bathed the sacred body in pure water, dressed it in robes of fine linen, placed it in the hearse, and proceeded, singing psalms, towards the monastery of Rippon. When they approached the monastery, the whole family of it came out to meet them, bearing holy relics. Of all these there was hardly one who refrained from tears, and all raising their voices, and joining in hymns and songs, they conducted the body into the church, which the holy bishop had built, and dedicated to St. Peter, and there deposited it in the most solemn and honourable manner."

Dr. Henry's Translation. See his Hist. Brit. vol. 2: page 566.

On the very first establishment of christianity in this kingdom, it appears that they buried chiefly without coffins, as has been described by Dr. Woodward, and more particularly by bishop Gibson, in his description of *Wroxester*. The first coffins were either of wood or large chests of stone. Girald. Cambrensis informs us, that Henry the Second, caused the tomb of Arthur (the famous British king, which was between two pillars at Glastenbury) to be opened, and therein his bones were found enclosed in a large tree made hollow; † but before they had dug down to this coffin by nine feet, they found a large flat stone, on which was nailed a cross of lead, with this inscription, in old rude characters,

See the preceding page. Girald. Cambrensis, who was an eye witness of the truth

HIC JACET SEPULTVS INCLITVS REX ARTVRIVS IN INSVLA
AVALONIA.

And by his side lay Guinever, his beautiful (and as some say incontinent) queen, the golden traces of whose hair were yet undecayed. ‡

But to return to the Saxons, who also in the earlier days buried much in coffins of wood; for *Ceadda*, according to Bede, was buried in a wooden coffin.

Bede Ecc. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 3.

And

† Some authors have imagined that this coffin was of oak, others that it was of alder, as being more lasting.

‡ Several authors deny that it was this queen, who, say they, was buried at Ambresbury, (near Stone-Henge) at which monastery she took the habit of a nun. And Inigo Jones tells us of a monument discovered at Ambresbury, supposed to have belonged to her: "It was (says he) hewn out of a firm stone, and placed in the middle of the wall, having these rude letters of massy gold on its cover, R. G. A. C. 600. which (continues he) might imply, *Regina Guinevera An: Christi 600*. The bones within this sepulchre were all firm, with fair yellow hair about the skull; there were likewise found several royal habiliments, as jewels, veils, and scarfs, &c, the like even till then retaining their proper colours."—Stone-Henge Restored, page 25.

Tumba lig- And the same author informs us, that Sexburga caused the body of her sister
nea Etheldreda, (the virgin wife of Egfrid king of the East Angles) to be removed
ερεοπεne from an obscure place, where it lay in a coffin of wood, in order to place it in a
δρηυ fair tomb of white marble procured for that purpose.

Bede lib. 4. Nevertheless stone coffins were also of very antient date, and were used by them
cap. 29. soon after their conversion to the christian faith. St. Augustinæ, according to Bede,
δρηυ of was buried in the north portico of the church, built in honor of St. Peter and St. Paul,
lipitum not then finished, or dedicated : (and had an epitaph set on his tomb) there were
ετane also entombed, Ethelbert and Bertha his queen : this was about the year of our
Lord 617, but there was no being certain whether their tombs were of wood
or stone. The same author also informs us, that Sebba (king of the East Saxons)

Ecc. Hist. was buried at St. Paul's in a coffin of grey marble, and a cover of the same*.
lib. 4. c. 11. From this time (about the middle of the seventh century) stone coffins or chests,
seem to be had in frequent use, particularly among the richer sort of people.

The coffin of Ethelred (surnamed the unready) who was buried at St. Paul's
Speed London, was seen by Speed before the destruction of that Church, who thus
Chren. describes it. " His (Ethelred's) bones yet remain in the north wall of the
chancel, in a chest of grey marble rear'd on four small pillars, and covered with
a copped stone of the same."

These chests or coffins, in which were deposited the remains of kings and
noblemen, were not in general buried, but set into the walls of churches, or at
least in such manner without, as the greater part of them might be seen. They
often ornamented the covers with an image of the deceased, adding sometimes
to this an epitaph in honour of him. Leland informs us, that in his time, there
Dorchester was to be seen in the old church at Dorchester, " the image of free stone that
in Oxfordshire laye on the tumber of bishop Æschwine, as appearith by the inscription." This
Leland Itin. was in the year 1542. The ingenious Hearne, laments the loss of this monument
v. 2. See Hearne's of antiquity, in a letter of his containing several curious researches.

The inscribing of the tombs of great men, is of very antient date among our
ancestors. The antientest Saxon monument upon record, reared in this king-
dom, is that of *Horfa* brother to *Hengist*. Bede in whose time it was remain-
ing makes this mention of it ; " In the east part of Kent is his (*Horfa's*) mon-
ument, having his name engraved thereon ; but as to its form, or materials
wherewith it is composed, we are left entirely in the dark, unless the law of
Ecc. Hist. Woden will help us out, which commands them " to erect over the bodies of
lib. 1. c. 16. their kings and chiefs, stones inscribed with the Runic character." And this
very likely was nothing more than a large barrow, with a great rude stone set
thereon, inscribed with his name, and perhaps some of his chief actions: this
custom arising from the above law, was the first origin of epitaphs among our
ancestors the Saxons, which then was only intended for to be set on the tombs
of such persons, as had by their glorious actions deserved to have their names
recorded. And this custom also continuing even on the establishment of Chris-
tianity,

* Bede tells us that the masons who had measured the body of the king, had mistaken their measure, so that when the body was brought to the church, the tomb was found to be full a hands breadth too short, and from the construction of it (hewn out of a solid stone) it could not be lengthened ; when they concluded on bending the knees of the corps, as the only method to be taken in this extremity ; when lo a miracle ensued, for the coffin of itself grew out to a sufficient length, and saved them any farther trouble : but says the faithful and industrious Speed ; (who saw the coffin in St. Paul's) " however this tomb was then stretched on Monkish tenters, it is now shrunk again in standing, it not exceeding 5 feet."

tianity, is at length handed down and become very common amongst us. Before them the Britons also, on their conversion to the christian faith borrowed this custom from the Romans, and most likely not before, because the Druids held it unlawful to commit such matters to writing. The tomb of Arthur was between two pillars, but the inscription was buried with the great stone whereon it was fastened, and a remarkable circumstance attended it, which was, that the side of the cross on which the letters were made, was turned inwards toward the stone, so that the inscription could not be seen 'till the cross was taken from the stone *.

Wm. of
Malmbury
Ant. Glost.

They had also other ornaments which were laid upon the tombs of great men. Bede informs us, that over the tomb of Oswald (the great christian hero) there was laid his standard, which was composed of purple and of gold†. Cnut the Dane also gave a rich pall, embroidered with the likenesses of golden apples, elegantly set with pearls, to be laid over the tomb of Edmund Ironsides.

ScalaChron.

Their royal monuments were very grand and magnificent. Ælfred was buried under a tomb of precious porphyry. So also no cost was spared in adorning the shrines of their saints and holy men. The body of St. Wendreda, a virgin, was brought by Elnus (abbot of Ely) to Ely, where it was laid in a rich shrine most superbly ornamented with gold and precious stones.

Afferius An.
Ex Vita
Brignothi

Before the time of christianity, it was held unlawful to bury the dead within the cities, but they used to carry them out into the fields hard by, and there deposited them. Towards the end of the sixth century, Augustine (among various things) obtained of king Ethelbert, a temple of idols (where the king used to worship before his conversion) and made a burying place of it, but St. Cuthbert afterwards obtained leave to have yards made to the churches, proper for the reception of the dead.

The bishop of London (in his additions to Camden) tells us, that of old it was usual to adorn the graves of the deceased with roses and other flowers, (but more especially those of lovers, round whose tombs they often planted rose trees) it was also customary with the Greeks and Romans, to ornament the urns of their dead relations with wreaths of flowers. (Stern Lycurgus confined the Spartans to olive and myrtle.) Some traces of this ancient custom (continues he) are yet remaining in the church yard of Oakley, in Surry, which is full of rose trees, planted round the graves.

Additions to
Surry Col.
162.

Now to finish this long discourse concerning the antient method of interment, I will only add the following extract.

Ex Hist.
Sym. Mon.
Præcent
Dunhelm.

“ In the year of our Lord 740, on the 13th of November, died archbishop Acca, and was buried at the east part of the church of Hangstold. Two crosses elegantly decorated with ornaments of sculpture, were set up, one at the head and the other at his feet; on one of which (namely, that at the head) was letters declaring who was buried there. When the body of this archbishop was removed, there was found on his breast a small tablet, in the form of an altar, made of two pieces of wood join'd together, with silver clasps, or nails, and in it was contained this writing. “ ALMÆ TRINITATE AGIÆ SOPHIÆ SANCTÆ MARIÆ.” On digging further they found a wooden box, which being opened there was discovered therein, two seals of lead, on which were letters, signifying them to be the relics of the blessed Acca.”

See Leland's
Collec. vol.
3 page 349.

* See a full account of it, with a view of the crosses, in the miscellaneous-plates of Hearne's Antiquities, published by John Thane.

† Ecc. Hist. lib. 3. c. 11. his regen se pær mid gold 7 mid goðe pæbbe gepætaþob

Of the Arts and Learning of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

On the first arrival of the Saxons into Britain, they were (as has been before mentioned) heathens; worshipping many idols, to whom they built and dedicated many large and noble temples, but in the beginning of the sixth century, they were converted to the christian faith. But even in this early dawn of the true faith amongst them, there were many great and disagreeable disputes between them and the old christian Britons, about keeping Easter, together with other church matters of like consequence. The Anglo-Saxons, yet even on their conversion, retained much of the superstition of their ancestors, placing great faith in astrological predictions, &c. They understood astronomy, and have left several books written on the course of the planets, &c. together with delineations of the solar system, and the fabulous representations of the signs of the Zodiac, and all those figures now painted on the celestial globe; the particular stars also in some of the Saxon callendars, are done exactly enough. This science they evidently borrowed from the Romans on their conversion to christianity, from whence also flowed most of the arts which were afterwards distinguished amongst them. They yet continued to reckon their years by winters, after the ancient custom as *Da Jorep pær fýxtýne pínrtpe he heold, when Joseph was sixteen winters old*, and their 24 hours by nights instead of days as *þ he beo cxx nighta on capcapne that he should be cxx nights in prison*.

M S. apud
bib. Cot.
Infig. Claud
B. 4.
Laws of
Athelstan
M S. apud
Bib. Cot.

They also understood botany, as may be seen by a curious M S. written on that subject, with very good drawings (considering the time) of the herbs, plants, &c. Learning of all kinds was chiefly confined among the clergy and religious people; tho' Ælfred was indeed a man of great learning, and an excellent poet as well as a good musician. And the reason why learning was not more general among the English, was not altogether from their own inattention to literature, but from the amazing scarcity of books; for Aldfred king of Northumberland, was obliged to give an estate of eight hides of land, to Benedict Biscop (abbot of Weremouth) for the purchase of one book (a volume on Cosinography) which bargain was concluded by Benedict with the king, a little before his death, A. D. 690, and the book was delivered to the king, and the estate received by Ceolfred successor to Benedict. While books were at this exorbitant price, none but kings, abbots, &c. could possibly become purchasers of them, let the genius of the people have been ever so much inclined to study and learning: it is also said that the materials necessary for writing withal were very dear, which was the chief reason why the people in general did not learn to write themselves. They had among their priests several very faithful historians, whose works (since the invention of that divine art, printing) have been mostly given to the world. Among them the venerable Bede, (as he was called by his countrymen) is much respected, and that with great justice: Eddius (by Bede called Stephanus), Nennius, Aferius, and Ethelward, all authors of good account, who with many others have laboured to illustrate and set forth the history of this their native kingdom and countrymen: And Cædmon, whom Bede informs us was a very learned man, whose pious and godly zeal led him to translate the whole book of Genesis into the Saxon tongue, together with the coming out of the Israelites from the land of Egypt, and their
entrance

Ven. Bede

Ecc. Hist.

entrance into the Land of Promise: he also wrote concerning the origin of mankind, and of the last Judgment, &c.

The Anglo-Saxons were by no means so rude and barbarous as they are generally reported to have been, for poetry and poets were never so much honoured and admired as in this present period; since many of the greatest princes were as ambitious of the laurel as of the royal crown. Elfréd we have already mentioned, who was the prince of poets. And Aldhelm who was a ^{Vita Æl-}fredi prince of the royal family of Wessex, and bishop of Sherburn, was also the best poet of this age. Indeed the chief amusement of the Saxon kings seem ^{Anglia Sa-} ^{cra, v. 2, p. 46.} to have been the hearing the poems of their bards, to read their works, and even learn their verses by heart themselves. And however the other polite arts may have since been encouraged, and come to greater perfection; yet every one who will bestow the trouble of examining such of their works as are yet remaining, will find a great deal of good matter in them, when divested of the superstition and fable, which clouded those earlier ages.

Their sculptures and images are almost all lost and destroyed: so that there is no true judgement to be made of them, unless it could be proved that they were of one pace with the drawings and delineations in their MSS. which I must own, are exceedingly imperfect: yet, I dare say, that in their elegant buildings and stately monuments, there was shewn more genius, and greater care bestowed. For we find the MS. delineations of the 11, 12, and 13 century, ^{very little superior to those of the Saxon age} in point of finishing: yet several of the monuments and parts of buildings of that age are well worthy of notice; both for their exactness and delicacy of the carving, and indeed it is very likely to have been the same with the Anglo-Saxons; for the figure of the Abbot of Westminster ^{Vitalis} (who died Anno Dom. 1082) that lies over his grave in the cloisters of that abbey, though much obliterated by the bad usage it has met with, is not however of a just proportion, and has all the appearance of having been extremely well executed: on his head is a mitre, and in his left hand he holds a crozier.

Plate 18. represents the picture of Christ, with a monk kneeling down before him, that from the authority of the top writing (which is in a hand somewhat more modern) was drawn by the very hand of the great Dunstan, and the monk is designed to represent himself. This shows that however the saint might have been infallible in other matters, yet in point of drawing he was most wretchedly deficient.

I think that all the whole annals of this kingdom, cannot produce a greater or more worthy monarch than Ælfred, a short account of whose life and character may not be at all improper here.

He was for his valour and virtues, surnamed *the Great*, he was *learned, brave, and good*. 'Tis said by his historian, that in his earlier days he was instructed in the art of hunting and other noble exercises; yet so much was learning neglected that at twelve years of age he had not the knowledge of a single letter of the alphabet, when a book by accident was put into his hands; the queen (his mother) one day being in company with her four sons (of whom Ælfred was the youngest) and holding a book of Saxon poetry in her hand handsomely painted, and ornamented with drawings; she observed the young princes were ^{much} ^{Afferius in} ^{Vita Ælfredi.}

much charmed with it, upon which she said, whoever first learns to read this book, shall have it for his pains. Our hero warmed with such hopes, applied so diligently, that in a very little time he was able to read and repeat it to the queen, who gave it to him as she had promised.

Notwithstanding the continual distractions of his kingdom, and the constant war in which, in his younger days, he was engaged, yet he carefully applied himself to learning, and holy studies, translating with his own hand many useful works into the Saxon tongue, which he caused to be read by his bishops, and priests for his peoples instructions; and his reason for taking upon himself this trouble, was the lamentable ignorance of his clergy:

Epist. Æl-
fredi ad
Wulfing
Episc. Lond.

Foppam he het him ƿilepa ma þenigan be þære býrýne ꝥ he his biſcopum renban meahre; ƿopþam hi his ƿume be þopþran þa þe leden ƿpnae lerte cuðon; to this end I caused (says he) copies to be made (of my translation) that they might be sent to certain of my bishops, to whom they were very needful, they not understanding the Latin speech. He translated St. Gregory into Saxon from the Latin, and the whole Ecclesiastical history of the venerable Bede, together with many other great and useful works. He is also, by Aſſerius, said to have been the greatest builder and best architect of his age.

William
Malmf. de
gest. reg.
Ang. lib. 2.
in vita Æl-
fredi.

The day, he divided into three equal parts; eight hours of which he spent in reading, writing and in prayer; the other eight hours he spent in hearing and settling the business of the realm; and the remaining eight hours were spent in sleep and other requisite easements for the body. Instead of a clock (which invention was not then known) he had a candle of a certain length, which was equally divided into twenty-four parts, and the chaplain who had the charge of it, gave the king notice how the time passed. His revenue he also divided into two parts: of the first part he made three equal shares; one was for his servants, one for the workmen employed by him in building, and one for making necessary provision for strangers. Of the second part, he made four shares: the first he bestowed in public charities; the second served as a revenue for the monasteries founded by him; the third was for the support of public schools, and encouragement of learning; and the last for the use of churches beyond sea. And thus was the bulk of the annual revenue of this great man spent for the good encouragement of learning and religion, as well as the public benefit of his kingdom.

Aſſerii
Annal.

As in his prosperity he bore a soul moved with the flatteries attendant on power and greatness; so in adversity, he submitted to the rod of God, with most christian patience. To such distress (says Aſſerius) was this good king driven, as to seek refuge under the homely roof of a poor herdsman, whose miserable cottage, would scarcely protect him from the inclemency of the weather; while, to the owner of this wretched mansion, he was obliged for the common necessities of life. During the king's stay, on a time as he was sitting by the fire preparing his bow, and other instruments of war, the mistress of the cot had in the mean time placed some cakes of bread upon the hearth to bake, which unnoticed by the king, began to burn; this being perceived by the woman, she in great rage said to him. "Fellow, wherefore do you suffer the cakes to burn.—you are glad enough to eat them though they were but half baked." The king, says John Wallingford, with great patience submitting himself unto the will of God, calmly replied, "Good hostess, it is not through

Johan.
Wallingford
Chron.

through my negligence that I suffered the bread to burn, but from my not understanding the nature of it;" so saying, he reached out his hand, and turned the cakes from the fire. Little thought (says Asferius) this unmannered woman, that her guest was the royal Ælfred, who had fought so many battles, and gained such signal victories over the Danes: which he did not only by land, but by sea, the success of which last was rather various: but it is said that he found the Saxon *Keeles* or ships, which were very clumsily formed, being short, broad, and low, but ill adapted for execution in time of war; so to oppose the Danish pirates of Northumberland, he built other ships on a new construction, twice the length of the former, and much more lofty, which made them much swifter sailors, and more steady in the water: some of them had sixty oars, and some more: (these were only galleys, and most likely not equal in strength or size to the ship, shewn in the course of the plates, where there is no marks or holes for oars, that being a sailing ship only, and too big to be managed with them.)

Chron. Sax.

Pl. 9. fig. 1.

In Ælfred's time one Ochter a Norwegian, went on a voyage of discoveries in the northern seas: and Wulfstan, an Anglo-Saxon, went out to explore the coast of the Baltic. An Anglo-Saxon priest also named Sighelm, undertook and performed a voyage *beyond sea*, to the Christians of St. Thomas, on the Coroman-del coast in hither India.

Anderson's
Hist. of
Commer ce.
Malmf. de
Pont. lib. 2

A great article in commerce (among the Saxons) was slaves: which custom of selling men and women was yet kept up in the Confessor's time; for *Gith*, wife to Goodwin, earl of Kent, greatly enriched herself by this sort of traffic. The people of Bristol we are told, were much addicted to this commerce, till they were stopped from so barbarous a custom, by the advice and intreaties of Wulfstan bishop of Worcester, at the Norman conquest.

Hollinshed

Exportation of horses was much practised, as may be judged from the following law of Athelstan, being found necessary.

Nān man ne sylle nan hofp oþer ræ, butan he hit ȝypan þille;
No man shall (send) any horses over sea, but such as shall be presents.

Leges
Æthelst.

It is true that as the arts, and useful improvements flourished among the Saxons, so they gave great way to looseness and luxury. They were very fond of hot baths; and indeed in the Anglo-Saxon laws the bathing in warm water was considered as one of the necessary requisites of life, while on the other hand, they hated the bathing in cold water; which, together with restraining from the hot bath, were often enjoined as penance for the faults they had committed: those who would any ways wish to be respected by the ladies were careful to bathe, at least, every Saturday. Long hair was much admired by the ladies: the Danes, who in Edgar's time were quartered upon the English (being great beaux) were particularly attentive to the combing and dressing of their hair, by which means they captivated the hearts of the English ladies: this luxury (as it was then esteemed) of long hair, was much inveighed and preached against by bishop Wulfstan.

Johnson's
Canons.

Witchindus

John Wal-
lingford.
Ed. Gale
p. 547.

The domestic employment of the ladies has already been mentioned. Weaving and needle-work were much practised by them: we are told, that a religious lady desirous to embroider a sacerdotal robe, got St. Dunstan (then a young man) to draw the figure of it for her, which she formed with threads of gold; and this is not the only instance of this kind, for the Saxon women were

Malmf. in
Vita Wulf-
stani.
Anglia Sa-
cra v. 2. p. 94

- much famed for knowledge of embroidery; and even the ladies of the highest rank employed thus their time. These ornaments were chiefly designed for churches or vestments for the clergy when they performed their sacred duties. The four daughters of King Edward the elder, were highly praised and distinguished, on account of their great assiduity and skill in spinning, weaving and needle-work. And Edelfeda, widow of Brithnød duke of Northumberland, (in the tenth century) presented to the church of Ely a curtain, on which was pictured the history of the great actions of her deceased lord, in order to preserve the memory of his great valour and other virtues. So in a charter to the Abbey of Croyland, made by Witlaf King of Mercia, he gives his purple mantle which he wore on the day of his coronation, to be made into a cope for the use of the priest who ministered at the holy altar; and his golden vail embroidered with the siege of Troy, to be hung up in the church on his birth-day. In the *Monarchie Francoise* of the Great Montfaucon, are engravings taken from a piece of tapestry said to be the work of Matilda, wife to the conqueror, and the ladies of her court; in which is represented, the embroidered history of the conquest of England by the Normans; beginning with Harald's embassy to the Norman court, A. D. 1065, and ending with his death Anno 1066: this antiquity is yet preserved in the cathedral of Bayeux, but I must own, that to me the work and habits (as far as one can judge by the representation) seem to be of a much more modern date. The method of weaving then in use is somewhat explained by a similitude made use of by Adhelm, bishop of Sherburn, in his book *de Virginitate*: " 'Tis not the single web of one simple colour that is pleasing to the eye, but it is one that is with threads of purple, and various other colours, woven in with the shuttle thrown from one side to the other, thereby forming a variety of different colours and figures, each in its own proper compartment, knit together with exquisite art." They had also the art of making silk and woollen cloths; the last of which is very clearly proved by the price of wool which in some of the Anglo-Saxon laws, was valued at two fifths of the price of the whole sheep. They also understood the art of manufacturing furs, &c. together with that of dying linen, &c. of different colours.
- The people of Suffex knew nothing of catching fish till they were taught by bishop Wilfred; except only some few eels which they caught in small nets: and in Bede's time the plough had only one handle, (see plate 24, fig. 4.) but the use of the hatchet I cannot so well explain, unless it was to break such clods of earth as might stop the progress of the plough.

Of the Marriages of the Anglo-Saxons.

- The Saxons of old were famous for their chastity of behaviour, the bond of matrimony being by them always held sacred and inviolable, so that adultery was scarcely known amongst them, but by name; though it must be allowed, that the Anglo-Saxons did not entirely keep up the glory and innocence of their ancestors; for Boniface, bishop of Maguance, (who was an Englishman) by letter reproved Ethelbert, king of the Mercians, for his lewd and adulterous life, telling him, that the ancient Saxons (though they knew not God) would have punished such wretched crimes with the most severe torments. So desperately wicked

W. Malmf.
lib. 2 c. vi.

Hist. Elien.
lib. 2, cap. 7.

Ingulph.
Hist. Croil.
p. 488.

Montfaucon
see also Dr.
Ducarrell's
Anglo-
Norman
Antiq.

M.S. in the
Archiepisc.
Library at
Lambeth,
written a-
bout the
year 680.

Leg. Sax.

A. D. 687.

Holling-
head Chron
v. 1. p. 190.

wicked was Ethelburga, daughter to Offa, who, besides her adulterous acts, by chance poisoned her husband, Brithlake, (king of the West Saxons) who drank of a potion by her mixed up for her gallant; the people on this wicked woman's account, caused a law to be enacted, excluding the wives of kings from all their ancient privileges, (such as sitting in council, &c.) depriving them of their antient name of *Open*, or *Queen*, and prohibiting them from sitting beside the king in any public places. This law continued in full force until the time of Ethelwolf, who much offended the people by placing his queen by him on his chair of state. But notwithstanding the above recited instances, we must by no means conclude that these immodesties were in general prevailing among our Anglo-Saxon ladies: No; they were for the most part very delicate and modest, not only in their dress, but in their behaviour and manners. Nay, to such extremes did some of the ladies carry their principles of honour and virtue, as even after marriage to refuse accompanying with their husbands, living still in a perpetual virginity: an instance of which was Etheldreda, the maiden wife of Egfrid, king of the Northumbers; she was twice married, yet lived and died an unspotted virgin, whose mistaken zeal led others to follow her example. But the singular instance of modesty and virtue shewn by the chaste Ebba, abbess of Coddington, and the virtuous Nuns, ought, to the eternal honour of the Saxon ladies, to stand upon record. The abbey being hard beset by the inhuman Danes, the abbess took a knife and slit her nose, and cut off her lips, by her persuasion causing all the beautiful young damsels to do the same, and so disguising themselves in the most frightful manner, waited the coming of the lascivious conquerors, who in revenge of their disappointed lusts, set fire to the abbey, and every soul therein perished in the flames.

In regard to the particular forms of the marriage ceremony, we must be contented with the best account that can be gathered out of such various authors as have touched thereon, together with the opinions of some of our greatest and most learned antiquaries.

Most undoubted it is, that among the Saxons the fair sex were always treated in the most gallant manner, and the greatest regard and attention was paid to them: yet a woman was always considered as under a guardianship to some man all her life time; this guardianship was called *Mund*, and the person who claimed it *Mundbopa*, without whose advice and consent she could not do any legal act; neither was this guardian, but by his own consent, to be by any means deprived of such his right. The father was the natural *Mundbopa* to his unmarried daughters; when he died the brothers claimed it, or if there were no brothers, the next male relation. The male heir of the husband was the guardian of the widow; and the king the legal protector of such as had no other. When a young man was desirous of paying his addresses to a lady, he first procured the consent of the *Mundbopa*, by making a present, more or less, according to the rank of the lady: this was called the *Mebe*, or price, which gave rise to the saying, "that men at this period bought their wives;" and explains a law made by Ethelbert, king of Kent, which runs thus, "If a freeman lie with the wife of another freeman, let him buy another wife for the injured party;" that is, pay the *Mebe* for another wife. If a man rashly married a woman without the consent of the *Mundbopa*, he was guilty of the crime called *Mundbpeach*, and obnoxious to many severe penalties; besides this, he obtained no legal authority

over

Ran. Cest.
lib. 5, cap.
25.

Wm. of
Malmfbury
de Gest.
Reg. Ang.
lib. 2. cap. 7.

Bede Ecc.
Hist.

Flores His-
toriarum,
page 313.

Spelman
Gloss. 423.

Muratori
Antiq. vol.
2. page 113.

Leges
Ethelberti.

over his wife or her goods. Yet it was found necessary to restrain these guardians from being too avaricious in their demands, therefore laws were made, which fixed the price to be paid for ladies of all ranks, with the full extent of such demands. If the lady was a widow, but half the *Mæe* was demanded of the suitor, as would have been fixed had she been a maiden of the same rank. When the gallant had obtained his mistress's consent, as well as that of the guardian, the parties were solemnly contracted, and one of the bridegroom's friends became surety for the woman's good treatment and maintenance suitable to her rank; and at the making this contract, the dowry which the husband intended to give the wife was fixed and ascertained. It was a constant custom to invite all relations, within the third degree, to the marriage feast, and all who were invited made some present to the bride or bridegroom. The father, brother, or whatever relation was guardian, made a considerable present of furniture, arms, cattle, and money, according to their circumstances, which was called *pæbep-pium*, *father's gift*, and was all the fortune which the man received. No marriages could be lawful without the presence of the *Munbbopa*, who gave the bride to the bridegroom, saying, "I give thee my daughter, (sister or relation) to be thy honour, and thy wife, to keep thy keys, and share with thee in thy bed and goods; in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." And on the morrow, in the morning, when the bridegroom arose from his bed, to testify his entire satisfaction, he was obliged to give a handsome gift, called the *Morgæn-gifte*, or *morning gift*, which was the ancient pin money, and became the separate property of the wife alone.

The marriage was celebrated at the house of the bridegroom, on whom fell all the trouble and expence; some time was allowed him to make such preparations as were necessary, which seldom exceed more than six or seven weeks at most from the time of contracting. The day before the wedding, those friends of the bridegroom that had been invited came to his house, where the day was spent in feasting and merriment: next morning the bridegroom's friends being assembled, and mounted on horseback, proceeded in great state and order to the residence of the bride, under the conduct of one who was named *poppe pyrtaman*, or *foremost man*, to receive and conduct the bride safely to the house of her intended husband: this martial array was in honour of the bride, and to protect her from the attempts of any of her former lovers. The bride was led by a matron, who was called the *bride's woman*, followed by a company of young maidens, who were called the *bride's maids* and attended by her *Munbbopa*, and other male relations. On her arrival she was received by the bridegroom, where she was solemnly betrothed to him by her guardian; after this ceremony was finished, the bridegroom, the bride, and their united companies, proceeded to the church, attended with music, and there they received the nuptial benediction from the priest: sometimes this benediction was performed under a veil, or square piece of cloth, held at each corner by a tall man, over the bridegroom and bride, to conceal her virgin blushes; but if the bride was a widow, the veil was esteemed useless. After the benedictional ceremony was finished, both the bride and bridegroom were crowned with crowns of flowers, kept in the church for that purpose; and these ceremonies being finished, the whole company returned to the bridegroom's house, where they sat down to the nuptial feast, and the remaining part of the day was spent by the youth of both sexes in mirth and dancing,

Spelman.
Concil. page
425.

Steinhook,
page 160.

Leges. Sax.

Dr. Henry's
Hist. of Brit.
page 561.

Muratorius,
v. 2, p. 111.

Olai. Mag-
ni, 523.

dancing, while the graver sort sat down to their drinking bout, in which they highly delighted. At night the bride was by the women attendants placed in the marriage bed, and the bridegroom in the same manner conducted by the men, where having both, with all who were present, drank the marriage health, the company retired. The wedding dresses of the bride, and three of her maidens, and of the bridegroom, and three of his attendants, were of a fashion and colour peculiar to the ceremony, and might not be wore on any other occasion; and these dresses antiently belonged to the musical performers, who attended the wedding, but in latter times they were given to some church or monastery. Next morning the whole company came into the chamber of the new married couple, before they arose, to hear the husband declare the *Morgengifte*, or *morn-ing's gift*, when his relations became sureties to the wife's relations for the performance of such promises as were made by the husband.

The feasting continued still for several days, or till all the provision was consumed, when all who had been guests made some handsome present to the husband at their departure.

Plate 13, fig. 1. seems to represent a marriage, where the bride is brought and presented to the bridegroom; most likely by the *Munbbopa* or *guardian*, who is joining their hands: on the right hand stands a man with a cup, or dish in his hand, the use of which, I cannot otherways explain, than that it is (perhaps) some peculiar marriage gift, or contained the holy water that might be sprinkled over them by way of benediction.

When a child was new born, it was clad in a loose robe, and set in a large vessel, while the attendant poured in water. See plate 13, fig. 3.

Historians have neglected to say much concerning the baptism ceremonies, but most likely those forms did not greatly differ from the set form, which shall be hereafter shewn among the Normans: for in religious matters, excepting some few trifling variations, the ceremonies were handed down much after the antient customs. Among the various church laws of Ethelbald, there was one which forbid the priests receiving any reward for baptizing of children. They were baptized whilst they were yet very young, for Pope Gregory in his epistle to Augustine, recommends him to baptize them very soon; and adds, "even the minute they are born if the children should be sick or weakly." And one of the laws of Ina king of the West Saxons was that *Cild binnan þryttigum ni'ta rý gepulpað. 30 hrit rpa ne rý. xxx. scillinga geberc; Lif hit ðonne rý deað butan fulluhte. geberc he hit mid callum ðam ðe he age; a child within 30 nights (after its birth) shall be baptized, if it is not, 30 shillings shall be given; but if it die without baptism than all that belongs to it shall be forfeited.* Above all things it was with the Saxons a constant custom for the mother to nurse and suckle her own children, unless sickness or some sinister accident prevented it, "they holding it (says Verstegan) among them for a general rule, that the child by sucking a strange nurse, would rather incline unto the nature of her, than unto the nature of its owne father or mother."

Stow's
Chron.
Epist. Pope
Greg. to
Augustine
in Bede lib.
1. cap. 27.
2d. Law of
Ina

Verstegan's
Rest. of De-
cayed Ant.
page 57.

Thus having given a general account of the manners of our old ancestors, I will now take my leave of this *Æra*, with presenting to the reader an exact representation of a curious piece of enamel'd copper which composed the shrine of the unfortunate Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, (to whom the cathedral church of Hereford was dedicated) on it is represented the murder of this king, and the interment

Pl. 25.

interment of his remains, at the request of Humbert archbishop of Litchfield. The shrine is lined with oak, which is supposed to be part of the floor whereon the murder was committed, which was on the evening preceding his intended nuptials with Elfrida, daughter of Offa king of the Mercians, who (because he was therein concerned) in order to procure his pardon, was directed by the Pope, to erect a cathedral church over the remains of the innocent king, who was then fainted, and his relicks put into the present shrine. The machine held by the two attendants on which the dead body lies, appears to me to be the bier on which the corps was carried upon the shoulders of attendants to the place of sepulture. The writing on the tablet held by the attendant priest, is so obliterated as to render it impossible to be decyphered.

The End of the ANGLO-SAXON Æra.

OF THE

D A N E S,

Both from and before their Establishment in ENGLAND,

UNTIL THE

N O R M A N C O N Q U E S T.

THE Saxons now settled in the kingdom, shook off by degrees their natural ferocity, becoming much more civilized and polished; but as it often happens, that the minds of men run from one extreme to another, so our ancestors, banishing the plain and homely habits of their forefathers, adopted in their stead a sumptuous expensiveness in their dress, as well as luxury and profuseness in their entertainments. The love of the most effeminate amusements took the place late occupied in their souls by manly valour, and desire of glory. This material change from their antient manhood, forerun their destruction, and hastened on the advancement of the Danes.

The original of the Danes is (by some) disputed, however the general opinion is, that they are a part of the most antient northern inhabitants*; their manners, customs, religion and habit, well agreeing with those of the old Germans. Why they were not better known to Greek and Roman authors, (says Verstegan) is because the coldness of those northern countries was such, that they scarcely supposed they could admit of inhabitants. Sherring-
ham, ch. vii.
Verstegan
page 155.

There are many various disputes concerning the derivation of the name of the Danes, but as such disputes are built only on the conjectures of the writers, they become useless and unnecessary to my present plan. It has been already observed, that the Manners and Customs of this people, antiently, differed but little from those of the Saxons, therefore, there needs but little addition to be made to what has gone before; especially as that part of the Danish history, chiefly necessary to be here set forth, is only from the time of their first commencing christians, because their antient manners and customs did not much affect the settled constitution of the kingdom. I shall only then give such general matters relative to this people, as may serve to throw a clearer light on what may hereafter follow †.

* Puffendorf, a northern writer, in his account of Denmark, tells us, that it is one of the most ancient kingdoms in Europe, which had its kings long before the birth of Christ: but (continues he) "there is left us no authentic account, from whence we may precisely trace the origin, or length of reign of its first kings, or from whence we may set down the history of their lives and exploits, &c." Puffendorf's Introduction to the Hist. Europe.

Verstegan writes, that Denmark, Norway and Sweden, are not so ancient as Germany, but he is flatly contradicted by Sherringham, who rather supposes Germany to have been peopled from the more northern settlements. Sher. de Ang. Gentis Origine cap. vii.

† See a full and particular account of the origin of this people, in the work entitled, Northern Antiquities, translated from the French of Monf. Mallet's Introduction a l'Histoire de Dannemarc.

Camden
Brit.
Ditmarus

In their sacrifices, the Danes were more cruel than the Saxons. An antient bishop (complaining of the vices of mankind) writes thus, "Because I have heard wonderful reports of the antient sacrifices of the Danes and Normans, I will not let it pass unnoticed. In those parts there is a place and the chief it is of that kingdom, called Lederum, in a province named Selon, where every ninth year in the month of January, after the time in which we celebrate the festivity of our lord, they all assemble together, and there kill and sacrifice unto their gods ninety-nine men, as many horses, with dogs and cocks instead of hawks, assuring themselves that thereby the gods are fully pleased and pacified." Not only common people fell victims to their sacrifices, but even those of the first rank and quality; especially in time of great danger, when they thought that the only way to bribe the gods to assist them, was to offer up a noble sacrifice: thus "the first king of Vermland (a province of Sweden) was burnt in honour of *Odin*, (or *Woden*) to put an end to a great dearth." The kings in their turn did not spare the blood of their subjects, and many of them even shed that of their children. Hacon, king of Norway, offered his son in sacrifice, to obtain of *Odin* the victory over his enemy Harald. Aune, king of Sweden, devoted to *Odin* the blood of his nine sons, to prevail on that god to prolong his life.

Northern
Ant. vol. 1.
ch. 7. p. 134

Camden's
Brit.

It is also said, that when the inhabitants of the kingdom became too numerous, they would muster a number of young men together by lot, who were driven forth to seek their fortune by the sword; but previous to their departure, one of them was by lot singled forth to be slain, a sacrifice (for the safety of the rest) to their antient God *Thur*. The unhappy wretch on whom unfortunately the lot might fall, was struck down with the yoke of an ox; this was done before the altar, where the sacred fire was kept burning both night and day; the priest who performed this office consecrating the victim with certain words, as, "I devote thee to *Thur*;" or, "I send thee to *Thur*." The body then being stretched out on the ground, they wounded the great artery of the heart, and drew out the blood, which was carefully caught into a large iron or brazen vessel, and sprinkled, with the blessing of the priest, on the heads of those who were about to depart. "These (says Speed) being thus driven out of their own; fell upon other lands, with no less danger than a sword falling from the scabbard, or rather, as the breaking in of the tempestuous sea upon the neighbouring grounds, fore distressing the surrounding nations; and among them England was sure not to escape their rage." But the true cause of this emigration does not seem to have really been for the want of room at home, but rather from the natural restlessness of this people, and the desire of winning by their swords more rich and cultivated possessions, than those they already inhabited. They were without doubt a warlike people, constantly despising such as had the fear of death before them. "The Danes (says Adam of Bremen) are remarkable for this, that if they have committed any crime, they had rather suffer death than blows. There is no punishment for them but the axe or servitude; as for groans, complaints, and other bemoanings of that kind, in which we find relief, they are so detested by the Danes, that they think it mean to weep for their sins, or for the death of their dearest relations." And Saxo Gram. speaking of a single combat, says, "one of the champions *fell, laughed, and died*;" an epitaph short and energetic. Such was their constant custom to die without manifesting the least sorrow, or sense of pain, even to the last gasp of life; it was indeed the vow of every free-man to die with his arms in his hand.

Speed
Chron.

Northern
Ant. vol. 1.
chap. 9.

Ibid. 206.

Ibid. page
117.

In

In all the early annals of the English history, the Danes are marked out as a cruel barbarous people, extremely lascivious, ravishing and abusing the women wherever they spread their conquests; they were also great gluttons and drinkers, living in debauchery, and committing frequent murders, notwithstanding the terrible punishments threatened to them by the Edda: "There is an abode remote from the sun, the gates of which face the north; poison rains there through a thousand openings: this place is all composed of the carcases of serpents; there run certain torrents, in which are plunged the perjurers, assassins, and those who seduce married women. A black winged dragon flies incessantly around, and devours the bodies of the wretched who are there imprisoned."

North. Ant.
v. 1. p. 117.

They are noted also as a people regardless of their faithfullest promises: to confirm a promise by oath, they would swear "by the shoulder of a horse," and "by the edge of a sword;" but their most solemn and sacred oath was that which was sworn upon the holy *armilla*, or bracelet, which was after this fashion: the person to be sworn laid hold of a certain ring, or *bracelet*, usually kept upon the altar of the gods, but now worn on the arm of the priest, or chief magistrate, (in the judgment hall :) this bracelet was smeared over with the blood of their sacrifices, and while he that swore thus held the ring, he took the oath. Asser. Vit. Ælfredi, Etherward, Hist. lib. 4. cap. 3.

We are told by Wormius, that the Danes antiently held certain courts of parliament (in which their kings were solemnly elected) within a circle of twelve stones, and a thirteenth in the middle, higher than the rest, on which was placed, as on a regal throne, the new elected king, inaugurated by the general suffrage, with loud applauses and acclamations of the people, clashing of their swords, and striking their shields together, &c. The origin of this custom, which proceeded from their religious principles, is explained in the ancient Edda: "He (the universal father *Odin*) in the beginning established governors, and ordered them to decide whatever differences should arise amongst men, and to regulate the government of the celestial city. The assembly of these judges was held in the plain called *Ida*, which is in the middle of the divine abode. Their first work was to build a hall, wherein are twelve seats for themselves, besides the throne, which is occupied by the Universal Father, &c." From hence came the senate of twelve among the northern nations: "the vestiges of this antient custom may be discovered in the fable of the twelve peers of France, and in the establishment of twelve jurymen in England, who are the proper judges according to the antient laws of the country."

Olai
Worm. Hist.
Dan.

North. Ant.
v. 2. p. 45.

See page 19
of this Work

When they met to nominate the king, the electors stood upright upon the stones, fixed in the earth, environing the court, giving their voices, and thereby confirming their choice; by the stability of the stones on which they stood, tacitly declaring the firmness of the act; at other times they sat upon stones, or else stood upright beside them.

Saxo Gram.
Hist. Dan.
lib. 1.

If a king fell in a foreign expedition, the army presently got together a parcel of stones, and set them round in such manner, as well perhaps for a monument for the dead king, as for a place of election for his successor; and this they did, first, because they esteem'd the election in such a forum to be a good addition to the title; and secondly, because by delay of election, many damages often hap-

Dr. Charl-
ton's Con-
futation of
J. Webb's
Defence of
Inigo Jones.
Plot's Ox-
fordshire.

pened to the commonwealth. From this cause Dr. Charlton and others have been led at once to conclude, that Stonehenge, and other monuments of that kind, (in this kingdom) were thus raised by the Danes for the inauguration of their kings. If so, (as Dr. Plott judiciously observes) why were not any of their kings crowned at some one of these places? Cnute and Hærdicnute were crowned at London, and Harald at Oxford. It may be objected that they were christians, and that their ancient customs might be then abolished, as the remains of heathenism and idolatry; but surely were these monuments of so late a date as to have been constructed by the Danes at all, would so many faithful authors as were then living, have been silent about the erection of such extraordinary buildings?

There does not seem to have been any material change in the manners and customs of the Saxons arising from the Danish Conquest; for in the first place, the time (only 27 years) that the latter were in possession of the kingdom, was too short (however their manners might differ, and they be willing to introduce them) to effect it; and in the next place, when they were become masters of the kingdom, they were so cruel and peremptory in the exercising of their power, that they were utterly hated and detested by the English, who, as they began to shake off the yoke, (by way of retaliation for their former sufferings) not only chased them from the realm, but killed and destroyed them in great numbers; calling them, by way of derision, *Lord Danes*, and treating them with great cruelty and indignity. So overjoyed were the English at the expulsion of these troublesome guests, that they introduced a festival, called *hucxtide*, or *hocxtide*, a term of scorn and derision, something resembling the old Roman pastime, called *fugalia*, in commemoration of their chasing forth their kings.

Speed's
Chron. 392.

Observations on the Government of the Danes.

The government of England does not seem to have been much altered by the Danes, saving that a country got by conquest, must be held by power, which maxim made them more arbitray and strict in their proceedings. Yet several good and wholesome laws were enacted in the reign of Cnute (surnamed the Great) who (after many daring and fruitless attempts both by his predecessors, as well as by himself) at length effected the conquest of the greatest part of the kingdom, at first only sharing it with Edmund Ironsides, who was then king; but this Edmund being soon after treacherously slain, Cnute was left in sole possession of the realm; which he divided into four parts, appointing Northumberland to the governance of Irke, or Iricius; Mercia to the treacherous Edrick; and the East Angles to Turkhyl, who had greatly served him; the Western parts he reserved for himself.

It is said of this king, that one day, when his flatterers not only praised him above Alexander, Cyrus, or Cæsar, but also added that he was more than human: being near the sea side, he called for a chair, which he ordered to be set close to the water's edge, and placed himself therein, speaking thus to the rising tide: "Thou sea art part of my dominions, the ground I sit on is my own, and none dare disobey what I command, therefore I charge thee stop thy swelling waters, nor dare to overflow the ground, lest you wet the garment of your master." But when it still increased, and reached his feet and the borders of his robe, he started

started from his seat, and with a look full of disdain, spake thus to his servile courtiers: "How weak is human power! how trifling the extent of kingly greatness! none should be called a king but him alone whose will almighty governs heav'n, earth, and seas!" Then going from thence, he proceeded to the church of Winchester, where taking his crown from his head, he placed it on the image of our crucified Saviour; from whence (it is generally supposed) came the old custom of hanging the armour or robes of great men in churches, over their tombs, or near the altars.

This king Cnute was also a poet; for it is reported of him, that when he was in a boat upon the water, passing near the church at Ely, he heard the monks there singing and performing their mass, upon which, suddenly inspired with poetic fire, he chaunted out a song, which he composed as he sung, the first stanza of which is yet left upon record in the history of Ely church; it runs thus,

Wene jungen ðe Munecher binnen Ely,
 Ða Cnut chinz neu ðen by,
 popeð cnuter noep the land
 And hepe pe þer Muncher rænz.

*Cheerful sang the monks of Ely,
 When Cnute the king was passing by,
 Row to the shore, knights, said the king,
 And let us hear these churchmen sing.*

Which verse, with the rest of the song, was afterwards sang in the churches in commemoration of this extraordinary fact. A portrait of this king is exhibited in plate 28, with his queen Alfyge, who was his first wife. See the Description of the plates.

Observations on the Arms, &c. of the Danes.

The antient defensive armour of the Danes was nothing more than a helmet, (mostly of leather) a breast plate, and a shield; but at the time of their conquest we find the soldiers had got compleat suits of armour, see plate 26, but what they were made of cannot be positively determined; at the shoulders and elbows they seem to bend with much ease, and from the folds in the skirts, I should not imagine them to be very stiff. I may not perhaps be far out of the way, if I suppose them to be made of leather, thinner at the joints, to render them more pliable; the diamond crossing I take to be strong wires interwoven with each other, and made with joints where it was necessary for them to bend. This armour covers the whole body, legs, and arms, half the hand being only left uncovered for the better purchase in holding either the sword, the spear, or the shield, &c: Their heads are covered with helmets, much superior to those we have seen of the Saxons, and seem still better fashioned to sustain the shock of a violent blow; their being so high from the head is also an advantage, and may be deemed a special safeguard to the head; the projection also that comes straight down before the face, prevents it receiving any hurt from a cross stroke of the enemy's sword. I take these helmets to be either iron or brass, both of which were much used among the Danes, which last, if the rank or wealth of the

Northern
 Antiq. v. 1,
 p. 242.

the wearer permitted, were gilt and polished. "It was the most noble manner in which a hero could employ his leisure, to polish his shield to the utmost brightness, and to represent upon it either some gallant feat, or some emblematical figure expressive of his own inclinations or exploits; and this served to distinguish him when in battle with his helmet over his face: but then every one could not carry these pointed or carved shields indifferently. When a young warrior was at first enlisted, they gave him a white and smooth buckler, which was called the "shield of expectation;" this he carried till by some signal exploit he had obtained leave to have the proofs of his valour engraven on it; for this reason none but princes, or persons distinguished by their services, presumed to carry shields adorned with any symbol: the common soldiers could not obtain a distinction, of which the *grande*s were so jealous. In following times these symbols, which illustrious warriors had adopted, passing from father to son, produced in the north, as well as all over Europe, hereditary coats of arms."

Their swords are both longer and larger than those of the Saxons (see plate 26.)

The lance does not differ much.

The axe is by several authors attributed to the Danes alone, (and most probably it was more used by them than by any other northern nation.) When Cnut caused the treacherous Edrick to be slain, his head was cut off with an axe or halbert, according to the writer who lived at the time. In the battle of Harald the Second, against his brother Tostie, and the king of Norway; a single Norwegian soldier with his axe defended a bridge against the whole army of Harald; and is reported to have slain more than forty of the English. But we are equally certain, that axes were used by the Anglo-Saxons, (see plate 4, fig. 6 :) and we are told, that when Harald marshalled his army against the Conqueror, he carefully set the foot in front, with their hollow shields and double edged axes or bills. "*Pedites omnes cum bipennibus, conferta ante se scutorum testudine, impenetrabilem cuneum faciunt.*" And Speed (quoting of Thomas Mills) writes thus, "Harald marshalled his battaile, placing in the vant-guard the *Kentish men*, (who by ancient custome had the front of the battaile belonging to them) with their heavy axes or halberts." Matthew of Westminster also adds, "*clavis & securibus*," that is clubs and axes, to the weapons of the Normans.

It may be here observed, that it was a constant custom with almost all the Norman nations, to draw up their infantry in the shape of a pyramid, or *wedge*, (as our old English historians express it) the point of which was directed to the enemy. Their principal force was their infantry; though they had also some soldiers, who served both on horse and on foot; these were commonly placed in the flanks of the army.

The call to arms was by the sound of the trumpet, or horn. Thus in the history of Charles and Grymer, Swedish kings, Harec, hearing of his son's death, (slain by Grymer) cries out, "Let the bugle horn sound to arms. I will go ravage Sweden, &c." And in the same history is the following remarkable passage: "King Charles is informed that his warriors are perished, (*by the swords of Harec and of his followers*;) that his chieftain Eric himself is destroyed, and that his army are weltering in their blood. He is likewise told, that in Harec's train there is a chieftain named Grunder, whose resplendent sword had made terrible carnage of his people. Grymer heard also this relation, and throwing down his dagger, struck it with violence into the table; but the king with his pierced it through and through. All instantly fly to arms, and every one prepares himself for battle; the trumpet sounds, and each warrior is accoutred," &c.

Some

Some Observations on the Danish Fortifications.

“ Their fortresses (says the author of the northern antiquities, speaking of the ancient Danes) were only rude castles situate on the summit of rocks, and rendered inaccessible by thick mishapen walls. As these walls ran winding round the castles, they often called them by a name which signified *serpents* or *Dragons*; and in these were commonly secured the women and young maids of distinction, who were seldom safe at a time when so many bold warriors were rambling up and down in search of adventures. Northern Ant. v. 1. p. 242.

It was this custom which gave occasion to ancient Romancers, who knew not how to describe any thing simply, to invent so many fables concerning princesses of great beauty, guarded by dragons, and afterwards delivered by young heroes who could not achieve their rescue till they had overcome those terrible guards. These rude forts were seldom taken by the enemy, unless by surprise, or after a long blockade: however, when these were of great importance, they raised terraces and artificial banks on that side of the fort which was lowest; and by this means annoyed the besieged, by throwing in arrows, stones, boiling water, and melted pitch; offensive arms which the besieged, on their part, were not negligent in returning.” As to the forts and castles built by the Danes in England, the remaining earth-works are not to be distinguished from those of the Saxons; but by the accounts that may be traced from history concerning such remains. The general form of them is also like those of the Saxons, round; with a ditch equally broad and extensive. See Dalin. Suea Rikes, hist. lib. 1. chap. 7.

In religious buildings, round towers and steeples, are said to be certain marks of Danish architecture; but this I will by no means insist upon.

Sea Affairs, and Shipping of the Danes.

These people were very formidable on the sea; both England and France; with other neighbouring nations, dreadfully felt the force of their naval prowess. Antiently their vessels were but a sort of barque's with twelve oars; but afterwards they built others more strong and capacious, some of which (in the eleventh century) are said to have been capable of holding a hundred and twenty men. The northern kings often built vessels of an extraordinary size. Harold Horfagre built one which he called the *Dragon*, of enormous bulk. And king Olave Tryggveson had one named the *Long Serpent*; this, the chronicles say, was very large and high, a wooden serpent was carved on the poop, which together with the prow, was gilded with gold; it carried thirty banks of rowers, and was the finest and largest ship that had ever been seen in Norway. The anonymous author of the encomium, Emma, who lived in the Time of king Cnute, gives a pompous description of that prince's fleet. “ The ships were richly gilded with gold and silver; and on the top of the mast of each ship was the gilt figure of some bird, which turned on a spindle with the wind, indicating the point from which it blew. The sterns of the ships were adorned with various figures cast in metal and gilded with gold and silver; on one was the statue of a man, on another was a golden lion, on a third a dragon of burnished brass, and on a fourth a furious bull, with gilded horns; which dreadful appearances Northern Ant. Torfæus hist. of Norway. Encom. Emma. p. 166.

See also p. 43. the ship presented to Hardicnute.

joined with the bright reflections from the shields of the soldiers, and their polished arms, struck terror into the mind of the beholder.

Some general Observations on the Dress, Habit and Customs of the Danes.

The Danes were remarkable according to our English histories, for their voluptuousness, so we are not at all surprised to find the bed so much better constructed for ease and indulgence, than that of the Anglo-Saxons. (See plate 27 fig. 3.)

The dresses of their kings were grand and magnificent, though not much unlike those of the Saxons; embroidered, and worked with broad gold trimming. They wore shoes, and also a kind of buskin, the toe of which was turned somewhat downwards. They had either a cloak or a robe (like those of the Saxons) sometimes buckled over the right shoulder, and hanging on the left, and sometimes buckling on the middle of the breast: see plate 27. fig. 2. and plate 28. where the cloak hangs over the left shoulder of the king, without being buckled on the right at all.

The ladies dresses differ but very little from the dress of the Saxon women, excepting that this of the Danes seems to be still more grand and costly; see plate 26, fig. 2. See also the dress of the common people, plate 27. fig. 1.

We have remarked already, that the Danes who were in England in the time North. Ant. of Edgar, were great beaux, constantly combing their hair, of which they were v. 1. p. 205. very fond. A young warrior going to be beheaded, begged of his executioner that his hair might not be touched by a slave, or stained with his blood: and

Ibid. p. 327. Harald Harfagre (i. e. *Fair Locks*) made a vow to his mistress to neglect his *fine hair* till he had completed the conquest of Norway, to gain her love.

In the history of Charles and Grymer, Swedish kings, the gallant Grymer is thus described as a man irresistible among the ladies; "he was a youth early distinguished in the profession of arms, who well knew how to die his sword in the blood of his enemies, to run over the craggy mountains, to wrestle, play at chess, trace the motions of the stars, and to throw far from him heavy weights: in short, he was possessed of every accomplishment that could perfect and compleat the hero. By the time he was twelve years old, no one durst contend with him, either with the sword or bow, or at wrestling." The highest treat

that a lover supposed he could possibly give his mistress, whose affection he was desirous of securing, was to shew his dexterity in those martial exercises. For continues the historian, "he (Grymer) frequently shewed his skill in the

North. Ant. chamber of the damsels before the king's lovely daughter; desirous of acquiring v. 2. p. 238. her regard, he displayed his dexterity in handling his weapons, and the knowledge he had attained in the sciences he had learned." &c. And Harold the valliant, seems to be quite surprised that his mistress should not respect him; for, says he, "I know how to perform eight exercises: I fight valiantly, I sit firmly on horseback, I am inured to swimming, I know how to run along in the scates, I dart the lance, and am skillful at the oar; and yet a Russian maiden scorns me." Then he enumerates the great dangers he has surmounted, and with what courage he endured hardships; concluding with great surprise, that after all this, "a Russian maiden should yet scorn him." And so fond were the kings and heroes of having their valour known, that they often

took

took the *scalds* or poets to the battle, placing them where they might look on in safety, and be witnesses of their great and glorious actions. Olave king of Norway placed three of them one day around him in battle; crying out with great spirit, "You shall not relate what you have only heard, but what you are eye-witnesses of yourselves." And these *scalds* or poets were the constant attendants at the courts of princes and heroes, where they met with the most affectionate reception.

The Danes (among many other amusements) were very fond of chess and dice: for bishop Etheric coming to Cnute (the Great) about midnight upon urgent business, found the king and his courtiers engaged at play; some at dice, and others at chess.

Back-gammon is reported to have been invented about this period in Wales, and derives its name from *bach* (little) and *cammon* (battle.)

Ibid. v. 1. p. 389.
Hist. Rami-
ensis & Gale
edit. cap. 85.

Dr. Henry's
Hist. of Bri-
tain.

The End of the DANISH Æra.

OF THE
N O R M A N S,
From the Time of their CONQUEST,
TO THE
Beginning of the Reign of EDWARD the FIRST.

LUXURY and idleness have been the ruin of the greatest nations: such is the fluctuating state of human affairs that nothing can long remain in the same situation. This lesson sad experience taught our ancestors, for as by degrees they mollified by peace and plenty, grew less brave and valiant, so by degrees decreased the ardent wish for glory and renown. The hostile trumpet now sounded harsh in their ears, and this very people who in antient times prevented danger by diligence and valour, were now lost in their voluptuous pleasures, nor till the swift approaching storm at once overwhelmed them, were they to be driven forth to arms and action. The old historian Wm. Malmſbury, lamenting tells us, that in the days of king Edward the Confessor, the English had transformed themselves into Frenchmen and Normans, adopting not only their strange manner of speech and behaviour, but also the ridiculous and fantastical fashions of their habits, wearing garments that reached only to the middle of the knee, clipping their hair and shaving their beards. Their arms were ornamented with golden bracelets, and their skin dyed, or pounced in various figures. The clergy also were not behind hand with the laity, either in ignorance or indolence, eating and drinking to filthy excesses. These (as the old authors express it) were the doleful times of lewdness and debauchery; blinded as England then was with vice of every kind.

Malm. Hist.
de Gest. Reg.
Ang. lib. 3.
page 58.

Such was the deplorable state of the nation, when William duke of Normandy thought proper to assert a right to the English crown; from which period comes the third great change in the laws, customs and manners of the nation.

Of the Antient NORMANS.

The manners, and customs of the antient *Normans*, were precisely the same with those of the *Saxons* and *Danes*, “as being a branch (says Speed) from the same root,” so that what has been said of those nations, may also be applied to the Normans. “Their habitation was originally in Norway, so called from the northern situation of it, and themselves (says Verstegan) stiled Northmen (now vulgarly Normans) for the same reason. In process of time (continues the same author) whether it were through the sterility of their country,

Decayed
Ant. p. 165.

try, or that they were moved through their own courage and hardiness, or rather occasioned by both, they took themselves first to rob upon the sea coasts of the Netherlands, England and France, sometimes alone and sometimes conjoined with the Danes."

After several attacks, and much damage done to France, one of their generals named *Harding* or *Hastings*, who was descended of the blood royal of Norway, did receive the christian faith, and had given to him and his successors by Charles the Bald, (king of France) the earldom of Chartres, which they from time to time enlarged; and forced from the French part of Neustria, which being called Normandy, (after their own name) was confirmed to Rollo their captain, by Charles the Simple, about the year of our Lord 912. From this Rollo, (who being christened, was named Robert) authors trace the pedigree of William first named the Conqueror, natural son to Robert (the second of that name) duke of Normandy. Verstegan informs us, "that the Normans on their first arrival into France, and during the time of Rollo (or Robert) the first duke of Normandy, did all speak their own antient language, which in effect was all one with our old *English* tongue; and the same as the Danes also spake: and in the time from the end of the reign of the said Robert (if so soone they began to leave their language) unto the time of their coming into England, which contained about 150 years, they lost their own ancient language, and learned the tongue which the Frenchmen than spake; moreover in that space they also had (according to the French manner) appropriated unto themselves the surnames of such lordships, places, feignories as in Normandy they had possessed; the which surnames they brought with them into England, where they continued in such families of them as there then settled themselves." 'Thus much may suffice for the antient history of this people: we will now pass on to their manners and customs relative to this kingdom since the Conquest.

Decayed
Ant. p. 183.

The Fortifications of the ANGLO-NORMANS.

The Normans varied much from, and greatly improved, the fortifications of the Saxons.

The Norman castle consisted of a base court, surrounded by lofty earthen banks, topped with a strong wall of stone; and to this they added a keep, or dungeon, which is a high hill of earth raised at one end of the fortification.

The noble remains of one of these castles is at Hedingham, in the county of Essex, where not only the earth-works are remaining very perfect, but part also of the original building on the keep.

The part marked C (see the Ichnography, plate 29.) is called the base (or lower) court, it is encompassed with a bank of earth, now 22 feet in height, and originally it was still higher, but has been dug down to level and raise the base court; where there is now a handsome modern built house and garden *. Its breadth is about 110 yards, and its width near 100 yards; the present communication between the keep and base court, is over a brick bridge of three arches of modern structure. The keep is exceeding large, and not so high as the keeps are generally found to be in other castles of the Normans†: it is round, and flat at the top;

N

its

* And is the seat of Sir Henry Houghton, Bart.

† Perhaps it may not be an improbable conjecture, that Ulfwin, (who was possessor of this manor before the conquest) might have had a castle here, and that Albericus de Vere on taking possession or the

its diameter is full 90 yards; it was surrounded by a strong wall on the brink, the remains of which are yet in many places evident: the keep from the middle of the ditch is full 30 feet high. Looking on the Ichnography we find that the keep A, is surrounded with a deep ditch B, B, which has communication at each end with the ditch E, which also runs round the whole bafe court; this ditch muft in its original ftate, have been full 14 or 15 feet deep; it now is upwards of 20 yards in width, and the compafs of the whole work, walking round in the middle of the ditch, is full half a mile.

The remaining tower (on the keep) is about 50 feet fquare and 90 feet high, built with rag ftone, (that is large flints mixed with a ftrong cement) and faced both within and without with great fquare ftones, like thofe defcribed in the fortifications of the Saxons: and this facing not only ferved for ornament, but was extremely ufeful, for the cement that was mixed with the flints, where it has been well preferved from the air and rain, is become as hard and permanent as the flints themfelves; nay, the workmen who lately made two doors into part of this tower, affured me, that it was “ eafier to beat the flints to pieces than the cement.” Thefe walls including the facings are 12 feet thick.

The building is (as was before obferved) four fquare, and all the fronts are nearly alike, except the back front (where there is an arched door way and fteps down to the keep): it was ornamented with turrets at three of the corners, in one of which, is a noble flight of winding ftairs, containing 120 fteps of ftone. The chambers that are now in the tower, are neither antient, or in the places where the antient ones were made, the tracings of them being now almoft entirely loft. I obferved in one of them a handfome arched cavity between two windows, which was the fire place, the chimney being carried up through the wall like thofe of the Saxons. Originally there were two of thefe towers upon the keep, if we may truft the old drawing made in the year 1665*. And indeed it is highly probable that there was another, for this remaining tower is not in the middle of the keep, as moft likely it would otherwife have been, and befides on the back front, by the fteps, are the imperfect ruins remaining of the connection between the two towers. At the bottom of the prefent tower, they pretend to fhew you a paffage, or rather where a paffage formerly had been; which, if you would believe the common report, did lead under ground to Colchefter. I was exceedingly defirous of finding out the caufe of fuch a ftrange report, and particularly, becaufe at the caftle of Colchefter, they give the fame account of a fubterraneous paffage, leading to the caftle at Hedingham. On ftrict enquiry, I was told the following ftory by an old man who lived at Hedingham, and had from his childhood been backwards and forwards at the caftle. The caftle was once befieged (I fuppofe in John’s time) and all the paffages round the country blocked up: after fome time, the enemy fuppofing that the befieged were in great diftreff for food, called upon them to furrender, but they within, (in derifion of the fruitlefs attempts of the befiegers) threw over the walls to them live fea fifh in great abundance, who being amazed at fo unexpected a fight, concluded that they within muft have fome fubterraneous paffage, leading to Colchefter, (it being the neareft place for live fea fifh to be got) defpairing therefore

See the Account of Colchefter Caftle, p. 27.

the manor, did rebuild it after the fafhion of his countrymen, which will well account for the extenfivenefs of the keep, fuppofing that he did not divide the ground occupied by the former caftle, but added the bafe court and other works to anfwer it.

* The people that fhew the caftle fay there were two more befide the remaining tower.

therefore of taking the castle they raised the siege. Tho' this is a foolish and idle story, yet it is highly probable, that they might have really a passage under ground, leading to some obscure and covered place at a convenient distance, by means of which, they might not only supply themselves with food, but in case of emergency facilitate their escape. And 'tis not uncommon in old castles to meet with hollow vaults and passages, which seem no ways calculated for other uses; neither is history altogether silent on this fact, for we read of Mortimer, earl of March, being surpris'd with the queen dowager, by Edward the third, through the means of such a subterraneous passage. See also the account of that passage at the castle of Colchester, page 27.

Plate 29, fig. 4. is another Norman castle, the walls round the base court of which yet remain very perfect. It is Trematon castle in the county of Cornwall. The base court contains about three quarters of an acre; the keep B is large and fair, that part of it next to the base court is 30 feet high, but behind where it runs down to the ditch E is considerably higher. The wall about the base court A A, is 10 feet thick, 2 feet of which are taken up by the garreted parapet, and the other 8 make the whole breadth of the wall, the height of which, measuring within the area, is about 30 feet. The holes where the beams went into the wall for the support of the stage or roof, that went round within it, are yet evidently remaining in two rows, but so close together that they would not admit of room enough for a chamber between them: this double beaming might most likely be for the greater strength and support of the stage or roof, on which the soldiers in time of action performed their duty. The *Ichonography* of the building on the keep is a perfect oval; the building itself has no windows in it, but as Mr. Borlase conjectures, had its light from a *well*, or opening at the top, (which must be gloomy and dismal) from whence he also supposes, that the name of dungeon may be given to the keeps of the Norman castles; but how improperly then, would that at Hedingham, which for a place of defence is light and airy (together with several others that I have seen) be so called? It seems that the more general opinion is most eligible, of there being in each keep, a prison or dungeon for malefactors and prisoners; and from thence to have been fortified: for many of these keeps are entirely hollow, and have close strong apartments; as may be seen in the ruins of the old keep of the castle at Walden in Essex, where there are several rooms, or more properly dungeons, which seem never to have had any communication with each other, so that the prisoners must be let down from the top. Also in the remaining tower at Hedingham, are on the front next the base court even with the ground, two large apartments which never had any windows, neither is the communication between them and the other parts of the castle (at present) to be found; for default of which, they were obliged to make two doors, before mentioned, before they could get into them.

I am sorry to find myself under the disagreeable necessity, of contradicting some other assertions of that learned and ingenious author, Mr. Borlase, to whose study and industry, we owe the *History of Cornwall*. Sensible as I am of my own inabilities, I can but wish the task had fallen into some abler hand: yet I hope it will be found, that my different opinion will be justified by plain and certain facts; for most certain it is, that if I had not been compelled, I would not have entered the field against a man, whose literary abilities are so much superior to my own. He has observed, that the keep and base court, are probably Roman, but most certainly of Saxon construction.

Among

Borlase's
Hist. & Ant.
of Cornwall,
page 322.

Among many reasons given as proofs of this assertion, the following seem to me to be the chief :

First, That the Saxons frequently occupied and improved the abandoned fortifications of the Romans.

Second, Elfreda (daughter to Ælfred the Great) built several fortifications, all called barrows, alias burroughs ; and very properly (adds he) because they were fortifications raised on hills, in the shape of barrows or tumuli.

And lastly, (continues he) wherever the Saxons found a Roman entrenchment, they constantly called it *Cærter*, or *Cherter*, but their own they called *Burgh*, from the hills that they stood upon. Now here our author has himself, undesignedly, excluded the Romans from any share in these hilly fortifications ; for why should their camps have been by the Saxons differently called, if they also were erected on hills (resembling barrows) like their own? But whoever has either read attentively the Roman authors, (Cæsar especially) and noted the description there given of their fortifications, or seen any of their camps as they are now remaining in various parts of this kingdom, will, I question not, at once deny that people to have any share in the controversy. It is however certain, that the Saxons did often make use of the Roman camps, as being conveniently situated, and sometimes well fortified to their hands : but then it is also to be noted, that they constantly altered and fashioned them according to their own plans, or modes of entrenchment. What cities and walled towns they themselves built they called *Burgr*, or *Bupgr*. Either of these words, says Mr. Borlase, signifies a *hill* or *barrow* of earth : but we shall find a very different construction put upon both these words by Verstegan, (who was, without doubt, a man well learned in the Saxon language) for, says he, “ all places that in old time had among our ancestors the name of *Burgr*, or *Bupgr*, now called *Bourough*, were places one way or other fenced or fortified ;” which names he derives from *Burgr*, or *Bupgr*, to *bide* or *bury*, because the soldiers were hid or shrouded from the darts and weapons of the enemy, by the high walls that surrounded them : so that we find he rather gives the name to the fortification itself, than to its situation ; as a walled town would, according to this interpretation, have equal claim to the title of *Burgr*, if it was built immediately upon a plain. But at any rate either of the above names could not be confined to hills like barrows only, for *Berg*, or *Beorg*, both signify a mountain, and might give them their name from their being generally placed on large high natural hills.

Or if the Saxons gave their entrenchments the name of *burgh*, from their being raised up on low, flat, extensive hills, what comparison can there even then be made between them and the lofty keeps of the Norman castles ?

See page 24, &c. and plate 2. The chief difference between the Saxon and Norman castles is this : The Saxons built one regular, entire fortification, round, (or as near a round as the situation of the place would admit) encompassed with a broad ditch and double walling ; while the Norman castles may be truly said to consist of two different and separate fortifications on one spot, namely, the keep, and the base court ; for they finding the round extensive castle of the Saxons would by no means so well answer their purpose as a place of defence, (because they brought with them the general use of the bows and arrows, cross bows, and the like) they therefore divided a part (generally one third of the whole castle) from it, and throwing up the materials from the ditch, which they made much deeper, raised up the keep to a height considerably above the base court, (which last was composed of the remaining

remaining two thirds;) then to this base, or lower court, they added all round a strong vallum, or bank of earth, still higher than those of the Saxons, fortifying it with a strong wall (of rubble stone and cement faced with freestone) and a gar-rated parapet. They raised it to this height that they might with the more ease overlook and annoy the surrounding enemy with their darts, stones, and other offensive weapons. The keep also, which was divided from the base court, was strongly fortified, and raised in such manner, as from thence to overlook the base court, as from the base court one might the adjoining country; and this keep thus strengthened, served them often when the base court was taken, to hold out a longer siege. "Then did duke Henrie (says Holingshead) winne the castell of Malmesburie, or rather the master tower or chief dungeon of that castell; (it is to be remembered that the walls of the base court were often fortified with towers placed at convenient distances, therefore the *keep*, from its being the highest and strongest, is called the "*master tower*:" for (continues Holingshead) as Simon of Durham wryteth, he (the duke) had wonne by assault the other partes and lymmes of the castell, before king Stephen came to remove him."

On plate 30, fig. 1 & 2, is the plan and perspective view of an old fortification at Raleigh in the county of Essex. At A on the plan is the evident remains of the barbican or fortified breast work of the castle, * yet very perfect. B is a Norman keep, divided from the base court C, both which antiently (in the time of the Saxons) were one entire keep or hill. ‡ The communication here between the keep and base court is not over a bridge, (as is usual in the castles entirely of Norman construction) but over a narrow neck of earth, left in the dividing of the former castle, which spared them the trouble of digging it quite through, and answered all the purposes of a bridge. We never find the keep and base court thus joined, but where the Normans occupied and rebuilt the castles of the Saxons.

Mr. Borlase next proceeds to inform us, that the castle of Trematon (plate 29, fig. 4) is evidently in part of antienter date than the time of the Normans, tho', says he, it has doubtless been by them altered and improved; in proof of this assertion he refers the reader to the print, where the top and antientest arch (of the gateway marked A) is round, and the smaller B, which is more modern, is pointed; which last method of building (adds he) was brought first into England by the Normans. Some part of these remarks are very just, for the Normans were undoubtedly the first who brought the Gothic arch into use in this kingdom; yet it is not a consequence that must necessarily follow, that the round arch here should certainly be constructed by the Saxons; for though its being round is a corroborating circumstance, yet it does by no means amount to a proof, because the Normans did not immediately, nor indeed till some time after their arrival

in
i.e.

* Some suppose these fortified banks to be the remains of the fortifications of the Romans; but I have no doubt but that in the present case they were only what were called the barbacans; though at Plushy in Essex the Norman castle actually stands in the midst of a Roman entrenchment, which is of very great circumference, but even there the barbican is (though much defaced) to be distinguished.

‡ I have often in the course of this work made use of the word *keep*, both in the description of the Saxon as well as Norman entrenchments: when I have applied it to the Saxons, I mean by it, the whole extent of the ground work of the castle, exclusive of the ditch. By the Norman keep I would be understood to mean only the hill constantly raised at one end of the castle, which is mostly small and high; and though it seems not in the least to bear any analogy to the ground work of the Saxon castles, yet I will not deny but that the Normans may have been to them indebted for the first hint, making their keep smaller and higher, and adding an extensive base court; thinking by this double fortification to render themselves much more secure.

in England, adopt the Gothic arch, especially in their fortifications. This may be easily proved by any one who is willing to examine into these facts; see the castle of Hedingham, plate 29, the windows of which are perfectly round; as also the arches of St. Botolph's Priory, built in the reign of Henry the First, plate 30, fig. 3. The last proof which I have to offer in contradiction to Mr. Borlase, is, that in all ancient histories or delineations, *bas reliefs* or other remains, either of the Romans, or Saxons, there is not to be found the most distant mention, or representation of distinct keeps, or hills adjoining to their camps or castles; or any description whatever that will in the least accord with these double fortifications of the Normans; but immediately after the Conquest (from which period we trace the almost total change in the manners, customs, and affairs of this kingdom) we find great mention made of them by many of the various historians, and that in so plain a manner, as to agree exactly in every circumstance with the remaining earth works, &c. of the castle just described.

Some of the Norman castles were embattled on both sides, that is, on the outside of the base court, and on the inside also. Leland has thus described the castle of Rockingham, (built by William the Conqueror:) "It standith (says he) on the toppe of an hille, right stately, and hath a mighty diche, and bulleworks agayne withoute the diche. The utter waulles of it yet stand. The kepe is exceeding fair and strong, and in the waulles be certain strong towers. The lodgings that were within the area (*or base court*) of the castelle, be discovered and faul to ruine. One thing in the waulles of this castelle is much to be notid, that is, they are embateled on booth the sides; so that if the area (*or base court*) of the castelle were won by cumming in at other of the twee great gates of the castelle, yet the keepers on the waulles might defende the castelle. I markid, that there is a stronge tower in the area, (*or base court*) of the castelle, and from it over the dungeon dike is a draw bridge to the kepe and dungeon toure."

The walls round the base court (as has already been observed) were usually strengthened with turrets or towers, at certain distances, in greater or lesser number, as the nature of the fortification might require; and in besieging of these castles, it was usual to erect turrets of wood to such a height, that they might from thence overlook the besieged, and annoy them with their stones, darts, &c. they had besides a machine called *catus*, under which the miners might work free from the darts of the enemy. The mining instrument is called *scrophus* vel *scrofus*, by Matthew Paris, "*Scrofa ad suffodiendos muros*:" But when they attacked a town by water, they had a ship, whereon was built a scaffold of wood, on the top of which were posted the slingers and archers, with the cross-bow men, see plate 32, fig. 1; and sometimes they used the scaling ladder, see plate 32, fig. 11. Camden gives us the following account of the siege of Bedford castle, (in the Time of Henry the Third) as transcribed from a cotemporary writer, who was an eye witness of the siege:

Camden in
Bedford-
shire, page
287.

"On the east side was one petrary, and two manganels, daily playing upon the tower; and on the west two manganels battering the old tower; as also one on the south, and another on the north part, which beat down two passages through the walls that were next them. Besides these, there were two machines contrived of wood, so as to be higher than the castle or the tower, erected on purpose for the balistarii, (*slingers*) and watchmen; they had also several machines, where the balistarii, and arcubalistarii, (*cross-bow men*) lay in wait. There was moreover another machine, called *catus*, under which the diggers that were employed to undermine the castle, came in and went out."

The

The castle was taken by four assaults. "In the first was taken the Barbican," (*or breast work before the outer Ballia, which secured the principal entrance**) "In the second they got full possession of the outer Ballia," *this gave them free passage to the old tower, which I suppose was over the principal entrance into the castle yard* "At the third attack, the wall by the old tower" (*or chief gateway*) "was thrown down by the miners, where by a dangerous attempt they possessed themselves of the inner Ballia" (*or castle yard*) "through a chink. At the fourth assault, the miners set fire to the chief tower on the keep, so that the smোক burst out, and the tower itself was so cloven to that degree, as to show visibly some broad chinks : whereupon the enemy surrendered."

The Normans, as well as the English, used often in cases of necessity, to erect forts of wood for immediate use. Verstegan informs us, that William the Conqueror on his first arrival in England, set up "three castles of wood, which had been made and framed in Normandy," and from thence brought over with him. And Mathew Paris tells us, that the warrior Hereward, when he withstood the Conqueror, being in the fenny parts of Cambridgeshire, (where he intended to winter) made a castle of wood. "Castrum quoque ligneum in ipsis paludibus construxerunt, &c."

Mat. Paris
Hist. p. 6.

However (as Dr. Henry judiciously observes) these castles of either the Normans, or the Saxons, may appear to be weak and ill constructed to the present age, in the time that they were raised they were found to be very strong. The method of attacking the castle was generally by downright force, as a blockade seems from history, to have been but little practised by either of these nations. The iron ram, and other instruments of such kind, used by the Romans, were not much regarded by either Saxons or Normans, their general use was (perhaps) rendered impracticable from the great and extensive ditches which surrounded their fortifications. The principal machines had in use by our ancestors in the attacking of castles (besides those that have already been mentioned) were these,

Dr. Henry's
Hist. of
Britain

The *Pengouel*, which (as I suppose) was a kind of catapulta, though much smaller than those that follow. With this instrument they cast great stones, as well as darts, &c. it was also used in the ships.—"Et Lapides de manganellis navalibus, qui sic parabantur, ut quinque vel sex lapides simul de longo jacerent."

Mat. Paris
Hist. p. 1091.

Petraria, another sort of machine for throwing very great stones against the walls of castles, &c.—"Circa urbem *Petraris* & machinas alias locaverunt: quæ cum lapidum ponderositate muros civitatis attrivissent."

Ibid. p. 137.
Mat. Paris
Hist. 624.
39, et 28.
See Camden
in Bedfordshire p. 287.

Trebuchettum, *Tribunculus*, or *Tribuculi*, a very large sort of catapulta, for throwing stones of a prodigious size. This last instrument I take to be the same with that which Camden tells us our ancestors called *Warwolf*, out of which, before the invention of bombs, they threw great stones with so much force as to break the strongest gates.

Camden also mentions two other instruments of war, namely, the *Bitole* and the *Espringole*, but the use of either is not set down.

The bolt is a kind of dart (made of wood headed with iron) cast by the manganel.

* This word *Barbican*, seems to be thus explained by Grafton, who in his Chronicle writes thus, "then Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, with his companie made bulwarkes and barbianes, between the tower (of London) and the citie, and cast ditches and trenches in some places of the citie, and fortified it wonderfully." Grafton's Chron. p. 155, and Hollinghead vol. 2, 779.

But how lamentable a thing it is, that not only the form of these curious instruments, but even the method of using them is entirely lost. After all the strict researches that I have made, the names (and scarcely more) is all I could collect; for so defective in these particulars were historians, that if our present researches had not been greatly aided, by the strict enquiry into the other remains of antiquity, we must not only in this particular, but in most others, have set down unable to understand, much less explain the manners, and customs of the earlier times.

Holling-
head Hist.
Scot. p. 258.

It was the custom at this period, when a town or castle surrendered, for the principal person in the town, to bring and present to the Conqueror, the keys on the point of a spear. Hollinghead informs us, that when Malcolme, king of Scotland, besieged the castle of Anwicke, and had reduced the garrison to the last necessity; a young knight willing to undertake some hardy enterprize in its defence, took a swift horse, and without armour or weapon, except a spear in his hand, upon the point of which, he bore the keys of the castle, rode into the camp of the enemy; who supposing he come to surrender the keys, received him with joy, and unsuspectingly lead him to the king: the knight then couched his spear, as if he intended, with reverence, to present the keys to the king, but he watching his opportunity, pressed his horse on, and ran his spear into the eye of the king, and killed him on the spot; that done, he clapped spurs to his horse, and by his swift flight saved his own life.

Of the Soldiers, Arms, and warlike Habits of the Normans.

The Normans, (as appears by history) first brought the more general use of cavalry into the kingdom; the chief force of the Saxon and Danish armies always consisted of their infantry.

Plate 31, fig. 8. The horse soldiers of the Normans may be divided into two sorts, the first being those who were compleatly covered with mail, and fenced on the breast and legs with plates of iron, and the second sort those who were lighter armed; the first supported the set battle, while the latter were useful in slight skirmishes, &c.

Ibid. fig. 3. The foot soldiers, or *men at arms*, were composed of three sorts: first, such as
Ibid. fig. 2. were compleatly armed from head to foot with mail; secondly, those who were more slighter armed, bearing oval shields and long lances; and thirdly, men still
Ibid. fig. 4. slighter armed than the foregoing, with small round shields, and long light spears. The first were to support the close battle when the armies came hand to hand; the second, called *spear men*, gave and supported the charge on either side, when the armies began to join; and the third were men whose office it was to gaul the horse of the enemy with their long lances, when they gave the charge, receiving on their small targets the points of the enemy's spears; then retreating behind the horse of their own army, left them to support the second charge, constantly falling out as they saw advantage. Add to these the

Ibid. fig. 5. *Balistarii*, * or slingers: these were very slightly armed, and always preceded the army, beginning the battle with their slings.

Sold. fig. 1.

The *Sagittarii*, or archers, who were well armed with mail, and body armour of strong leather; these sometimes went before the army on foot, joined with the balistarii

* "*Balistarii semper praebant.*" &c. Mat. Paris, p. 248, lin. 38.

balistarii, and with them began the engagement : sometimes they were mounted on horseback and mixed with the cavalry. †

The *arcubalistarii*, ‡ or men with cross bows, who were always well armed, either in mail or body armour : these chiefly attended at sieges of castles and towns, as also on ship board, where they were very serviceable. Ibid. fig. 67.

Besides these there were the knights, and *servientes* or *armigeros*, § the attendants on the knights, or armour bearers, now called esquires.

The defensive armour of the Normans was chiefly the coat of fence called *mail*, especially for the better sort, others had body armours of iron or leather, and others only breast plates or gorgets ; for we find the people were obliged to purchase for themselves their own armour, according to their circumstances. In the ordinance for the soldiers armour in Henry the Second's time, it was set forth, that all his subjects (*in Normandy, and other places on the continent*) should provide themselves with armour in the following manner ; Every man possessed of goods and chattles to the value of one hundred pounds, || should furnish out for the king's service a horse, and a soldier completely armed in mail ; every man possessed of forty or thirty, or even twenty-five pounds, should have at least an *albergellum*, an iron helmet, a lance, and a sword. Hoveden Annal. Pars. Posterior, page 349.

In England he ordered that every man who held a knight's fee, should furnish out a soldier completely armed in a coat of mail and a helmet, with a lance and a shield. Every freeman who possessed goods and chattles to the value of 16 marks, should have a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance ; and every freeman possessed of the value of 10 marks, should have an *albergellum*, an iron cap, and a lance ; and every burghers of the whole community of freemen should have a *wanbais*, an iron cap, and a lance, which armour he forbade them, on pain of severe penalties, either to sell or pawn.

There was also a sort of armour called *alcato*, and another piece named *collarium* ; these were both of them gorgets, or breast plates, either of iron or brass. See Matt. Paris Hist.

The antient mail was a strong defensive armour, made of small iron links, with joints at convenient distance ; and so contrived as to move upon each other with the greatest facility. The horsemen, and better sort of soldiers, were covered with this mail from head to foot, or, as Matthew Paris expresses it, "*ad unguem armatos*," the face and left hand excepted, which were generally left uncovered, the hand especially, for the more convenient holding of the shield : when the mail itself did not compose the guard for the head, they wore helmets either of iron or brass. The soldiers of all degrees seem in the delineations to be continually without their faces covered, except the chief leaders and standard bearers, who are often depicted with the beaver before the face, which appears to be thin plates of iron fastened on the mail ; some few indeed have regular helmets, tho' of clumsy form. Those helmets of their kings were distinguished from the rest by a crown upon the top. Page 204.

In the lives of the Offas (see plate 44, No. 2.) is a figure dressed in armour much unlike any of the rest ; it is without doubt a sort of mail, but wherein it particularly

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† "*Viri autem sagittarii gentis Anglorum equitibus permixti*," &c. *ibid.* page 64.

‡ "*Quidam arcubalista traxit sagittam*," &c. *Rog. Hoveden Annal.* page 450.--*Et arcubalistarii circiter sexaginta loricati*, *M. Paris*, 591.

§ 2000 militum præter equites, *servientes* & *pedites*, *ibid.* 253---*Armigerorum & servientum*, *ibid.*

|| 100 libras andegavenfis monetæ in catallo," &c. *Rog. Hov. Annal.* page 349.

particularly differed from that above described, I cannot point out. In all the suits of mail we constantly find the knee defended by a thin plate fastened upon the mail over the joint, yet in such fashion as not to hinder the bending of the leg : these figures have often (besides these guards for the knees) *greaves*, or thin plates of iron or brass put over the fore part of the legs, especially of the horsemen, (see plate 43.)

And plate 44, No. 23, plate 47 & 54, &c. Hollingshead Chron page 454.

Albergellum or halbergum, or halbercum, is by Hollingshead translated barbertegon, but Dr. Watts in his Glossary to Mat. Paris, supposes it to be a breast plate or gorget; but I rather take it to be a body armour made of leather, fenced with an iron or brass crocket; or else plates of iron quilted on a strong leather garment, as in plate 31, fig. 2.

The wambais, or wambais, was I believe, a soldier's coat of fence made of leather only, because they are said to belong to the commoner sort of soldiers.

Temp. Stepheni Reg.

Thus we see the Norman warriors were well armed and secured from the strokes of their enemies. As Ralph, bishop of Durham, told his soldiers by the way of encouragement, "that their breasts were defended by strong armour, and their heads with helmets; their legs were secured with iron greaves, and the rest of their body by the shield that every one of them bore upon his arm."

The shields of the horsemen were very large, and broad at the top, decreasing gradually to a point at the bottom; they were generally made with a curve, that they might cover the body more securely: these shields were sometimes of a vast size.

The oval shields, worn by the foot soldiers, were of a middling size, (see plate 31, fig. 2.)

The small round shield (plate 31, fig. 4) was only used by the light armed men, who with their long spears galled the horse of the enemy.

Their offensive Weapons were

Great swords, in general about 3 feet and half, or near 4 feet long, which were double edged, and sharp pointed.

The *bipennis*, or double edged axe.

The *gisarma*, in Chaucer called a brown bill, is supposed to be the bipennis with a longer handle, or a halbert.

The *pole axe*, or axe with an edge on one side, and a sharp point on the other.

The tilting spear, used by the horsemen, called *burdare*.

The *gaveloc*, or javelin, used by the footmen.

The long spear to gaul the horse of the enemy, used only by the light armed footmen.

In the ordinance for arms it is put, that "*uniquisque habeat cultellum*."

Cultellum was (as is supposed) a sort of knife or dagger.

To these may be added the *clavis* or clubs, headed with iron spikes.

The cross bow, the form of which may be seen marked A, plate 62.

The long bow, used by the *sagittarii* or archers.

The arrows for the cross bow were called *quarrels*.

The common arrows for the archers,

The *spicula ignita*, * arrows headed with some combustible matter, and shot on fire from the bows into the towns or castles; they were also much used in sea fights, to fire the rigging of the ships and galleys, &c.

These

* *Misimus igitur super eos spicula ignita*, &c. Mat. Paris, page 1090.

They had also arrows headed with a phial full of quick lime, which was shot into the ships of the enemies, † see plate 31, fig. 19.

The form of all these weapons and warlike instruments are exhibited in the second plate of the second volume.

Besides the mail and armour abovementioned, they had strong armour for their horses, which covered and secured them entirely from the strokes of the enemy. ‡

The Military Arrangement of the Norman Armies.

The slingers and archers always went first, and began the battle with their stones and arrows; then the cavalry charged each other with their lances, which charge was supported by light armed men on foot, who were furnished with long light lances, with which they hurt and disordered the horse of the opponents; that done, they shrunk in behind their own horse, who charged directly on the enemy, before they could recover their ranks and order; meanwhile these assiduous footmen constantly issued out as they saw occasion and advantage. When the last charge was given, the light armed troops met with their swords, spears, and axes, doing cruel execution, and the foot being come hand to hand, the conflict must of course be long and bloody, where the force was any ways equal; during this time the archers and slingers on either side were far from being idle, and indeed the archers were often mixed in with the horse, and from thence discharged their arrows. The battle fought against the Scots (in the time of king Stephen, wherein the bishop of Durham was a principal actor) is thus described ^{Hoveden,} by Hoveden and others: "Then those of Lodyan (whom the king of Scotland ^{277.} had invited to his aid) first began the battle, madly rushing on the English cavalry, discharging their missive weapons, and with spears of a most extraordinary length, striking at the horsemen, who were so well armed in strong mail, that they struck as it were upon a wall of impenetrable iron. The English on their part had mixed their archers and slingers with their horsemen, who poured a continual shower of stones and darts on the enemy, which did great execution, they being very slightly armed. The English in the mean while remained in one body, immovable, round their standard §: in the end the Lodyan soldiers being greatly disordered, and beat down by the missive weapons of the English, gave way, and soon after the whole army was entirely routed."

The method of gathering themselves into a firm, impenetrable body, was constantly practised by the Saxons: such we have heard was the order in which Harald martialled his men, drawing them up into the form of a *wedge*, or as Malmsbury expresses it, "*impenetrabilem cuneum faciunt*," placing his footmen with their heavy axes in the front; and nothing (says Malmsbury) could have broken this well composed body, had not the Normans by a feign'd flight drawn them from their good order to an over hasty pursuit.

The

† "Et Phialas plenas calce, arcubus per parva hastilia ad modum sagittarum super hostes jaculandas," *ibid.* 1091.

‡ "Cepit Rex Angliæ 100 milites, & septies viginti equos coopertos ferro, & servientes equites, & pedites multo," &c. Rog. Hoveden, *Annal.* page 444.

§ "Et Anglorum in una acie, circum Standard conglobata persistebant immobiles." *Hov. p.* 277.

The forces of the duke of Normandy were arranged after the following manner: The first front was composed of the footmen, with their bows and arrows, intermixed (according to Matthew of Westminster) with others armed with axes and maces, or clubs; the horse being divided behind them, formed the second front. Historians have neglected to inform us of the manner in which Harald arranged his cavalry: at the first onset (says Malmfbury) he, with his brothers, were on foot under his standard, sharing equally in the danger with the common men; but in the end, not content with acting as a commander only, he mounted a horse, (perhaps to head his cavalry) and fought valiantly with the rest.

In the former described battle, (fought against the Scots) we find the firm impenetrable body of the Saxons, and the Norman cavalry and archers mixed together: no wonder these excellent regulations, and the joining two such advantageous methods of arrangement together, should render them (at that time) an army almost invincible. The soldiers before the battle had some particular sentence given them to repeat, which, with continual hollowing, they sung to each other, with which they were not only greatly animated, but it also prevented their attending to the dreadful fights before them; and the groans of the wounded and dying men (which might intimidate them) were not to be heard. We are told that the soldiers of the conqueror in the battle just described, began the fight with singing the heroic songs of the valiant Rowland; and in after times it was very common to give for the word, "God and St. George! Victory! Victory!" &c.

Mat. Paris
in Vita Ste-
phani.

The chief leaders headed the army, completely armed, bearing in their hands, the bipennis, or double edged axe. Matthew Paris has given a very beautiful description of the warlike Stephen; "who (says he) when his army was fled, was left alone in the field, grinding his teeth with anger, and foaming like a wild boar; he roared out like a lion, and though alone, none durst approach him; with his double edged axe he rushed on the enemy, and with resistless fury drove whole troops before him, beating down all who dared to oppose him. Thus by his matchless valour he gained to himself immortal glory. Oh! (exclaims my author) if but an hundred men had come to help him, with prowess equal to his own, he never had been taken!"—"but his axe first being broken with the weight of his death-dealing blows, and after that his sword, he fell into the hands of the surrounding enemy thus armless and alone."

Hoveden,
page 224.

Speed's
Chron.

It was customary (in woody countries especially) to fell the trees, and heap them up in the paths and passages, to stop the progress of the enemy; in the mean time they secured themselves in ambushes in the neighbouring woods, and sallied out to attack the enemy when they should attempt to pass the blockade. This stratagem was practised by Frederick, abbot of St. Albans, when he endeavoured, for the security of his monastery, to obstruct the passage of the Conqueror, (with great trees felled and piled up across the road) while he was on his way to London.

In landing their forces on the sea coasts (especially if the enemy had taken possession thereof) they constantly sent the archers and slingers first, to clear the way for the foot men, who closely followed, beating down all who resisted them.

In Roger Hoveden we find the following account of Richard the First's landing his army at Cyprus: "In the mean time the emperor had possessed himself of the sea shore, with his people, who were ill armed, and but meer novices in the art of war: they stood upon the shore with swords, lances, and clubs, having

large

large planks of wood, and banks of earth thrown up before them for a wall. When the king of England and his people were armed, they went out of their large ships into the smaller vessels and galleys, which being rowed with great force came suddenly to land, when the archers went first to clear the way, and being joined with the rest of the army, they jointly rushed with great impetuosity on the emperor and his *griffones**, whilst the barbed arrows of the English, fell upon the adverse party like showers of rain upon the grassy meadows; so that after some struggling, the emperor and his army were totally routed and put to flight.

It was antiently esteemed a great honour to bear the royal standard. According to the Chronicle of Waltham, this office was claimed by the earl of Chester. Stow's Chron. 420. The banners and standards taken from the enemy were always much prized, and by the conquerors generally hung up in churches or monasteries, in memorial of the action, and as gratefully dedicating those trophies to God, who had protected and given them the victory. It was a lasting disgrace for an army to lose their colours, and hardly ever to be forgot, therefore, they fought with great spirit in the defence of them.

The standards of the Normans are different from those of the Saxons, as may be seen in plates 38, 46, and 47, &c. And they frequently bear the arms of the leaders pictured thereon: they had also a kind of streamer at times fastened to the end of their spears. See plate 43 and 55, &c. See plate 3, of the Regal & Ecclesiast. Ant. of Eng.

Every leader had his own standard, on which was painted the device which he thought proper to adopt, (which in old times represented something alluding to acts of valour of its bearer, or his predecessors) and oftentimes the whole company had painted on their *tunican* (which was worn over their coats of mail) the badge of their leader.

Henry the third made use of a politic device when he attacked the French king; for causing every leader to have two standards instead of one he made his army appear double, which circumstance so intimidated the French, that they instantly quitted their post. Speed's Chron. page 577. sect. 7.

The word *nitbing*, or *nitbing*, which antiently signified an abject base minded man, a false hearted coward, &c. was at this time a word of great force, and a name much detested by our ancestors; for, says Mathew Paris, king William Rufus, on a sudden emergency wanting to draw together a body of forces, sent word to such as held of him in fee, that all who refused to repair to his assistance, should be stigmatized with the odious name of *nitbing*, which says the author in latine *nequam sonat*, and immediately incredible great numbers flock'd to him from all quarters. Mat. Paris, p. 12.

At this time and afterwards it was held gallant and worthy, for the generals to send bold defiance from each army to the other, in which they specified what they meant to perform in the ensuing battle. William the Conqueror (then only duke of Normandy) besieging Dampfort, hearing that the earl Martell was advancing with great speed at the head of a numerous army, sent Roger Montgomery, with two other knights, to deliver this message to the earl. "That if he came to victual Dampfort, he should find him porter there to keep him out." To which the earl replied, "Tell the duke, to-morrow by day break he

* *Griffones*, perhaps so called from their carrying large bills or halberds, which were crooked at the end like the beak of a hawk, which resembles that of the fabulous monster called *Gryphon*, half a lion and half an eagle, with a hawk's head.

he shall see me there on a white horse, ready to give him combat, for I mean, if I can of certainty to enter Dampfort, and that he may know me, tell him I will wear a shield without device." Then Montgomery made this reply, "Sir, you shall not need to take that pains, to-morrow the duke will be here himself, mounted on a bay horse; and that you may know him, he bids me tell you, that he will wear on the point of his lance, a streamer of tawaty to wipe your face."

Of the Religious Buildings of the NORMANS.

The buildings of the Normans at the time of their arrival, do not appear to have much varied from those of our Saxon ancestors. The round arch at first seems to have been chiefly in use, yet, however, it was not long before a new species of architecture was brought into England, called *gothic*; consisting of vast laboured ornaments and pointed arches: (which will be fully explained in the next volume) this stile of building soon prevailed in England, and was in process of time almost universally adopted in preference to any other, especially in the religious structures.

The most antient Norman building I have met with, is the priory church of St. Botolph, at Colchester in the county of Essex, which noble ruin merits well the attention of the public. The main wall is full 6 feet thick, faced both within and without with hewn pebbles of a large size; the intermediate space between the facings is filled up with brickbats, tile sheards and small rough pebbles. The small arches on the front, over the door way, which intersect each other, (See plate 30, fig. 3.) are composed of thin small bricks, which project about 6 inches from the main wall. The larger arches, as well of the door, as those that form the body of the church, were originally turned with stone, and over that they were faced on all sides with small pammets about 1 foot square, and 2 inches thick, which were all set edgeways. There are several appearances of windows in the walls, which are very narrow, as was the constant custom of making them at that time. The arched door-way is very remarkable on account of its stateliness and grandeur; the neatness and elegance of the workmanship in shaping and placing the bricks, (of which the facing is entirely composed) is almost incredible; in short, such is the beauty and awful appearance of the whole, that the beholder must be struck with pleasure and surprize, at the sight of this venerable antient ruin. Entering the church, we see the body which was very large, divided from two narrow ayfles by six noble pillars, raised with stone and faced at every angle with bricks neatly ornamented. Bricks at this period were held more ornamental than stone, as may be seen by such pains being taken in this building to cover the stone with brick facings.

This priory was built by Ernulphus, a religious man, about the year 1110, in the reign of Henry the first, and dedicated to St. Botolph and St. Julian. Ernulphus was chosen first prior. I may also remark, that particularly in the great arches, and in the foundation of this priory, are a vast number of Roman bricks: but this will not be wondered at, when it is known that at Colchester was a Roman station. And it is a strong disputed point whether it was not the *Camalodunum*, a great city of the Romans: though Camden and others place this city at Maldon in the same county.

See Morant
Hist. of
Essex and
Camden in
Essex.

Plate 30, fig. 4. exhibits a remarkable gateway, which formed the entrance into the abbey, dedicated to St. John, at Colchester; which abbey was built by Eudo Dappifer, sewer to king Henry the first, and was finished during the reign of that Prince. But I by no means think that this present gateway is of that early date, not only on account of the vast acuteness of the gothic arches, but because the stile of the architecture seems to bear the evident marks of more modern invention: and if the view that is given by Morant, of the abbey church (engraved from an antient MS.) is authentic, I shall not in the least doubt the truth of my present supposition, because the arches of the windows therein are round, and the whole building in a fashion as different from this gateway, as the gateway itself is from the ruin of St. Botolph's just described: but without any doubt this gateway is very old, and may justly be deemed a great curiosity. Its form is not quite four square, because the inside front is considerably narrower than the outside, which makes the two sides incline each way from the front backwards. See the plan marked A: it consisted of a broad entrance, and a small postern on the right hand; on the left hand of the gate is an additional building, which seems also very old. The gate itself is ornamented at the corners with four bastions, which rising higher than the rest of the building form four handsome turrets, whose effect is very picturesque and elegant. The main walls (which are about 2 feet and a half thick) are built of pebbles, unhewn flints and bricks, mixed with the strong cement, which is curiously faced with hewn flint and free-stone. The light gothic ornaments are the free-stone, carved, and the space between each ornament is filled up with the dark flint, cut like small *tesfala*, about 3 or 4 inches square, and 2 inches and a half thick: all the cornishes and arches are of free-stone as is also the foundation, rising full 2 feet above the present surface. One thing here is very remarkable, which is in the arches of the gateway that are faced with stone; these arches are first turned with bricks, and the stone set thereon with the cement, a method diametrically opposite to what has been observed of St. Botolph's Priory, where the arches are turned with stone and faced with brick.

At the bottom of the first plate of the Danish Æra, Plate 26, (where it was put for want of room) is a view of the abbey chapel at Coggeshall, in Essex, which was built by king Stephen, A. D. 1141, in the 7th year of his reign. This has the pointed arch, and was in its first state far from being an inelegant building, though very plain and void of ornament, which was afterwards crowded in such superfluous excesses on the buildings of gothic structure. The wall is composed of unhewn flints, pieces of brick and tile sheards, over which the cement was neatly plaistered both withinside and without, and seems in all respects to have answered the purpose of a stone facing. The four corners (on the outside of the building) were ornamented with bricks, many of which are evidently Roman. All the arches of the windows and the two supports down the middle of the large window, are composed of bricks, having the ornament necessary for the purpose handsomely cut out upon them. This ruin is at present full as perfect as the drawing, but it is much to be feared that it will not long remain so, for being now turned into a barn, it will most likely soon be demolished. Near this place without doubt must have been a Roman camp or station, as well from the vast number of Roman bricks that are here seen, as from the accounts of historians concerning such antiquities as have been found near this place. It has been by some supposed to be the *ad ansam* of the antient Romans, but this is entirely left to the judgment of the curious.

Speed's Chron.

Hist. of Colchester by Morant.

Plate 30, fig. 4.

Speed's Chron.

See Camden in Essex, & Weaver's Funeral Monuments page 168, & page 63 of this work.

Of the Domestic Buildings of the NORMANS.

We are quite as much at a loss for the form and materials of the domestic habitations of the Normans, as we were in the Saxon *Æra*, about those of the Saxons. We have seen that the religious buildings (of the Normans) were most elegant: (according to the taste of that time) the palaces, or rather castles of the great lords, were splendid and magnificent; no cost seems to have been spared in the decorations. But yet, their meaner structures were much disregarded, poorly built, and but ill covered in: even the mother city of the kingdom, *London*, (says Stow) was in the year 1189 all built of timber, and covered over with thatch of reeds and straw. Such miserable buildings (especially in so great a city) must of course have been very liable to be destroyed by fire, and unprovided as they then were with proper engines, &c. for the ready extinguishing the same, the devastation must in such cases have been dreadful and alarming. Indeed we often read of dismal accidents happening, and of whole cities perishing in flames, which when the manner of building is considered, will by no means be wondered at.

Stow's Survey.

Stow's Survey of London, page 69.

It was thought meet therefore (says Stow) in the first year of the reign of Richard the first, (Henry Fitzalwine being then mayor of London) to establish a law, enforcing all who from that time forward might build houses in that city, to construct them of stone to a certain height; and cover them with slates, or baked tiles, by this means securing themselves in much greater measure from a universal conflagration. I am inclined to think, that these houses of the better sort of people in other parts of the kingdom, were either built with walls of rubble stone and cement, or with strong timbers, which says Hollinghead, was the antient custom: but those of the poorer sort, could be nothing else at best than wooden frames faced with reeds, or laths rudely plastered over for the walls, and thatched with straw or reeds.

Hollinghead's Description of Brit. p. 85.

But a farther inconvenience attending these buildings was the want of proper fire places, and chimnies for the conveyance of the smoak. It was a long time before the use of chimnies became general, for according to Hollinghead, (who lived in the reign of queen Elizabeth) the building and increasing the number of chimnies was done within the memory of men then living. "There are (says he) olde men yet dwelling in the village where I remayne, which have noted a thing marvellously altered in Englande, within their sound remembrance, which is, the multitude of chimnies lately erected, whereas in their younge dayes there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish townes of the realme, (the religious houses and mannour places of their lordes always excepted, and peradventure some greate personages) but each one made his fire against a *reredosse*, in the hall where he dined and dressed his meate, &c." The most common way antiently was to have a large hearth in the middle of the room, on which was made the fire, the smoak ascended and passed through a large hole at the top of the building: the unwholesomeness and inconvenience of such fires may well be conceived, we need not therefore wonder in the least that Hollinghead should esteem the making and increasing the number of chimnies an advantageous and noble improvement.

Some Account of the PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPTS

From which the Materials for the Plates in this Volume are collected.

THE most antient MS. that I have met with relative to my design, seems to be Cædman's Paraphrase of the Book of Genesis, which is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. This MS. was printed and published (without the cuts) by Fr. Junius, Amst. 1655, 4^o. Though it has been by some disputed, whether this MS. was really the work of Cædman, yet it is generally allowed to be as antient as the time of that author, viz. during the eighth century. This MS. is marked Junius, No. 11.

The next is a most beautiful MS. in Saxon, preserved in the Cotton Library, containing a vast variety of valuable delineations: the subject part of the sacred history, namely, the whole book of Genesis, with the acts of Moses and Joshua; with short annotations, part in Latin, and part in Saxon, by the venerable Bede and others. In the preface to the Cotton Catalogue we are told, that by some it was supposed to have been the translation of the sacred text by Ælfric, (then abbot of Malmesbury) at the command of Ethelward, an illustrious Ealþeorman. Others have thought that this MS. (in preference to that at Oxford) was the real work of Cædman, by reason that it contains such parts exactly of the sacred history as is ascribed by Bede to that antient author; "*totâ Genesis historiâ, de egressu Israël de Ægypto, & ingressu in terram repromissionis,*" &c. Bede Ecc. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 24. But whether this is the real work of Cædman, or not, the MS. is without doubt very antient, and about that date. This MS. is marked Claudius, B iv.

The next is another MS. in the Cotton Library, which is a Poem on the Virtues and Vices, by Aurelius Prudentius, illustrated with delineations of the principal subjects, in Latin, with Saxon annotations and explanations. This MS. is marked Cleopatra C. 8. In the library of Bennet College, Cambridge, is another transcript of this MS. similar to this, in Latin, and Saxon annotations; the delineations also are much the same, only somewhat larger: this is marked F. 1.

Both the above MSS. may be dated about the latter end of the 9th century.

Tiberius, B v. in the Cotton Library, is a curious old Saxon calendar, containing delineations of the employment for the 12 months; with various other matters. This is part in Latin, and part in Saxon, written (as I take it) about the commencement of the 11th century.

About the same age I suppose the MS. Tiberius C. 6. to be, which is the psalter, with other holy matters; containing also delineations of all the musical instruments then in use. This book is both in Latin and Saxon.

Many old hymns, with the note music, as used in the days of the Saxons, are to be seen in Caligula, A 14, written in the 11th century. For a full account of the three last MSS. see the Cotton Catalogue.

At Oxford is a curious MS. the frontispiece of which was written and delineated by the hand of Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, as may appear from the writing at the top, (in a hand somewhat more modern) which is "*Pictura et scriptura hujus pagine subius visa, est de propria manu sci Dunstani.*" See plate 18. This MS. must have been in the 10th century.

In the Cotton Library is a MS. in the Anglo Danish language, (marked Caligula A. 7.) said formerly to have belonged to king Cnute; but however, it is universally allowed to be as ancient as the time of Cnute, whether it really was his book or not. It contains the four gospels, and has six high finished illuminations relative to the sacred text. Mr. Humphry Wanley, in his catalogue of Saxon MSS. &c. supposes, that the illuminations prefixed to this book did not originally belong to it, but were added by Sir Robert Cotton, when he had the book new bound. But there is no just reason for this supposition, because in the order of Sir Robert Cotton to the binder, concerning the rebinding of the MS. (which is yet remaining on a spare leaf) there is no mention made of the illuminations, or where they should be bound, which doubtless there would have been had they been separate from the book. Mr. Wanley (who places these illuminations about the reign of Stephen) thought perhaps that they were too well done, and too highly finished for so early an æra. But if we examine the illumination of Edgar, (copied in the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England, which beyond a doubt is of the date affixed to the MS. viz. 966) we shall find it superior every way, both in design and finishing, to those in the present MS. though of so much earlier a date. And besides, in these figures we may trace the early transition of the habits of the Saxons, but a wide difference from all of the Norman æra, (see plate 26 & 27.)

Another is a valuable Saxon MS. Register of Hyde Abbey, written in the time of king Cnute, having his portrait, together with that of his queen Alfyge, prefixed to it, (see plate 28.) This antique curiosity is in the possession of Thomas Astle, Esq; to whose kindness I am indebted for the use of it.

I found a curious old psalter (in the library of Trinity College, at Cambridge) which was written and illuminated by Eadwine, a monk, about the time of king Stephen. At the end the monk has added his own portrait, seated at his desk writing. This portrait was engraved by the Antiquarian Society, and with it printed a full account both of the author and the MS. to which I refer the reader.

The other principal MSS. are three transcripts of that celebrated historian Matthew Paris.

The first is in the Royal Library, marked 14, C. vii. In the beginning is his own portrait, drawn by himself, (see No. 1. plate 35.) and the whole book (which is his History of England) written with his own hand, (see the catalogue to the Royal Library.) In the margin are many delineations, representing different passages in the history, drawn by himself.

The next is the Lives of the Two Offas, of the 31 Abbots of St. Alban's, &c. which MS. is in the Cotton Library, marked Nero, D. 1. This book one may naturally conclude was written by himself, not only from its being his present book to the abbey, but from the exact similitude that the hand bears with that abovementioned. The lives of the Offas are illustrated with drawings at the top of each leaf, and which, without doubt, were done (with great pains and circumspection) by himself, for they both in the stile and attitudes of the figures correspond exactly with those in the MS. above described.

The third is his History, yet preserved in Bennet College library at Cambridge, illustrated with marginal drawings, like that first described. The hand of this MS. together with every other evidence, plainly testify its being of a date as early as the time of the author, if not also written by himself. This MS. is marked C. v. xvi.

There

There are many other MSS. from which I have diligently collected a vast number of miscellaneous materials, the enumerating of them here would be entirely useless, especially as several of them are marked in the description of the plates. I have therefore contented myself with this short description of these few of the chief. For further satisfaction I refer the reader to the several catalogues of the above libraries, where he will find them much fuller described, with their contents, &c.

The Description of the PLATES.

FIGURE 1, is castle Chun in Cornwall, see page 25; fig. 2, the plan of a Roman camp at Wallbury in Essex, p. 14; 3, a Saxon house, p. 37; 4, a castle. These two last are from a Saxon MS. in the Cotton Library, marked Cleopatra, C. viii.

No. 1, parts of Colchester castle, page 26; 2, Braintree abbey chapel, page 35; 3 and 4, represent the plan and perspective view of the earth works of a Saxon castle at Maldon in Essex, p. 24; 5 and 6, are the fame of a castle built by Edward the Elder, at Witham, p. 25.

The plan and perspective views of Colchester castle in Essex, p. 26.

Fig. 1, a horse soldier; 2, a single combat; or *kemp-fight*, p. 32; 3, a foot soldier; 4, a principal officer, p. 30; 5, a king attended by his armour-bearer, p. 30; 6, a soldier fighting with an axe against an armed spearman; 7, spearmen in armour, p. 30. Figures 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7, are from Cleopatra, C. viii; fig. 4 is from Tiberius, B. v. and fig. 5, is from Claudius, B. iv. all MS. in the Cotton Library; see the account of the MSS.

Fig. 1, a battle: 2 and 3, are Saxon tents, p. 31; 4, the trumpeters with their long horns or trumpets, p. 32; 5, a soldier with a horn; 6, a kind of war chariot, p. 31. 1, 2, 3 and 5, are from Claud. B. iv. 4 and 6 from Cleop. B. viii.

The building of the tower of Babel, see p. 37; from Claud. B. iv.

Fig. 1, a wine press, page 44; 2, Pharoah holding a court on his birth day, p. 37; 3, a blacksmith; 4, a gardener; 5, a Saxon priest. This last is from Tiberius, C. vi. the other 4 from Claudius, B. iv.

Fig. 1, Abraham covenanting with Abimelech, see p. 37; 2, a king on horseback, with his retinue, p. 39; 3, Joseph introducing his father Jacob to Pharoah, p. 38; 4, other figures on horseback. Fig. 4 is from Cleop. C. viii. the rest from Claudius, B. iv.

Fig. 1, a ship, see p. 42; 2, a Saxon chariot, p. 45; 3, a cart. Fig. 1 is from Tib. B. v. the other 2 from Claud. B. iv.

Contains 4 of the 12 months, namely, January, February, March, and April; p. 43.

Contains other 4, May, June, July, August, *ibid.* et 44.

Contains the last 4, September, October, November, December, *ibid.*

These months are from Tiber. B. v. a MS. Saxon calendar.

Fig. 1, a marriage, p. 77; 2, a bed, p. 45; 3, a child-birth, p. 77; 4, a woman winding worsted from a bobbin; 5, a figure which I have thought worth a place here on account of its superiority in point of proportion and elegance to most of the Saxon delineation; 6, a carpenter; 7, this figure has a collar round his neck, which bears the evident marks of the antient Saxon custom, viz. putting a collar of

of iron round the necks of those who were accounted bondsmen; the youth also wore a ring of iron in token of bondage, till by their bravery they had it taken off with honour, see page 18. This figure represents Joseph, after he was sold by his brethren to the Ishmaelites, and made a bondsman, in token of which he wears the ring of iron. Fig. 8 is remarkable on account of his buskins or boots. Fig. 1 is from Tiber. B. v. 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7, from Claud. B. iv. 5 and 8, from Cleopatra, C. 8.

Pl. XIV. Fig. 1, a burial, p. 66; 2, mourning over the dead body, *ibid.* 3, the burial of Joseph, *ibid.* 4, the burial of Abraham; 5, the priest or person who attended and perfumed the corps as it was laid into the ground; 6, a figure in an uncommon habit. 1, 2, 3 and 4, are from Claud. B. iv. 5, from the Cadman in the Bodleian Library, (Junius xi.) 6, from Cleop. C. viii.

Pl. XV. Fig. 1, is the interview between Judah and Tamar, Genesis, chap. 38; and fig. 2, is the sequel of the interview, see page 47; 3, two priests carrying the ark; 4, figures offering at an altar; 5, the Saxon pillory, p. 40; 6, the gallows, p. 41; 7 and 8, are the tunicans, or close coats of the Saxons, p. 46. Fig. 4, is from Cleop. C. viii. the rest from Claudius, B. iv.

Pl. XVI. Fig. 1, a Saxon feast, p. 48; fig. 2, ditto; fig. 3, Lot entertaining the two angels, see page 49; 4 and 5, are figures holding different drinking vessels, &c. 1 is from Tiber. C. viii. the rest from Claudius, B. iv.

Pl. XVII. Fig. 1, a huntsman; 2, men killing and dressing their meat, p. 49; 3, a harper, p. 50; 4, a figure dancing to music, p. 50; 5, a man with a sling casting a stone; 6, a horse with bridle, saddle, and other trappings; 7, a woman riding sideways on horseback, p. 48. Fig. 4, is from Cleop. C. 8. the rest from Claud. B. iv.

Pl. XVIII. The figure of St. Dunstan, kneeling before our Saviour, p. 71.

Pl. XIX. A musical concert, king David sitting in the middle, playing on his harp. Since the account of this plate (page 50) was printed, I have met with a curious circumstance in the antient Edda, which explains the employment of the figure (on the top of the plate on the left hand) with the balls and knives, the playing with which was a gallant amusement among the northern nations; for, says the Edda, "Gylf coming to Asgard, at the entrance of a stately palace, (built by the Gods) he saw a man playing with little swords, (*or daggers*) which he amused himself with, tossing them into the air, and catching them as they fell, one after another," in which manner the present figure is evidently employed. This might, as I before observed, (page 50) in some measure answer to the present method of beating of time to the music. This plate is taken from Tiber. C. vi.

Pl. XX. Musical instruments: in the MS. they are thus described—No. 1. Nabulum est quod grece dicitur psalterium quod apalendo dicitur ad similitudinem del *dae*, id est in modum del *dae* littere ad similitudinem cythare. No. 2. Psalterium est, quasi in modum clypei quadrati, & corde eius contrarie sunt abino maultum. 3. Hoc est tympanum. 3*. Hoc est forma tympanitum panum pellis pillacis est inflata abens calamos 110s. in labiis & unum in collo. No. 4. Hoc est forma cythare, quis prius fuit Cytharista id est *toba* filius stelle & *iemres* & psalterium abeis ortum distat in modulo. 5. In tintin nabulum ferro et *eramento* facit, q^d per sonat per linguam ferream in medio suo quod concitat, &c. cuit manu tenentis & su scitat adorationem hec est forma. 6. Sabuca et musicis genus informis in libro damelis dr. nescio quando dr. cinares ut quidem putant acitabulum q^d per cusa in modulas concitatur quidam putant fistulu est T colamus scapuli teramenti

teramenti T de cortice. 7. Hæc manus musica canticum est duo calamisunt de auricalcō in ore sonantur omnem canticum quod in ore cantatur musicum est hæc forma tubæ terciæ fistulæ in capite, Augusto 1111 ucaeductæ. 9. Pennola pennoil nuncupatur hæc forma.

Corus est pellis simplex, cum duabus cicutis; this is wrote under No. 1 and 2. Pl. XXI. No. 3. Hic est forma psalterii. No. 4. Duo bunibula vel bunibala semper æqualia; this is also written under No. 5. No. 6. Hæc est forma fistulæ hoc bumbulum cum fistulo aeres hoc xv bumbula vel bunibula ærea—cum fistulis in medio positis sed tria tamen bumbula in uno quo que latere. 7. Hæc est forma eius de quatuor chordas habeth de ligno modulatus chorus est. 8. The form of an antient lyre. All these musical instruments (contained in these two last plates) are from Tiber, C. vi. the last No. 8 excepted, which is from Tiber, B. V.

Fig. 1, is a Saxon standard; 2 and 3, are swords; 4, a kind of sling, born by the Pl. XXII. horsemen; 5 and 6, as well as 22, are staves of office; 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11, are different sorts of spears; 12 and 13, knives, or rather daggers; 14, the bipennis; 15 and 16, other Saxon axes; 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21, are different scepters; 23, 24, the bow, arrow, and quiver; 25, 26, 27, shields; that marked 26, seems only to have been borne by those who fought with the bipennis; 28, the Saxon horn; 29 and 30, the tubæ or trumpets, see p. 32. 14, 22, 29 and 30, are from the Aurelius Prudentius, at Bennet College, Cambridge, marked F. 1. the rest from the MSS. above quoted.

From 1 to 8 are different Saxon crowns; 9, 10 and 11, are diadems or hoops Pl. XXIII. of gold, enriched with jewels worn by the kings and noblemen; the letter A is a helmet; B and D are soldiers caps; E the nobleman's helmet; the Ealderman's cap is in the same shape, but without the jewels and ornaments, see plate 8, fig. 2, and page 39. F, a different head dress of a person of distinction. G, H, and I, are different shoes. K, L, M, N, O, and P, seats and thrones. R, and S, a Saxon fibula, page 46. One or two of the crowns are from coins of the Saxons, the rest from the MSS. above quoted.

From 1 to 20, are different cups and vessels. A, a pair of shears. B, long Pl. XXIV. pincers or tongs. C, a knife used in writing. D, a stile or pen. E, another pen, with the ink stand. F, F, common pincers. G, a carpenter's axe. H, I, K, and L, two chisels, and 2 hammers. M, a pair of scales. N, and O, the censers in which the priests put the perfume, in performing the office of mass, &c. These are all from the foregoing MSS.

The shrine of St. Ethelbert: it was found in the possession of the Bodenhams, Pl. XXV. an antient family near Hereford, and is now in the possession of Dr. Russel, one of the canons of the cathedral church of Hereford, see page 118. 77. The drawing of this valuable curiosity, was kindly communicated to me by Thomas Astle, Esq.

Fig. 1, Danish soldiers, 2, the Virgin Mary, see p. 86; at the bottom is the Pl. XXVI. abbey chapel of Coggeshall in Essex, see p. 103: and a Saxon plough from the Oxford Cædman, page 74. all the figures are from a MS. in the Cotton library, marked Caligula, A vii.

Fig. 1, Danish shepherds, 2, the habits of the Danish kings, p. 86, 3 the Vir- Pl. XXVII. gin Mary with the infant Jesus on a bed, p. 86, 4 the habit of two priests; the last two figures are from Mr. Astle's Register of Hide abbey, (see the account of the MS.) the rest from the MS. last quoted.

The portraits of king Cnute and Alfgyfe his queen, from the above mentioned MS. in the possession of Tho. Astle, Esq. Plate No. XXVIII.

- Pl. XXIX. No. 1, the perspective view of Hedingham castle, p. 89. 2, the building on the keep, 3, the plan of the whole, 4, Trematon castle, see p. 96, 97.
- Pl. XXX. Ground plot of Rayleigh castle, see p. 93. Perspective of ditto. 3, St. Botolph's Priory, see p. 102, 4, St. John's abbey gate, p. 103.
- Pl. XXXI. No. 1, a Norman archer, 2, a spearman, 3, a footman in mail, 4, a spearman, 5, a slinger, 6 and 7, cross bow-men, 8, horse soldiers, see p. 96 and 97, 9, a sea-fight, 10, a man polishing his sword, 11, a man grinding his sword to an edge on a grindstone. No. 2 and 3, are from Claud. D ii, 1, 5, 6, 7, and 9, from a transcript of Mat. Paris, in Bennet college library, mark'd C. v. xvi. 4 and 8, from Nero D i, another transcript of M. Paris in the Cotton library, 10 & 11, are from the Psalter of Eadwine in Trinity college Cambridge, marked R. 17, 1.
- Pl. XXXII. Fig. 1, the attacking a castle by sea, 2, a royal ship, 3, a ship of war armed with an iron prow, 4 and 8, are ferry boats, 5, a man sowing of corn, 6, reaping, 7, ploughing, 10, a mower whetting his scyth, 9, a blacksmith's forge, 11, attacking a castle by land, 1, 2, 3, 8 and 11, are from the Cambridge Mat. Paris, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10, from the Psalter of Eadwine.
- Plate XXXIII. Fig. 1, a woman crowning another, who holds a scepter, 2, a priest administering the sacrament to a dying king, 3, a man thrashing, 4, entombing a bishop, 5, a surgeon performing the operation of cutting the "*Fungus de nare*," 6, a monk, 7, a man playing the violin, 8, Samuel anointing Saul, 9, a man in the stocks, 10, a hammer used in beating hemp, 11, a corps wraped up for burial, xii, an organ. No. 1, is from Titus D 1, MS. in the Cotton library. 2, 3, 4, 6, and 10, from a transcript of Mat. Paris in the royal library, marked 14, C. vii. 5 is in a MS. on surgery, written about Stephen's time, in the Harleian library, marked 1, 5, 8, 5. 7 from a MS. in the Bodleian library, Oxford, about the time of Henry the 11d. 8, 9, 11 and 12 from the Psalter of Eadwine.
- Plate XXXIV. A portrait of John de Walsingham, prefixed to his Chronicle of England, which MS. is of so early a date, as probably to be his own hand writing. He died, A. D. 1213. The MS. that this portrait is taken from is in the Cotton library, marked Julius, D. vii.
- Pl. XXXV. Contains two portraits of that famous historian Mat. Paris: the top is supposed to be drawn by his own hand: the bottom one by the Monk who continued his history; it represents Paris as he lay dying, which was An. 1259. The MS. that this is taken from is in the royal library, marked 14, C. vii. see the description of the MS.
- All the following 33 plates, except some few additions to plate. 62, are from the transcript of Mat. Paris, in the Cotton library, marked Nero D. 1, supposed to be drawn by his own hand; they contain the lives of Offa the 1st and 11d.
- Plate XXXVI. No. 1, Warmund king of the East Angles had a son named Offa, who was born both blind and dumb. As the king himself was grown old (not having any other child to inherit his crown) an ambitious lord named Riganus, aided by his accomplice Mitunno, began to aspire to the throne.
- No. 2, Offa by fervent prayer being miraculously restored to his sight and speech, these two ambitious men thus disappointed in their sanguine hopes raised an open rebellion.
- Plate XXXVII. No. 1, the good old king, transported with joy at his son's miraculous recovery, causes him to be habited and honoured with the ensigns of knighthood.
- No. 2, Offa sets out at the head of his father's army, and in a set battle overcomes the rebels.
- Plate XXXVIII. He kills the two sons of Riganus and obtains a compleat victory. No.

No. 1, He humanely permits the friends and relations of the deceased, unmolested to mourn over them, and with his army assists in their honourable interment.

Plate
XXXIX.

No. 2, The joyful father with tears and blessings receives his victorious son. Then seating him before him, causes the nobles to swear allegiance to him.

Offa's father presents him with his treasure, then dying was buried at Gloucester. Plate XL.

King Offa having lost his way in a wood, found a beautiful damsel (who proved Pl. XLI. to be daughter to one of the petty kings of Yorkshire) cruelly exposed by her barbarous and lustful father, to perish there for want, because she virtuously withstood his incestuous desires. The king comforted her, and caused her to be treated with all becoming respect.

He after some deliberation marries the virgin. The king of Northumberland Pl. XLII. implores his aid against the Scots.

Offa goes to assist the king of Northumberland and overcomes the Scottish army. Pl. XLIII.

No. 1, Offa sends a letter of instruction from Scotland to his chiefs at home. Pl. XLIV. The messenger is stopped by the very king whose daughter Offa had married, he burning with anger that his purposes had been defeated, and himself exposed, meditated a severe revenge: causing the messenger therefore to be fairly intreated he disguised him with liquor, then getting the true letter from him, he inclosed in the same cover a forged one, strictly commanding those to whom it was directed, to seize the queen and her children, and carry them into an unfrequented wood, and there kill the children before her face, and leave her to die of grief and hunger; which message is with grief received by the nobles.

No. 2, Represents this dismal scene put in execution, where the lamentable cries of the unhappy mother, brings a pious hermit to her relief, who by his fervent prayers restores the children to life, and succours the distressed mother. Victorious Offa meanwhile returns into his kingdom.

His courtiers tell him the distressing news. He sets out in search of his Pl. XLV. queen and meets with the holy hermit.

No. 2, And is introduced to his wife and children. He dies and is buried.

The Life of the second Offa, who resembled the first.

No. 1, Offa the second born deaf and blind. He was the son of Tainfred Pl. XLVI. (who was of the blood royal) by his consort Marcella. Offa being presented by his parents in the Temple of God, by fervent prayer miraculously attained to his sight and hearing.

No. 2, He is knighted and blessed by his father.

He overcomes Bearmred the usurping king of Mercia.

Pl. XLVII.

He is crowned king of the Mercians. About this time Drida (or Quen-
drida) a virgin, of near relation to Charles king of France, being falsely accused
of a great crime, was put on board of a boat without oars, rudder, or tackle,
and was driven by accident on the English shore. Plate XLVIII.

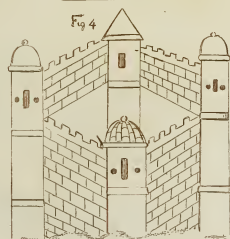
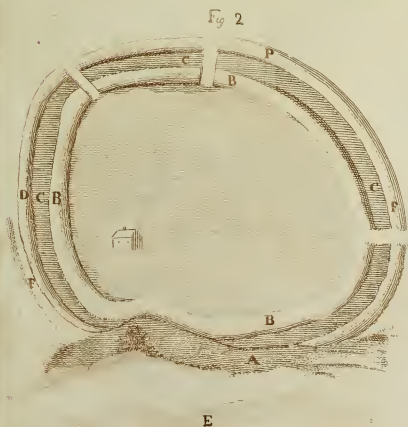
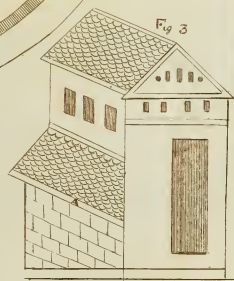
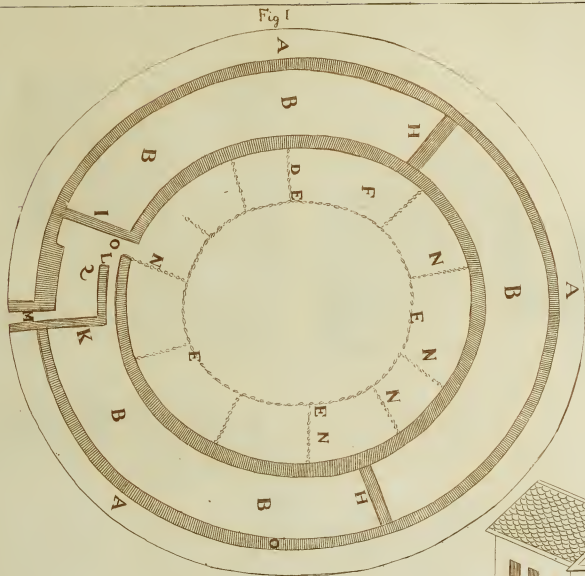
No. 1, She is presented to the king, whom she informs of her innocence. He Pl. XLIX. marries her.

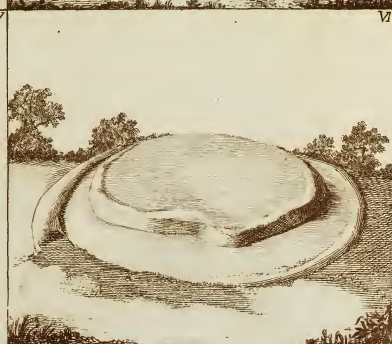
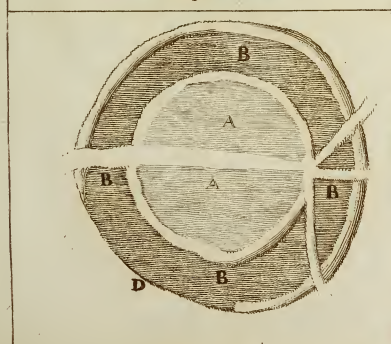
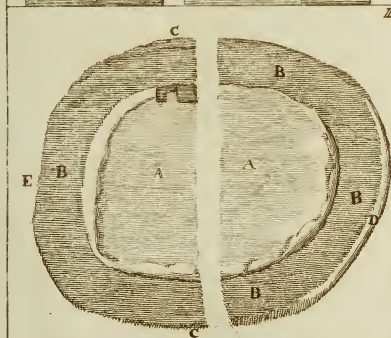
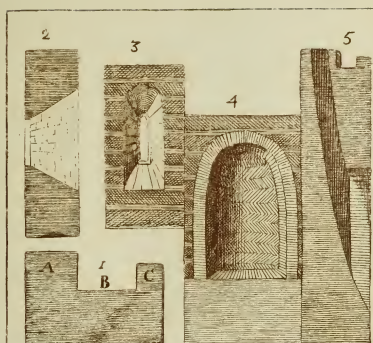
No. 2, The neighbouring kings, jealous of Offa's growing greatness, consult together, and send a letter to Charles the Ist king of France. He receives it and writes to Offa his commands, not to molest the neighbouring powers.

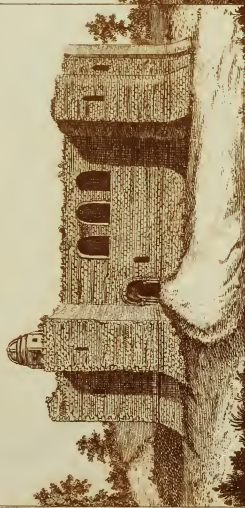
Offa entirely disregarding the menaces of Charles, fights with and overcomes Pl. L. the king of the East Angles.

Charles the Ist of France being dead, is succeeded by his brother Charles the IId. Pl. LI. Him the neighbouring kings solicit by message with great earnestness. He also writes to Offa, who without regarding it pursues his victories. Offa

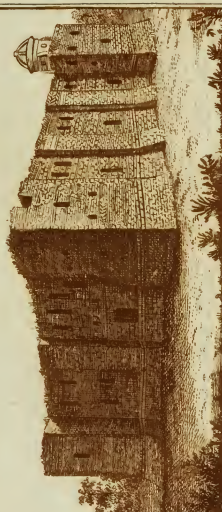
- Pl. LII. Offa overcomes the king of Kent.
- Pl. LIII. He overcomes the joint forces of the kings of Northumberland, of the South and West Saxons, &c. who fly to Wales for protection.
- Pl. LIV. Offa sends a letter to the king of Wales, forbidding him to receive, or aid the fugitive kings: but the Welch king joining with the fugitives, Offa proceeds into Wales, and overcomes the whole of their forces.
No. 2, The kings of Northumberland and the South Saxons, with the king of Wales, league themselves together against Offa. To protract the time, they send a submissive message to Offa with presents, and obtain a truce.
- Pl. LV. While the truce yet continued, the leagued kings treacherously attack the camp of Offa.
- Pl. LVI. Offa revenges their perfidy by a total defeat of their joint forces.
- Pl. LVII. No. 1, He causes the dead to be decently interred, and mass to be celebrated for the good of their departed souls.
No. 2, He writes to Charles of France excusing himself. Charles returns a congratulatory epistle.
- Pl. LVIII. No. 1, And sends Offa a book containing the decrees of the second council of Nice. Offa grants safe conduct to the subjects of Charles.
No. 2, He sends a message to the Pope, for leave to transfer the archbishoprick of Canterbury to Lichfield. (in his own dominions) Eadulphus is made the first archbishop.
- Pl. LVIX. He overcomes the Danes, who had landed and began to ravage the sea coasts.
- Pl. LX. He marries his eldest daughter to Brithricus, king of the West Saxons.
His second to Ethelred, king of Northumberland. And betroths his third daughter to Ethelbert, king of the East Angles.
- Pl. LXI. Quendrida wife to Offa, wickedly persuades him to murder Ethelbert, and seize on his kingdom, which murder at her command was done.
- Pl. LXII. No. 1, The head of this unfortunate prince by chance falling down as his body was carried away, was found by a blind man that stumbled against it, who accidentally putting some of the blood upon his eyes, recovered his sight. A well also sprang up where the head fell. This is that Ethelbert whose shrine is given in plate 25, see page 78.
No. 2, The archbishop of Lichfield obtains leave, and decently inters the dead body. Offa honours his son with knighthood, and caused him to be crowned king.
- Pl. LXIII. No. 1, An Angel, in a dream, reveals to Offa where the bones of St. Alban were repositied.
No. 2, The finding the bones of that saint in a wooden chest.
- Pl. LXIV. No. 1, The procession of St. Alban's shrine, and miraculous recovery of two lame men.
No. 2, Offa crosses the sea to Rome.
- Pl. LXV. No. 1, Does Homage to the Pope.
No. 2, Being returned home he builds the abbey of St. Albans.
- Pl. LXVI. No. 1, Willegoda is by Offa constituted first abbot. The king and Willegoda praying together at the high altar.
No. 2, The burial of Offa.
- Pl. LXVII. Offa seated on a throne between two monks, (who are kneeling) treading on a lion; an emblem of his vast power and victories; holding in his right hand the abbey of St. Albans, and in his left a magnificent scepter.



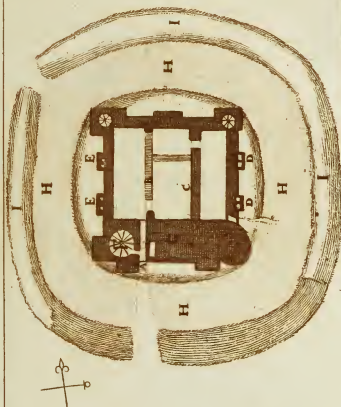




Principal Entrance of the Castle on the South.



North-West View.



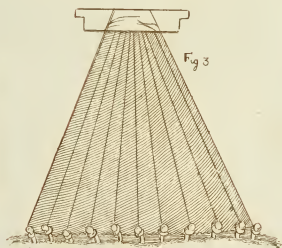
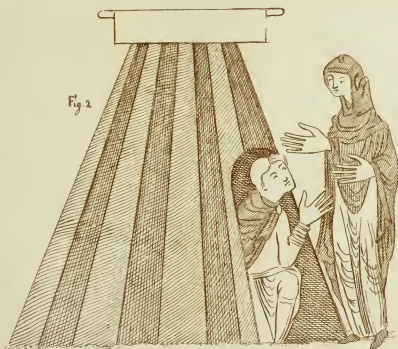
Plan of the Castle.



East View.



ТЪВЪКЪ СЛЕНЪ ГЛАДИИ РЕКОДУНТУРЪ ИМУЩИНА; иеръ бау манъ спрегедонъ ба урордъ онъ иеръ рѣдудити
 въ Саванна С. 1.



icynceſ aquilas atq; ince nopia cogi, p̄y et p̄ h̄lecōp̄i gende. ex C. Lapide. C. 100.



cynng abimelech thyr ealdor man pichol, *Ex Chaucer's Bn*





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Fig. 305

Fig. 306

Fig. 307

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Fig. 309

Fig. 310

Fig. 311

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Fig. 322

Fig. 323

Fig. 324

Fig. 325

Fig. 326

Fig. 327

Fig. 328

Fig. 329

Fig. 330

Fig. 331

Fig. 332

Fig. 333

Fig 1



habet lucernas in pupa;
 On þam pýngraða deale þær rucor þe ða deop; Ex Tiberius B.v.

Fig 2



Fig 3



Ibidem nonis gaudet in ordine quodam Ex Idemus 6v





Concepit uirgo maria cognomine sems ex Jo. B. v





Fuolat in quo dñs gorgoneus omne nonis. Ex Gildone Bv



Fig 5



Fig 4



Fig 1



Fig 6



Fig 2.

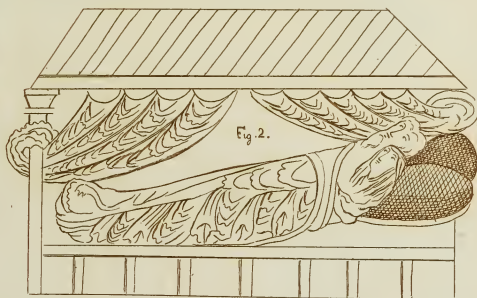


Fig 8



Fig 7



Fig 3



þiupmodes geornfulnysse, 2a Tiberius Cen.

Ἰορεφ πορρ φενδε παθέρερ ανηυνδ πιμερα γανρινε.
 & eland. 6m.



Εποταβορ δεμαρερ πια. & f. 100. m. apud Bb. Bod. Oxon.

ðar þæð heo ðinne hring 7 ðinne beah. 7 þinne fæðf,

Ex. Chelmsford B. 10



Fig 4



Fig 5

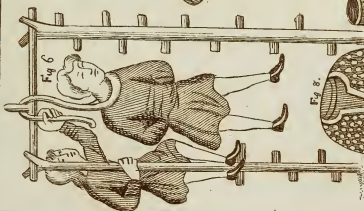


Fig 6



Fig 7



Fig 8

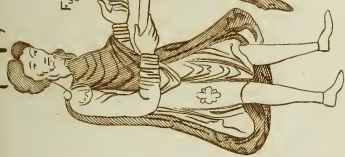


Fig 9

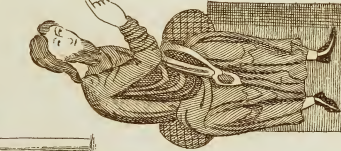


Fig 11

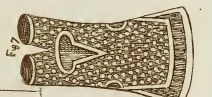
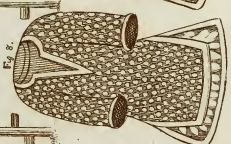


Fig 12



Fig 14

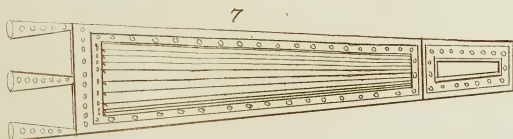
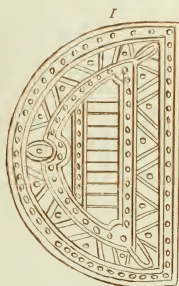
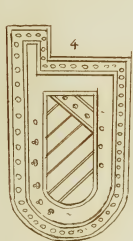
Fig 15

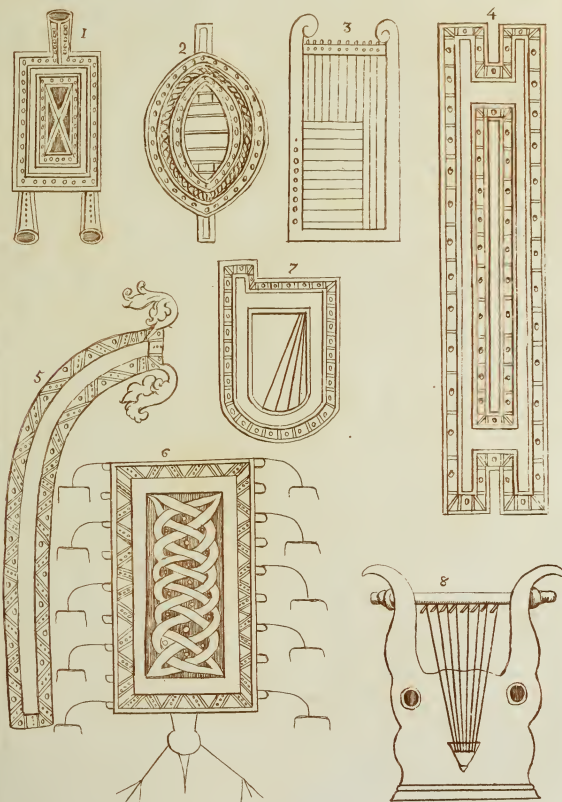


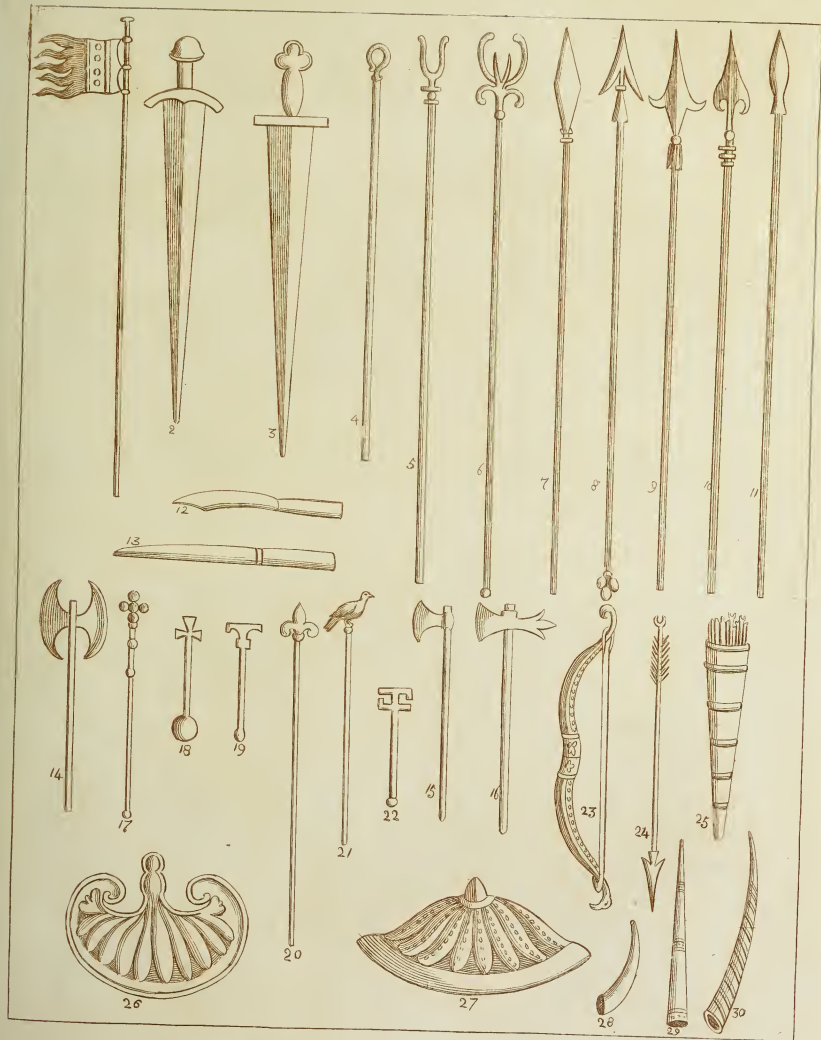












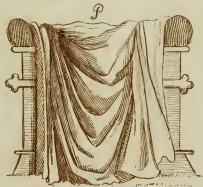
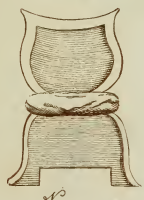
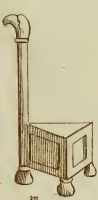
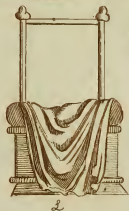
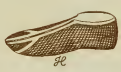
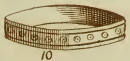










Fig 1



Fig 2



Fig 3

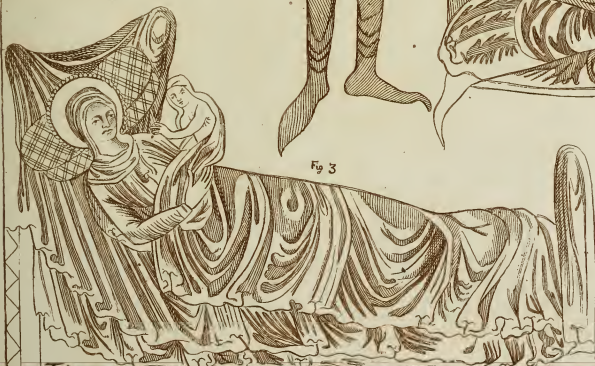


Fig 4

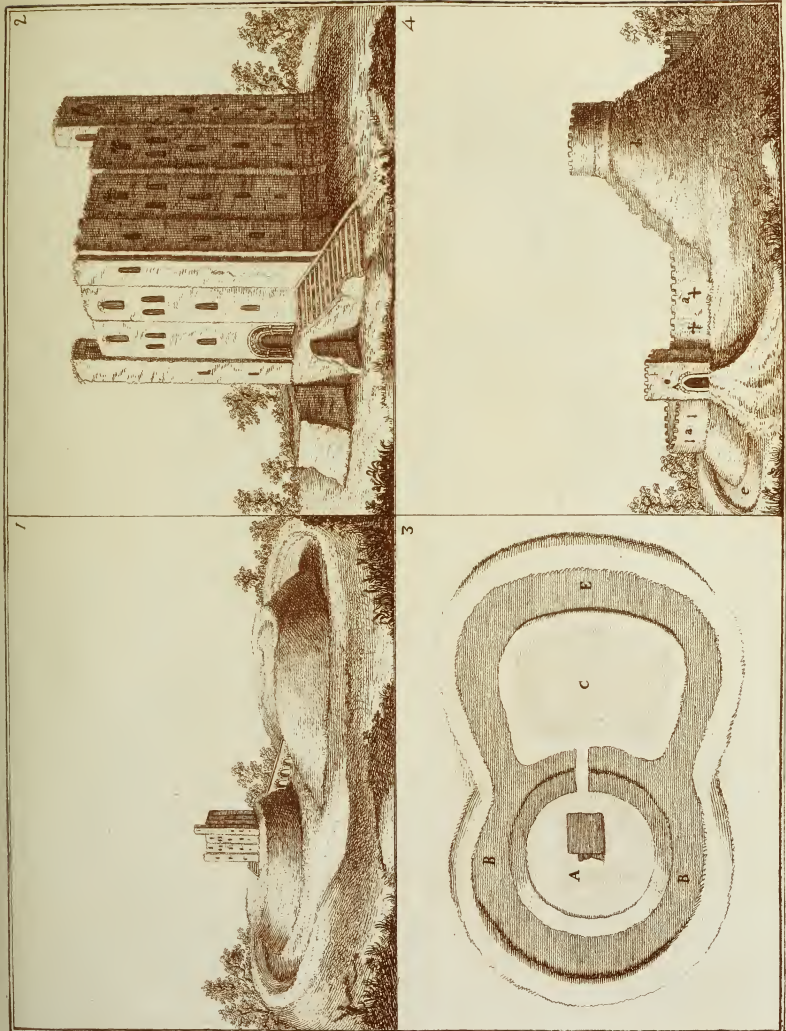


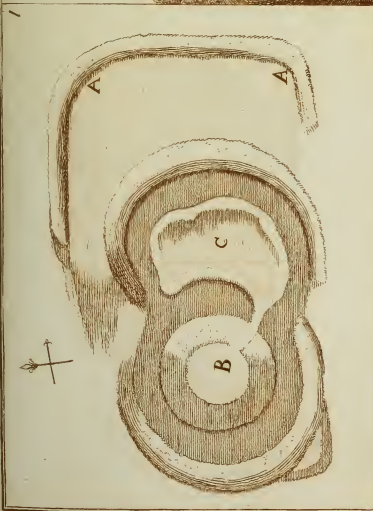
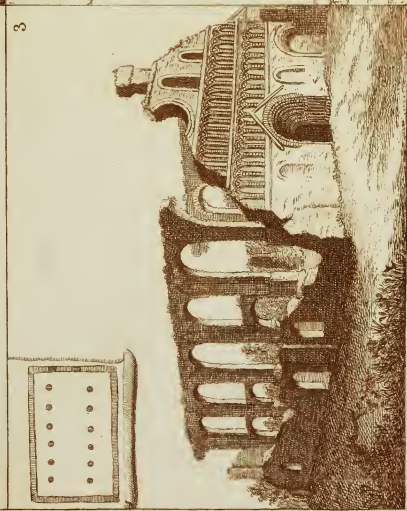
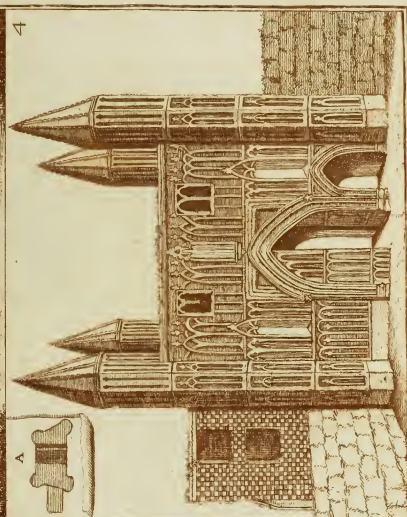
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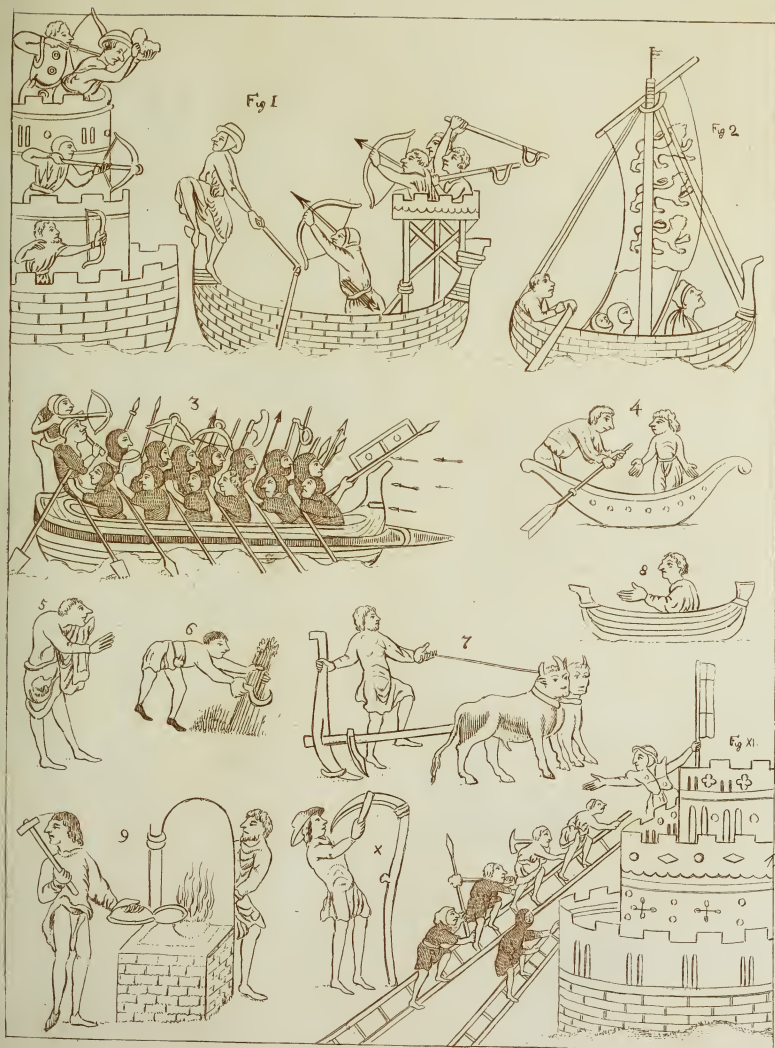
7 ealle þa bocland þe ic oncent hæbbe; & MS. p. 100. T. A. 10. 1. 1. 1.















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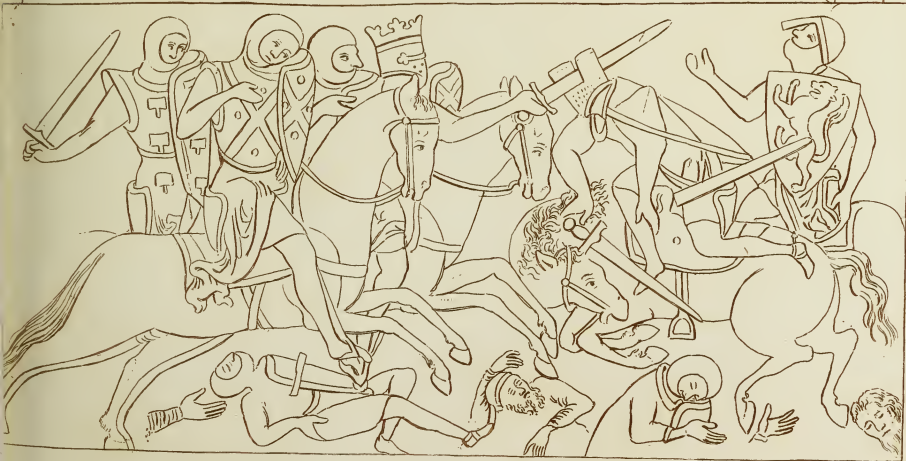


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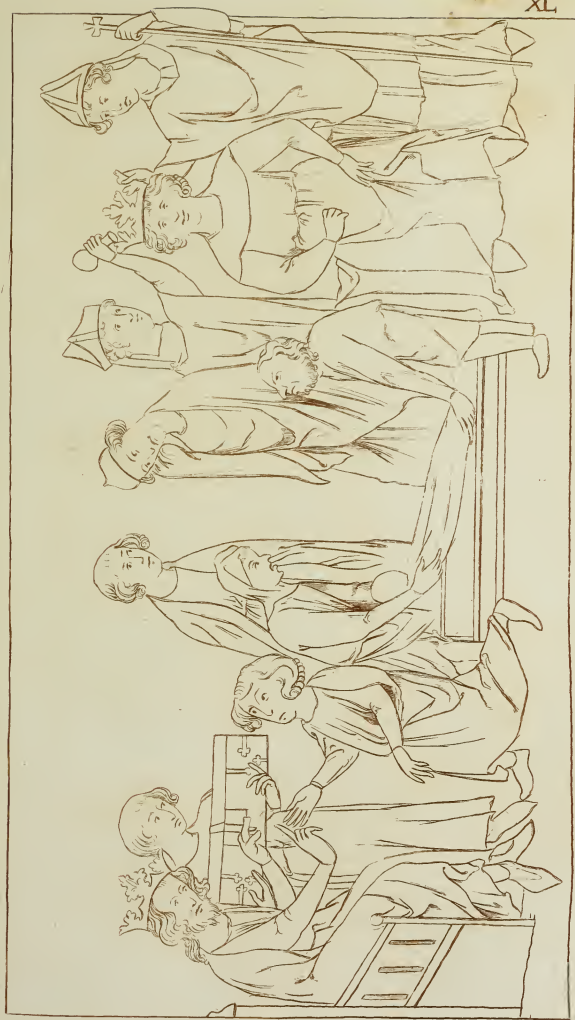






II













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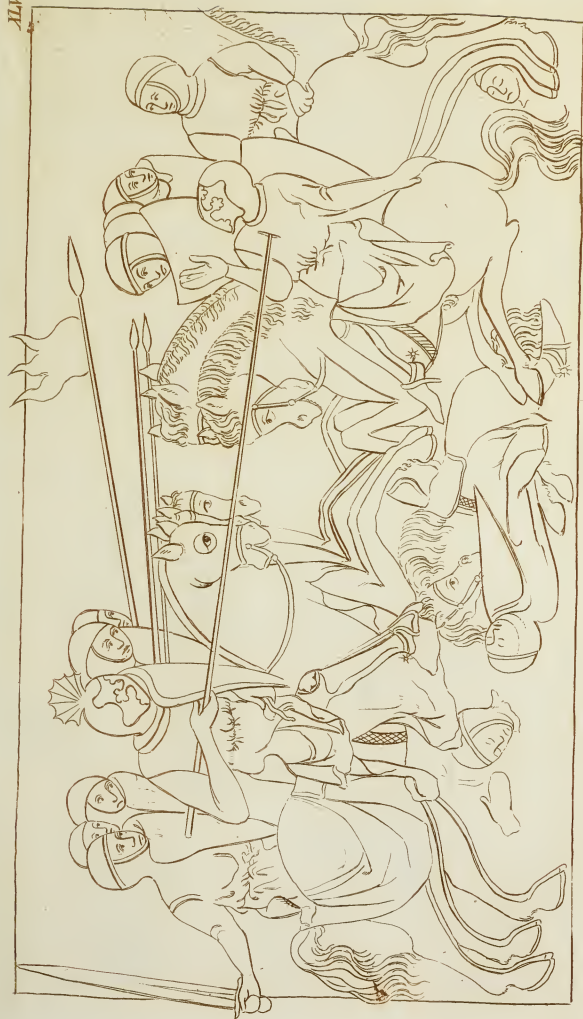


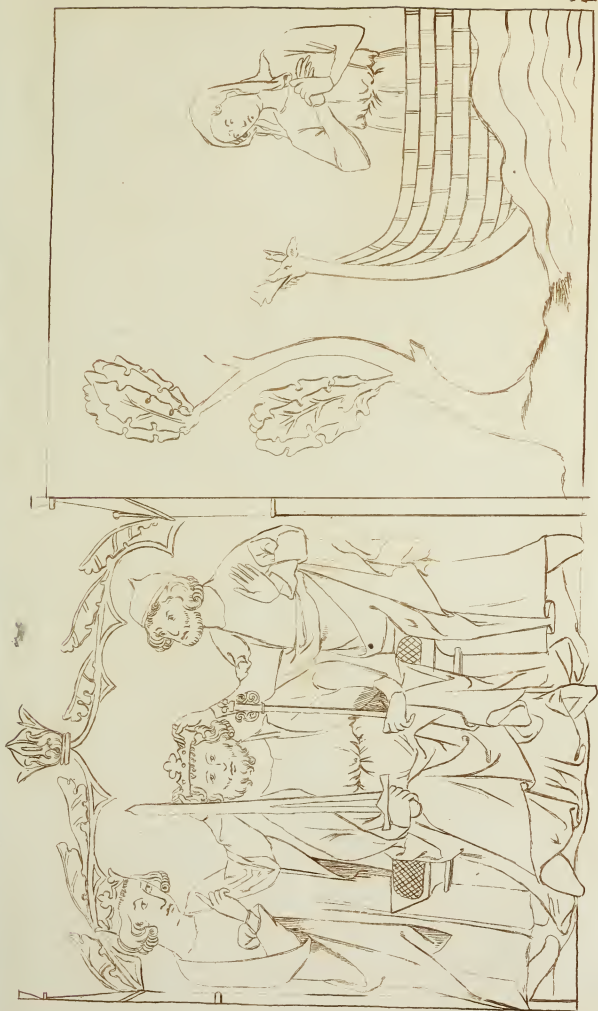
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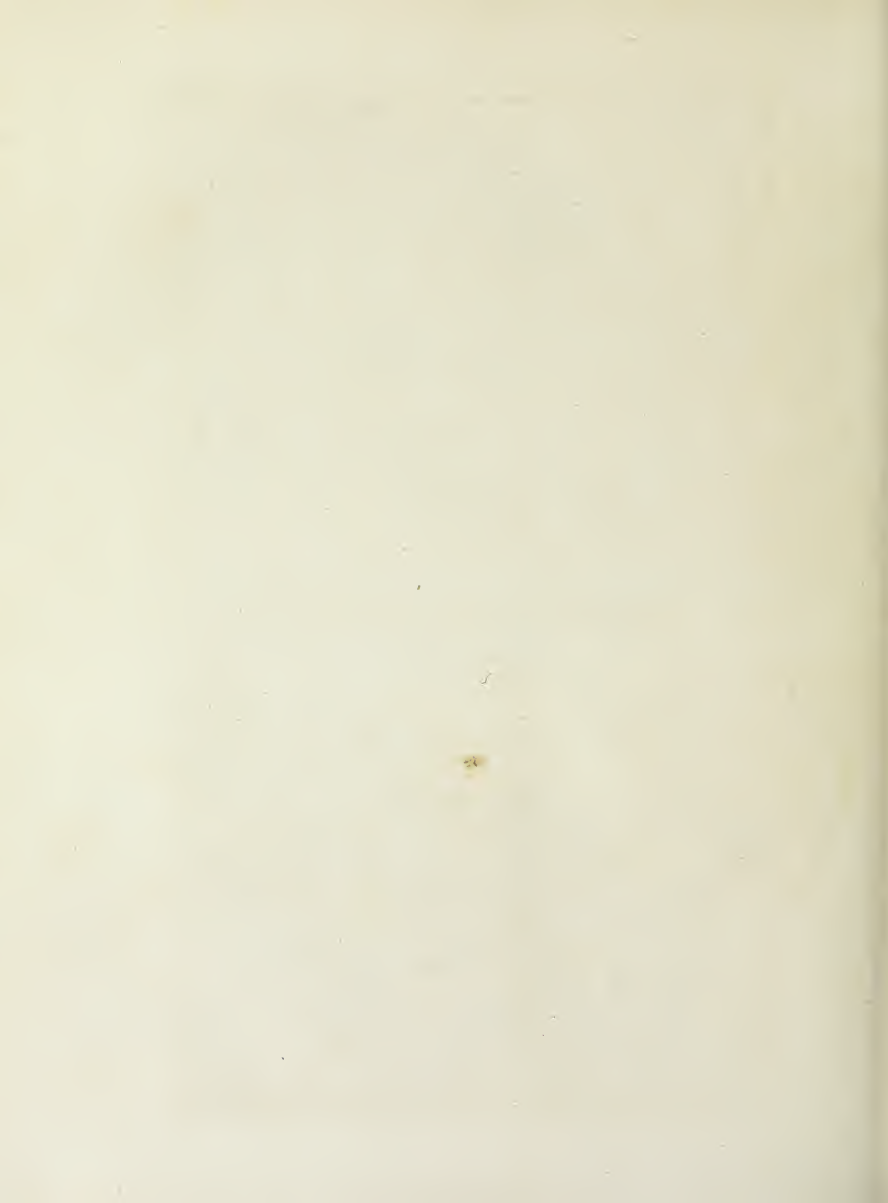


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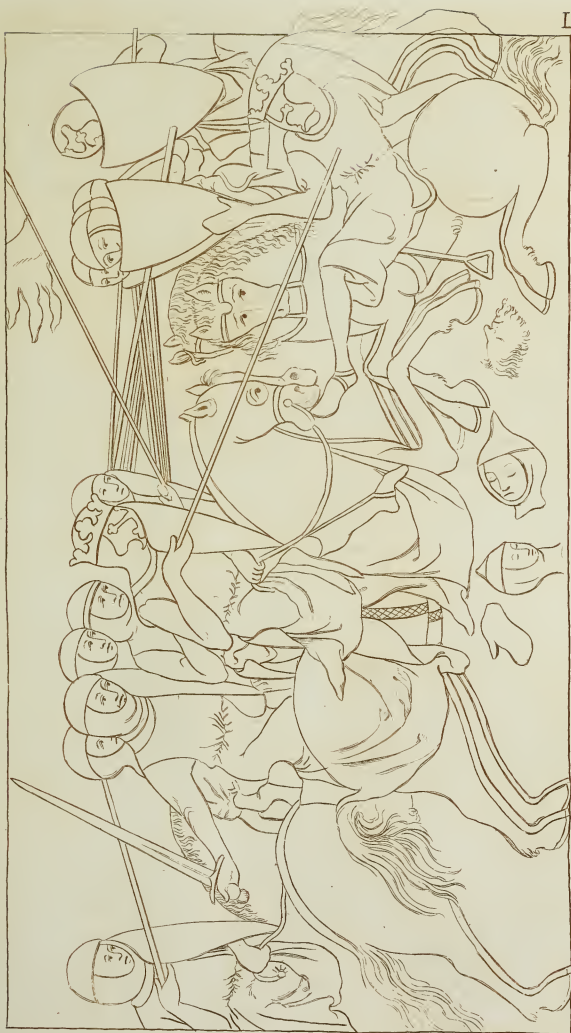


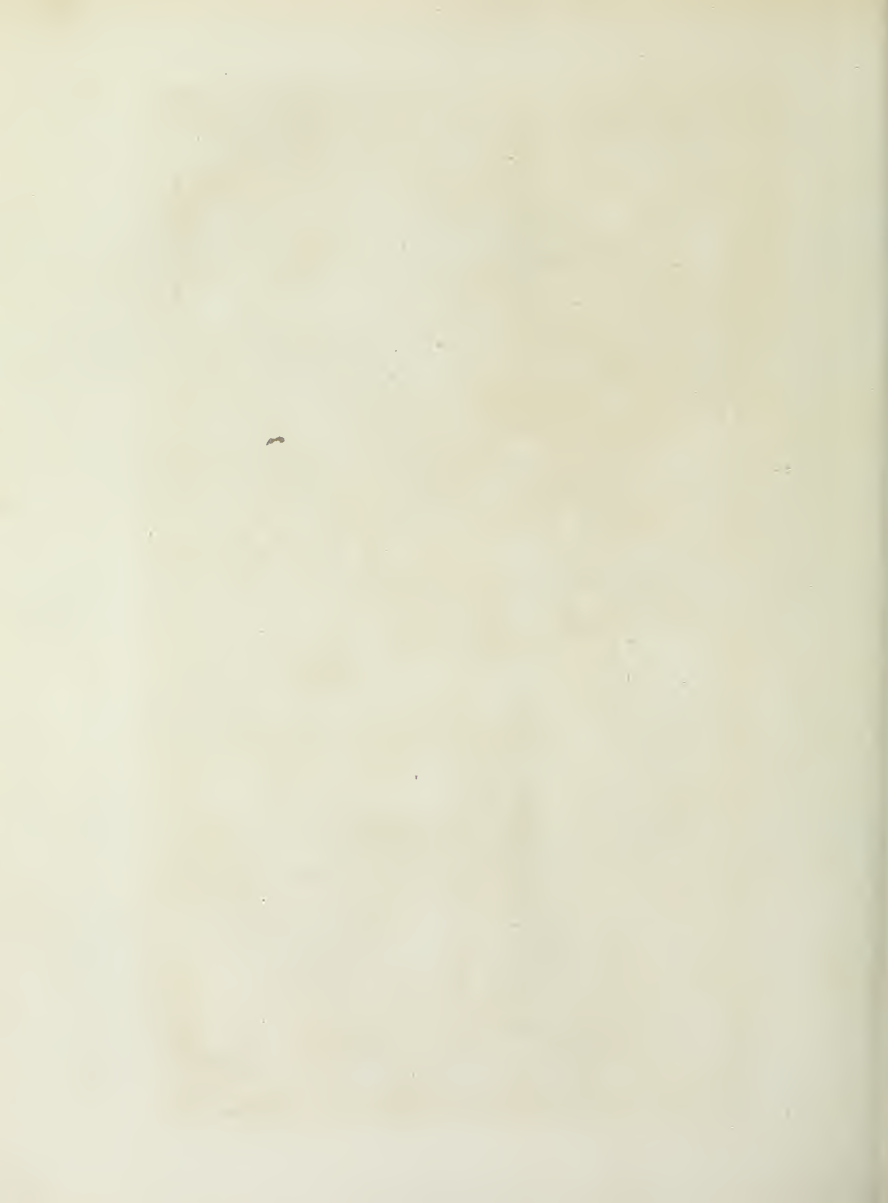


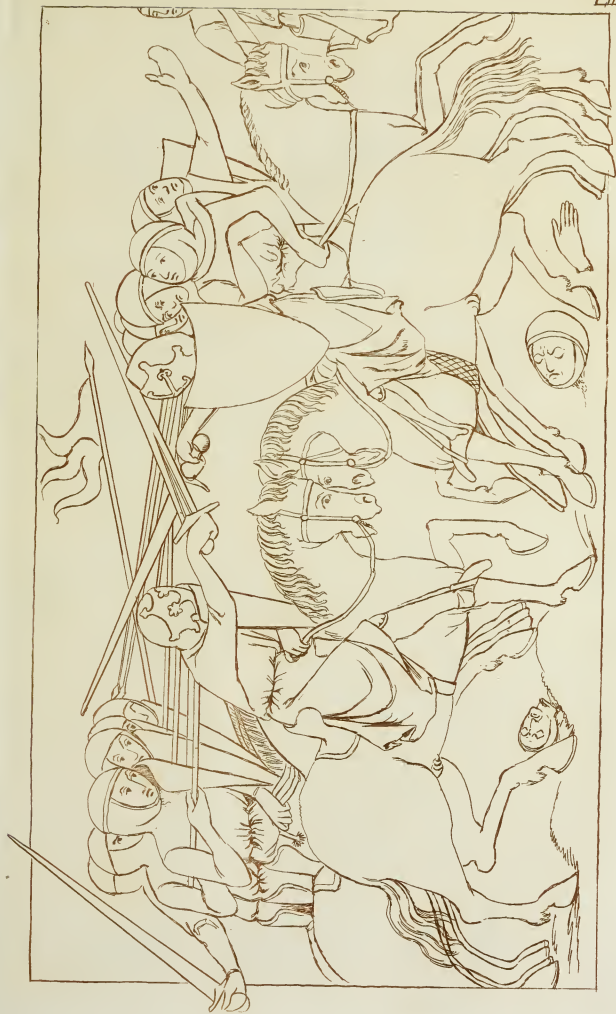






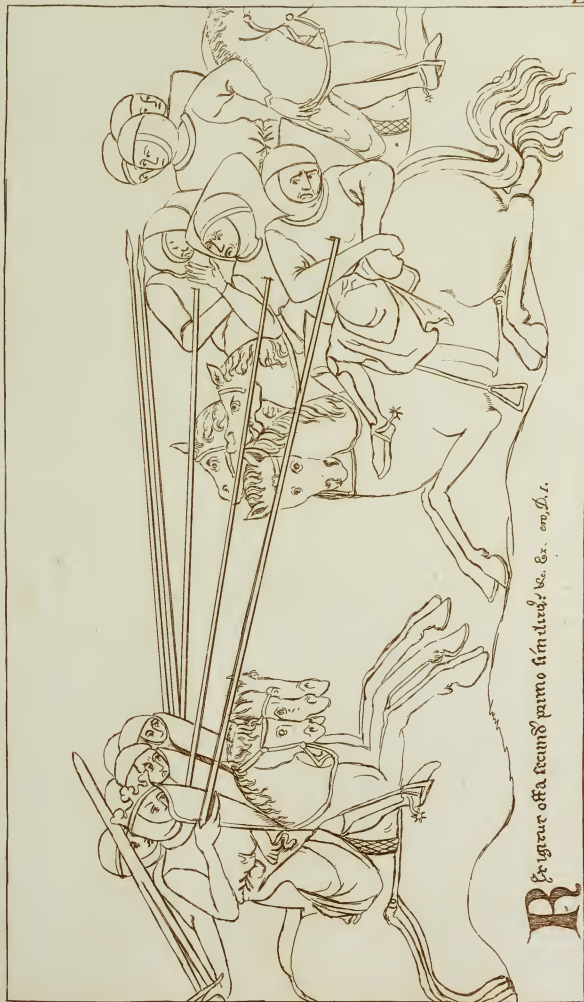












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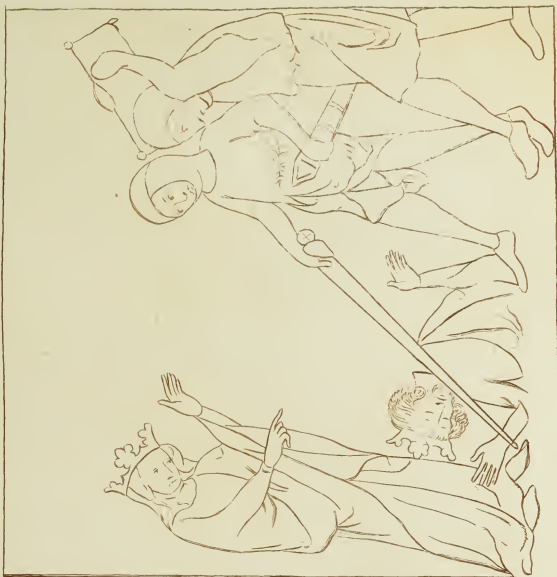


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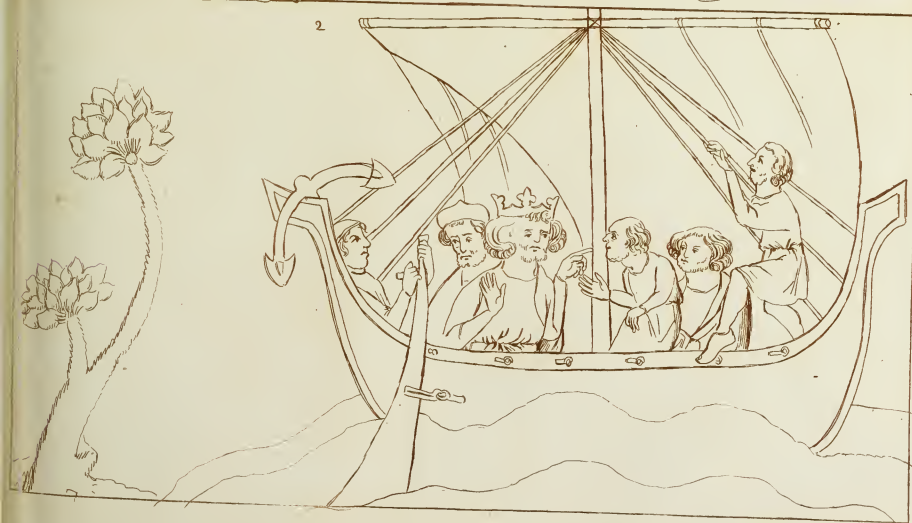


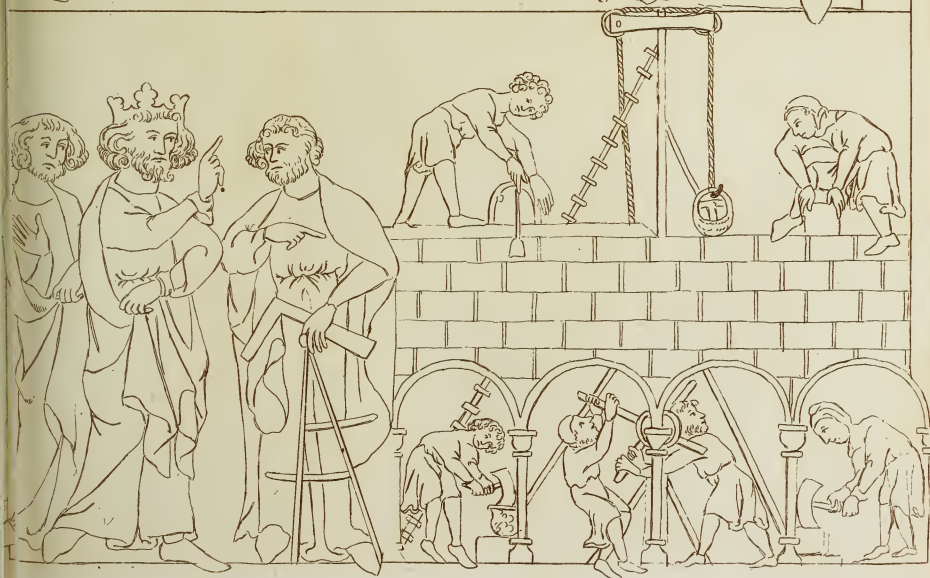


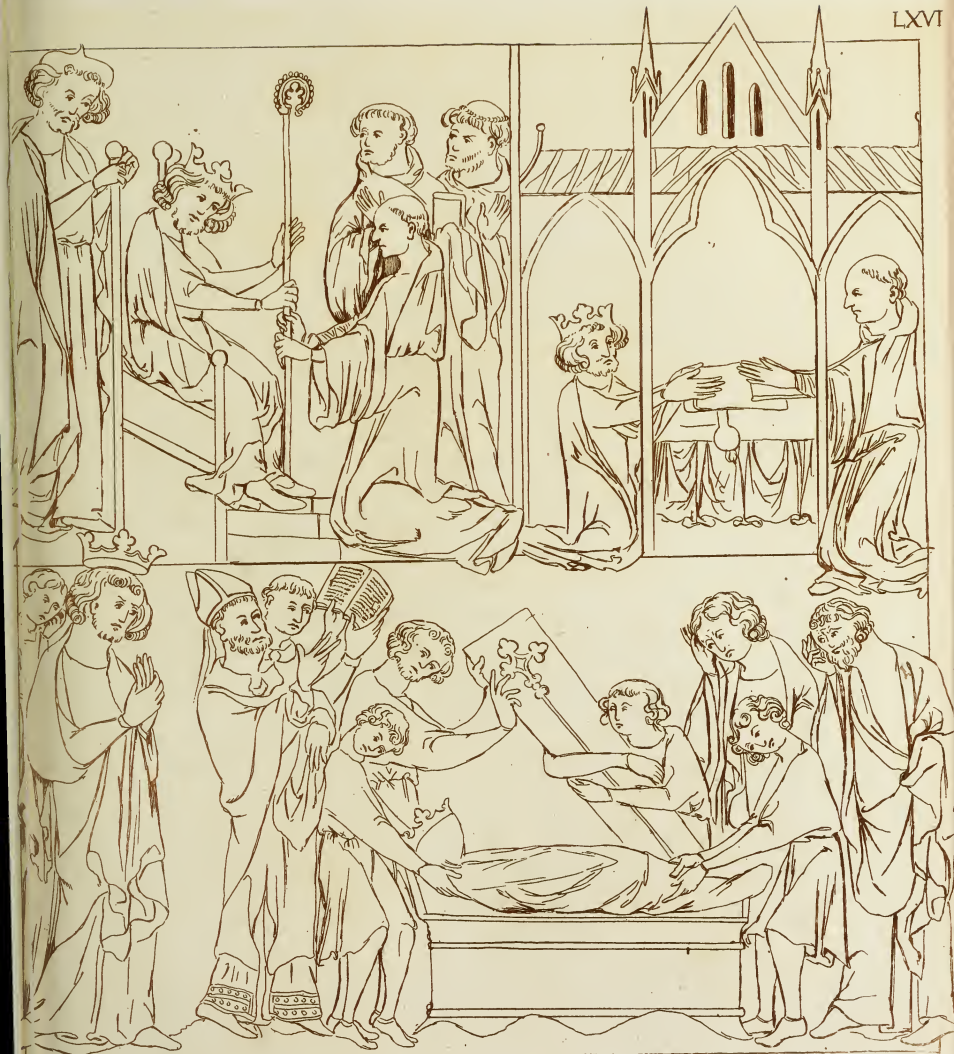














HONDA ANſel-cýnnan:

OR

A COMPLEAT VIEW

OF THE

Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, &c.

OF THE

INHABITANTS OF ENGLAND,

from the ARRIVAL of the SAXONS,

till the REIGN of HENRY the EIGHTH.

WITH

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BRITONS,

during the Government of the ROMANS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By JOSEPH STRUTT,

Author of the REGAL and ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES OF ENGLAND.

VOL. II.

This deepe desire hath laſtly moved me
On Pilgrimage *Times* traces to enſue,
The reliques of his ruines for to ſee;
And for the love of my deere Nation due,
The things concerning them which I did view,
Tending to Engliſh honour earſt concealed,
Here in my Travels-Map I have revealed.

VERSTEGAN's Prefatory Poem to his Reſtitution of Decayed Antiquities.

LONDON:

Sold by BENJAMIN WHITE, at HORACE'S HEAD, in FLEET-STREET.

MDCCLXXV.

TO HER GRACE
MARGARET CAVENDISH,
DUTCHESS DOWAGER
OF
PORTLAND,
THIS WORK

WITH HER GRACE'S PERMISSION,
IS MOST HUMBLY AND RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED,
BY HER GRACE'S
MOST OBLIGED,
AND HUMBLE SERVANT,

JOSEPH STRUTT.

T A B L E

O F T H E

Principal Heads contained in the Second Volume.

	N O R M A N	Æ R A.	PAGE.
A Short View of the Rise and Progress of Architecture	-	-	1
Regal Courts and Governments of the Normans	-	-	4
Laws and Administration of Justice	-	-	7
Shipping and Naval Affairs of the Normans	-	-	9
Husbandry, &c. of the Anglo-Normans	-	-	12
Dress and Habit of the Anglo-Normans	-	-	14
Banquets, &c. of the Anglo-Normans	-	-	18
Musical Instruments, &c. of the Anglo-Normans	-	-	20
Sports and Pastimes of the Anglo-Normans	-	-	21
Marriages, &c. of the Anglo-Normans	-	-	23
Form of Baptism used by the Normans	-	-	24
Arts and Learning of the Anglo-Normans	-	-	25

	E N G L I S H	Æ R A.	
Fortifications	-	-	27
The Method of besieging Castles, or fortified Towns	-	-	28
Engines and Warlike Instruments used at the Sieges of Castles and fortified Towns, &c.	-	-	31
Soldiers and Armies of the English	-	-	33
The Manner of Encampment	-	-	35
The Arrangement of the Army	-	-	36
Stratagems, &c. whereby the Enemy were annoyed	-	-	38
Wherein the English had the Advantage over the Enemy	-	-	39
Warlike Habits, &c.	-	-	42
The Arms, of the English	-	-	43
The chief offensive Arms of the English	-	-	44
Religious and domestic Buildings	-	-	45
State of Government, &c.	-	-	47
Various Royal Processions	-	-	49
			History

	PAGE
History of Coronations	55
Ensigns of Regality	63
Of the Nobility and Method of Creation	64
Laws and administration of Justice	68
Marine Affairs, and Shipping, &c. of the English	73
Engagements upon the Sea	75
Husbandry, &c. of the English	77
Dress and Habits of the English	82
Domestic Affairs	88
Carriages for Pleasure	89
Sports and Pastimes	90
Tournaments	91
Theatrical Amusements	94
Fairs or Wakes	98
The commoner Sports	ibid.
Childrens Sports	99
Musical Instruments	ibid.
Banquets of the English	100
Burials	105
Funeral Processions	107
Coffins, Tombs, &c.	109
Religion	110
Arts and Learning, &c.	114
Account of the principal MSS. from which the materials of the second Volume are collected	119
Description of the plates	120
Index for finding the figures and MSS. in either volume	131

THE
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS
OF THE
N O R M A N S
C O N T I N U E D.

A short View of the Rise and Progress of ARCHITECTURE.

ONE of the first considerations of mankind in the earlier ages, was that of contriving somewhat by way of habitation, whose hospitable roof might shroud them from the inclemency of the weather. While the ground was yet untilld, and food unprovided, they contented themselves with holes and caverns in the friendly earth, or dwelt in such miserable huts as could be with speed erected; but as mankind increased, and the ground (in proportion to the labour bestowed upon it) became more fruitful and enriched, less trouble was found necessary to be bestowed, and time by degrees grew upon their hands. Their next care then was to make more suitable habitations for themselves; still changing, still improving, till at length they began to conceive ideas of grandeur and elegance; from houses for themselves, they proceeded to erect lofty temples for their gods, and stately palaces for their kings and heroes. The architect had then his rules laid down; symmetry and just proportion became necessary. Thus arose the several orders of architecture, and the laboured ornaments of the consequential structures.

So, through a long continued series of time, one may trace the various states and vast improvements made in this single art throughout each period, varied according to the different genius of the people, or taste of the architect.

But to confine this discourse to what relates to our national improvements only, it will not be improper to begin with the earliest accounts, consequently such rude and uncouth huts, as the warlike Britons made for themselves. Of these, and their truly wretched state, we have already seen what has been said by Cæsar, Diodorus, and other antient authors, therefore there needs no further comment here. We have also heard from the faithful Tacitus, that little improvement either was or could be made in their buildings, until the time of Julius Agricola, under whom the distressed Britons enjoyed some shew of peace, and learned the Roman arts.

See page 4
of vol. 1.

Ibid page 5.

B

But

But yet even through this unfavourable prospect, shines the more ancient specimens of the genius and ability of the Britons. That stupendous edifice *Stone-Henge*, is yet a lasting monument of their indefatigable labours and ingenuity, which, though devoid of the elegance that so forcibly marks out the Greek or Roman workmen, yet (considering the abject state of the arts amongst the earlier Britons) its just proportion, and the magnitude of the stones wherewith it is composed, render it most justly deserving the admiration of mankind. It also further proves, that not their want of genius, but of leisure to cultivate the arts, was the only obstruction to their further progress.

During the government of the Romans, indeed, the architecture became much more improved, and their designs more elegant. The Britons, in proportion as the Roman yoke became more tolerable and easy, began gradually to adopt the manners and customs of that people, affecting to learn even their manner of speech, and modes of habit.

From these then remaining structures of the Romans; and of the Britons in imitation of the Romans, was borrowed the taste and fashion of the more elegant edifices of the Saxons. The arches of the Saxon buildings are round, the architecture plain and simple; the ornaments but few, and those chiefly consisted of foliages and branches interwoven with heads of birds, beasts, &c. These ornaments were chiefly confined to the capitals of the columns, or else they were used to beautify the cornish or architrave. Sometimes, indeed, the heads of the columns were ornamented with figures representing a particular piece of history (in bas-relievo) relative to the foundation of the building wherein they were placed; or else the history of their patron saints, as may be seen upon the capitals of several old columns in the church of Ely, whereon there is represented the life of Etheldreda, a pious virgin, who rebuilt that church and monastery, being herself elected abbess, and after her death she was canonized as a saint.

All the arches found in the delineations of the Saxons, are very plain, their only ornament consisting of regular cornishes; such arches, indeed, as compose the doors and entrances, are at times enriched with double and treble cornishes, without any other ornament whatever.

I must own I cannot fall into the opinion of many learned men, who have given us, as Saxon, arches crouded with mouldings and various ornaments. I rather think, that on a stricter examination, they will be found to be the work of Norman artists. First, because no such ornaments appear in the delineations of the Saxons; and secondly, because they are so strictly agreeable to the taste of the later buildings, which we find from record, are most certainly of Norman construction.

We may perhaps be led, on sight of an antient Saxon building, to think it standing in its original purity; yet when we reflect how long it must have stood, and of course what repairs it must have undergone, we shall begin to doubt, particularly when daily experience shews us, that in making such repairs, the workmen were seldom attentive to the antient stile in which the building at first was erected, but carried on the work according to the stile that they themselves were used to; else whence this irregular jumble of Saxon, Norman, and Gothic architecture, which too often occur in the remaining relics of antiquity?

If this then is the case, as it most certainly is, can we with any confidence affirm, how much of such ornaments or decorations may owe their origin to the antient, how much to the more modern architect? or how, from so imperfect a model, can we with certainty trace out any criterion by which we may determine the true distinction of the Saxon from the Norman architecture?

May we not thus conclude, (because both in the delineations and authentic remains it appears so) that the Saxon arch was quite plain, and that the more we find the arches ornamented, the further we may suppose them advancing into the Norman *Æra*? I would not, however, be thought to mean, that the Saxons never used any other ornament than foliages, &c. as are above described; 'tis likely they might, though seldom, add (particularly in latter times) the zig-zag ornament between the plain cornishes and mouldings.

The Normans, for some time after their arrival into England, still continued the round arch, which was (as Dr. Ducarrel justly observes) very plain and simple in the days of the Conqueror, but not long after it was made more complex; and at last (the arched door ways especially of the cathedrals and other stately edifices) became so loaded with mouldings, zig-zags, heads, figures, and other ornaments, that they soon lost sight of all elegance and simplicity.

In his Anglo-Norman Antiqu. page 103.

About this period, that is, in the latter end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries, a new species of architecture was introduced into England, commonly called *Gothic*, differing in all respects from any of the preceding orders. Its rules seem (if rules they may be called) at all times to have been such as are laid down by the caprice of the architect, or the will of the employer. However, the effect in general is pleasing and elegant, agreeing perfectly with the romantic taste and genius of our ancestors. There is also a surpassing grandeur in some of the Gothic edifices. Who can enter Westminster-Abbey, and not be struck with awful reverence? The gloomy grandeur of that venerable pile, must fill the feeling soul with solemn contemplation!

To what country we first owe this more modern species of architecture, is not known; the common received opinion is, that it was brought from abroad by the knights who attended on the holy wars. Some few instances (yet remaining) shew us, that at the first introduction of the pointed or Gothic arch, it was mixed alternately with the round arch. The Gothic stile of building was very plain and simple in the time of king Stephen, as may be seen by the Abbey Chapel built by him, exhibited at the bottom of plate 26 in the first vol. But this simplicity continued not long, for the more modern Gothic buildings were highly enriched with mouldings, arches, figures, turrets, &c. as appears in the old part of Westminster Abbey, Hen. the VIIIth's Chapel, and St. George's Chapel at Windsor. On the tops of the two last buildings, are numerous little turrets, and the roofs on the inside are most beautifully carved in stone; so also is the roof of that elegant edifice, the Chapel of King's College at Cambridge, which was built by Henry the Sixth.

Within the buildings they affected to make the arches large and lofty, and so contrived the columns, that they constantly appear like many small ones joined in one body; and from the top they are continued branching forth, to support the roof; by this means all that heaviness is taken off, which would of course accompany a building made with large unweildy pillars.

Plate 65, No. 2, represents the building of the Abbey of St. Albans, where we see the architect with his utensils, the square and the compasses, describing to his employer the nature and construction of the building. The artificers are busy, some hammering out and placing the work, while others are drawing up the stones in a bucket or basket, fastened to a rope, which passing over two pulleys is drawn up by a wheel with handles at the bottom; while those above are also employed, one with his plummet trying the truth of an arch, and his opposite fellow is placing a stone with great exactness. In the first plate of this volume, fig. 2, is a specimen of the Saxon arch, from the antient MS. of Cædman, at Oxford, while those represented by the figures 1 & 3, are Norman; the first is the door way to St. Eotolph's Priory, vide page 102, vol. 1; and the last the door of the church at Great Canfield in Essex; 4, 5, & 6, are the capitals of Saxon columns standing in the old church of St. Peter at Oxford, built in the time of Ælfred; see page 34 of the first volume; and fig. 7 represents a capital from the above MS. of Cædman.

Regal Courts and Governments of the NORMANS.

The regal courts of the Saxons may serve as a picture to explain those of the Normans, which were nearly the same in almost every respect, except, perhaps, (still advancing as we are in luxury) the appearance of our Norman courtiers might be still more rich and brilliant. At the coronations of the Norman kings especially, as well as on the royal birth days and solemn festivals, no kind of profusion was spared, either of wealth or banquetting. The houses were set out with lights, with ringing of bells, and numerous bonfires for the delight of the common people; and the conduits running wine instead of water; mean while, at the royal feast, no kind of rich luxurious meats were wanting.

The lords, barons, and knights, passed the time in public shews, tilts, and tournaments, making their appearance in the most costly and splendid attire, every one striving to outdo his fellow in elegance, richness, and newness of fashion; and this emulation was then esteemed very laudable, because it redounded to the nation's honour, to exhibit the opulence and grandeur of its inhabitants.

The form of government, indeed, suffered a material change in the time of the Normans.

Edward the Confessor, the last of the Saxon line, laid the first foundation of our present mode of parliament,* which was restored with full force by Henry the

Wm. Hake-
well's Book
de Modis
tenendi Par-
liamentum,
p. 1.

* "This noble body of the state, now called both houses in parliament, is known in several ages by several names, *Confilia*, the counsels in the old times, after *Magnum, Commune, & Generale, Consilium, Curia Magna, Capitalis & Curia Regis*; sometimes *Generale Placitum*, and sometimes *Synodi & Synodalia, Decreta*, although as well the Causes of the commonwealth as of the church were there decided. The name of parliament, except in the Abbot's Chapters, not heard of untill the reign of king John, and then but rarely. At the king's court were these conventions usually made, and the presence, privy chamber, or other room convenient for the king, in former times was used."—From the Posthumous Remains of that learned Antiquary Sir Robert Cotton. page 44.

the First; for, says Hollingshead, “ Here it is to be noted, that before this tyme, the kings of England used but seldome to call together the estates of the realm after any certaine manner, or generall kind of proceſſe, to have theyr consents in matters to be decreed; but as the lords of the privie counsell in our time do sitte only when necessitie requireth, so did they whensoever it pleased the king to have any conference with them; so that from this Henry, it may be thought the firste use of the parliament to have proceeded, whyche sith that time hath remayned in force, and is frequented unto our times, in so much, that whatsoever is to be decreed apperteyning to the state of the common wealth, and conservation thereof, is now referred to that counsell: and furthermore, if any thing be appointed by the king, or any other person, to be used for the welth of the realme, it shall not bee recieved as a lawe till by authoritie of this assembly it bee established; and bycause the house shoulde not be troubled with the multitude of unlearned comoners, whose propertie is to understand little reason, and yet to conceive well of their owne doings, there was a certayne order taken what maner of ecclesiasticall persons, and what number and sorte of temporall menne, shoulde be called unto the same; and how they shuld be chosen, by voyces of freeholders, that being as attorneys for their countreys, that whiche they confessed or denied shuld bind the residue of the realme to recieve it as a law. This counsell is called a parliament by a French word, for so the Frenchmen call their publique assemblies.”

Thus we find what before lay in the breasts of the king and his privy council alone to do, was now to be first confirmed not only by the grantees of the realm, but also by voices of the common people, who by their representatives, the knights of the shire, burgesses and others, made known their grievances, as coming from themselves, who most felt, and best understood, the extent of such grievances.

The three estates, namely, the clergy, nobility, and commoners, sat in the house, every man according to his degree in pre-eminence and dignity. The whole parliament consisted of six degrees. First, Mod. tenen-
di Parliam.
page 31.

The king is the head, the beginning and ending, and so he hath not any peer or equal.

The second degree is of archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. holding by baronies.

The third is of proctors of the clergy, or clerks of the convocation.

The fourth is of earls, barons, and others, great and noble personages.

The fifth degree is of the knights of the shire.

The sixth degree is of the citizens and burgesses.

And though any one of the five degrees (besides the king) shall be absent, yet premonished by summons, the parliament is taken for full.

In the same little book quoted above, entitled, *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*, Ibid. p. 97. the author has given us a translation of an old *Anglo-Danish* law, in the following words:—“ It was sometimes in the English laws, that the people and the laws were in reputation, and then were the wisest of the people worship-worthy, each in his degree, lord and *chorle*, *theyne*, and *undertheyne*; and if a *chorle* * so Vid. Verste-
gan, p. 330. thrived that he had full five hides of his own land, a church and kitchen, a bell-
house

* *Chople* or *Coople*; the same with *Gemen*, or *Yemen*, signified a commoner.—See Versteگان.
page 330.

Mod. ten.
Par. p. 99.

house and a gate, a seat and several offices in the king's hall, then was he thenceforth the *theyn's* † right worthy. And if a *theyn* so thrived that the king employed him, either on his message, or to ride in his trayne, and had himself a *theyne* that followed him, who had five hides of land, and had served his lord in the king's palace, and gone with his messages to the king, he was worthy to be reputed a *hlaforð*, or *lord*, and continuing to augment his credit and means, he might afterwards come to be an *earle right worthy*, which after our now-used stile, may be a right honourable earl. And if a merchant so thrived that he passed thrice over the wide sea with his own craft, he was thenceforth the *theyn's* right-worthy. And if a scholler so thrived through learning, that he had degree, and served Christ, he was thenceforward of dignity and peace so much worthy as thereto belonged, unless he forfeited so, that the use of his dignity might be taken from him." Thus the path to nobility was open to all who by their good department were desirous of attaining it. "And" continues my author, "the ruins of antiquity make shew of a perpetuity of nobility, even from the beginning of this island; but times are changed, and we in them also; for Edward the Confessor, coming out of Normandy, brought in the title of baron: the *theyne* from that time began to grow out of use, so as at this day it scarcely remains but in record; while the new title of *baron* so encreased in power and dignity, that the nomination of *baronage* seemed to comprehend the whole of the English nobility.

The antient name of *duke* may be said to be as it were fetched from a long exile, by Edward the Third, by whom it began to be restored. *Marques* and *viscount* are titles which we owe to Richard the Second, and after him to the unfortunate Henry the Sixth.

Our kings (descended from the Norman line) granted an hereditary right of succession of such titles as earls, barons. &c. without any exception being made to the sex; so that the nobility had, according to the ancient customs and usages of this kingdom, a natural right, (the same as the crown itself) that on the failure of male heirs, the title should devolve and be confirmed to the women, (some few cases excepted, where in the charters it is expressly confined to the heirs male) and by them such titles might by marriage be conveyed into other families.

The succeeding kings from the Conqueror, were more sparing in the distribution of such dignities to be holden of them in fee, because they granted with them to the nobleman (for the more respectable maintenance of his family and honour) the third part of the pleas of that province; in charters it is named *Tertium Denarium*, third penny; so he that received the third penny of a province, was the earl of that province, which right descended also to the daughters of the earl, on the default of male issue.

The title of baron had the same privilege, for the women (on want of male heirs) antiently were not debarred from that honourable title, with the pre-eminence and dignity of barons, and, having borne a child, they graced their husbands with the title, which likewise by the same inheritance descended to the children, and this even though they had lost possession of such estates as those dignities may have first arisen from.

The

* *Theyn*, *Thegn*, or *Thern*, amongst our ancestors (says Verstegan) signified a free servant, a kind of retainer, or, as it may seeme, a *serving gentleman*, that is, a servant not bound or subject unto any servile office or labour.—Verstegan, page 330.

The Conqueror (after the death of Harold) having settled himself in the kingdom, compleatly finished the before imperfect ground work of nobility, which being added to continually by his successors, shone with such lustre in the reigns of Henry the Third, Edward the First, and the succeeding kings.

Laws and Administration of Justice:

The Conqueror (as Hollingshead positively affirms) was the first who instituted the jury of twelve men, by whom justice might be rendered, and a fair trial given to every man obnoxious to the penal law.—“He ordeyned also (says the author) that the tearnies should be kept four times in the yere, in suche places as he should nominate*, and that the judges should sit in their severall places, to judge and decide causes and matters in controversie betwixte partie and partie, in manner as is used unto this day:—he decreed, moreover, that there shoulde bee sheriffes in every shire, and justices of the peace to keepe the countreys in good quiet, and to see offenders punished. Furthermore, hee instituted the court of the exchequer, and the officers belonging to the same, as barons, the clerkes, and such other, also the high court of the chancery.”

In the code of laws made by the Conqueror, is one which runs thus,—“*Et quod habeant per universum regnum mensuras fidelissimas et signatas et pondera fidelissima et signata, sicut boni predecessores statuerunt.*”—*That in every part of the kingdom they should have just and faithful measures and weights, and such as were stamped according to the ordinances of their predecessors.*

Yet, notwithstanding this shew of good order and love to the subjects, William soon discovered the wolf through the sheeps cloathing; for he not only abrogated most of their antient laws and privileges, but introduced new ones, aggravating the subjects to a great degree: and all this he crowned with the most finished stroke of despotism and tyranny, that a cruel and merciless heart could invent; for the greater part of those very laws which he now new made, were put forth in the *Franco Norman* language†, and by this means became entirely unintelligible to his English subject; the dreadful consequence was, that many were put to death, or grievously oppressed and fined, for the breach of laws that they really knew not in being, or understood not the meaning or purport of. Some have called this a master stroke of sound policy, because say they, by this means he made it absolutely necessary for the English to learn the Norman tongue and usages; so that by constant use, they might become familiar and pleasant to them; but

* We are by no means to understand that this was the first institution of law terms, for the learned Spelman has evidently proved their great antiquity; “Some have affirmed (says he) that William the Conqueror did first institute them. It is not worth the examining who was the author of this error, but it seemeth that Polydore Virgil (an alien in our common-wealth, and not well endenized in our antiquities) spread it first in print.” He then proceeds to inform us that they are still much more antient than our Saxon government, and were used among the Greeks and Romans; and he thus defines them, “the terms are certain portions of the year, in which only the king’s justices hold plea in the high temporal courts of causes belonging to their jurisdiction, in the place thereto assigned, according to the antient rites and customs of the kingdom.”—See a Discourse on the Law Terme, written by Sir Henry Spelman, knight, page 1 and 2.

† The code of laws made by the conqueror, consisted of seventy-one articles, the first fifty of which containing the principal matters, were in the Franco-Norman tongue.—See all the laws in Lumbart’s collection.

Vide p. 40.
vol. the 1st.

Holl. p. 303.

Law the
57th.

See ‘all the
antient
chronicles.
Vide Poly-
dore Virgil,
page 154.

but such persons have not well considered the scarcity of books at this period, and the impossibility of the poorer people (especially) being able to attain learning sufficient for the interpretation of the Norman language. What a mischievous train of troubles must then be brought on, where the great and substantial law of a kingdom is not to be understood by one third of the inhabitants? And indeed, William Rufus, Henry the First, Stephen, and the rest of the succeeding kings, became thoroughly sensible of these cruel impositions; therefore, by degrees, as they wanted to advance themselves in favour with the people, they abolished those grievous laws, and restored those which were made by the Confessor; and the which best suited with the constitution and genius of the people.

Hollinghead, chronicle, 304.

See Speed, 505.
Daniel's Collection, page 88.

Henry the second (say the chronicles) in a parliament at Northampton, A. D. 1176, caused England to be divided into six circuits, and to each circuit he appointed three justiciars itinerants; causing them (says Daniel in his collection of the History of the England) to take an oath * upon the holy evangelists, faithfully for themselves to observe, and cause inviolably to be observed of all his subjects of England, the assizes made at Clarendon, and renewed at Northampton, which assizes were chiefly for murder, theft, robbery, and their receivers; for deceipts, and burning of houses, which facts, if found by the verdict of twelve men, the accused were to passe the tryall of water ordeal†, whereby, if not acquitted, their punishment was losse of a leg, or banishment.

Roger de Wendover, Mat. Paris, page 341.
Ibid 158.

King Henry the Third sat himself with his justiciars in person at Westminster, where he accused Peter de Rivallis of treason, and there sentenced him to be imprisoned in the tower, till he (the king) should be satisfied concerning his innocency; and the same prince, when the county of Hampshire was infested with thieves, sitting in person at Winchester castle, so put the laws in force that by hanging some of the ringleaders, and most daring of them, he soon restored the county to quietness and good order.

Daniel, 88. In the Norman laws, the punishment by loss of members was yet continued, for in the earlier ages, they with great reason supposed, that a malefactor miserably living, was a more striking example of justice, than one put to death at once; but when the offending party was rich, he was obliged to pay a fine or ransom for the limb condemned, which fine was exacted in proportion to the crime committed, or quality of the person wronged, and so his limb was saved.

Holl. 474.

Some few were put to death chiefly by hanging,‡ which death was (according to Hollinghead) first by Henry the Second appointed to murderers.

Other

* There were two methods antiently of taking oaths, one set apart for the clergy, the other for the laymen; for (says Daniel, "the king (Henry III.) taking the cross upon him, took oath to the performing of the same: In taking this oath, he first layed his hand upon his breast (according to the manner of a priest) and after on the book, and kist it (as a layman)."—Daniel's collection of the History of England, page 141.

† By this circumstance we find, that the ordeals of our ancestors were yet continued; and Stow, also in the life of William the Conqueror, informs us, that Remigius, a Monk, was accused of treason to the king, but (says he) a certeyne servant of his, by judgement of the *fiery sword*, purged him, and returned hym to the kinges favour.—Stow's Chronicle, page 121.

‡ Daniel gives us a dismal instance of cruelty practised in the reign of king John (during the time of his excommunication) on the body of one Gessery, arch-deacon of Norwich (a man serving in the king's exchequer) who affirming that it was not lawful for a beneficed man to remain in obedience to an excommunicated king; wherefore he without leave returned home, but was soon seized upon, and by the king's order laid in a straight prison, and after that was put up into a sheet of lead, in which he miserably perished.—Daniel's Hist. 115.

Other malefactors were set upon the pillory, the form of which no ways differed from ours. See plate 1, fig. 12, of this vol. Bakers for "lack of size," says Fabian, were by Hugh Bigot, in the 42d year of Henry the Third, punished by the tomberell, whereas before that time, they used to be punished by the pillory.

Fabian's
Chron. vol.
2, page 34.

The tomberell, says my author, was "a kind of pillorye, made foure square, that turned round about." Others were set in the stocks and whipped; with various punishments of less note, in proportion to the crimes committed.

Fabian,
Holling-
head,
Grafton,
Stowe.

The ancient place of execution, as in the time of Henry the First, &c. was at Smithfield; which then was, as old chronicles report, "a laystow of all dong and filth," &c.

In the laws of William the Conqueror, is one importing, that "*Si femme est jugée a mort u a de sacum des membres ki seit encointee, ne faced lum justice desquele seit delibere.*" If a woman be adjudged to death, or the loss of limbs, and she be found to be great with child, she shall not suffer justice till she be delivered. And for the establishing free and safe passage in the highway, another law enacted, that "*De III chemins co est a fabelst, Wellingstreet & Emingstreet, a For, ki en aucun de ces chemins oret home qui seit exant per le pais u oalt, si ensist la pais le Roi.*"—If any man should either kill or assault another, journeying through either of the three roads, that is to say, Welling-street, Erming-street, or the Fosse, he should be accounted guilty of the breach of the king's peace. The punishment for which offence was a heavy and grievous fine, and on failure of payment thereof the culprit forfeited his limbs, or his life, according to the greatness of the person slain or assaulted.

Leg. Guil.
primi, cap.
35.

Leg. Guil.
pri. cap. 30.

Shipping and Naval Affairs of the NORMANS.

It has already been set forth, that such of the Northern nations as lay near the sea shore, (in former times) made their names famous for their naval conduct; and we shall find, that the *Anglo-Normans* still adhered to that useful maxim of their ancestors, namely, attending with great care to their sea affairs and shipping; constantly keeping up a strong fleet of well-built ships, with all their necessary appendages, as large and small galleys, and boats of all sizes.

Verslegan,
Speed, and
others.

The fleet of the Conqueror, when he first came over into England, consisted of 896 ships, though the author of the *Roman de Rou*, cited by Mr. Lancelot, confines the number to 696, but either of these was a vast fleet for that time; yet we must observe, that these were not strong, well-built ships; but rather slight vessels, knocked up quickly, for the transportation of his army only; and this must have been the case, for William had only from the first of January, till the latter end of August, for his artificers to compleat the whole of his navy.

Dr. Ducar-
rel's Ang-
Norman
Antiq.
Ypodigma
Neuticæ.

The Norman writers have given us several very pompous descriptions of the shipping of their *Æra*. Mat. Paris informs us, that Richard the First, when on his expedition to the Holy Land, had in his train thirteen *buccas*, which were ships with triple sails, besides one hundred ships of burden, and fifty galleys, each having a triple bank of oars.* And Hoveden describing the arrival of the same

Mat. Paris
Hist. Major,
page 156.

* Habuit in comitatu suo tredecim buccas, triplici velorum expansione velificatas; habuit præterea centum naves onerarias et quinquaginta galeas triremes.—Mat. Par. Hist. Major, page 136.

Rog. Hove-
Paris Poste-
rior, 383.

Flores His-
toriarum,
page 340.

prince in Sicily, declares that he came "with many *buccas* and other large vessels and galleys, in such pomp and splendour, that the resounding trumpets and loud horns struck fear and dread into the souls of the citizens. And Matthew of Westminster, in the History of Henry the Third, makes this exclamation, "Oh, England! whose antient glory is renowned among all nations, like the pride of the Chaldeans; the ships of Taris could not compare with thy ships; they bring from all the quarters of the world the aromatic spices, and the most precious things of the universe: the sea is thy wall, and thy ports are as the gates of a strong and well-furnished castle," &c.

But to proceed to a description of the ships and other craft of this *Æra*.

The *buccas*, or *burciis*, appear to be vessels of the largest size. And in the greatest fleets described by the Norman writers, we meet not with more than 20 or 30 at most, which always take the lead: the *buccas* had three sails, whereas all the other vessels had but one.

The ships distinguished by the name of "*naves onerarias*," ships of burthen. "*Carikes* or *bulkes*," (according to Hollingshead's translation) were also large vessels.

The *galleys* were of two sorts, some sailed and rowed, † and some rowed only. Hoveden (speaking of king Richard landing in Cyprus) informs us, that "he went out from the great ships into the boats and galleys, which were rowed to shore with great violence." ‡ The first of these were often called *galiones*, § and were larger than the latter, which were sometimes big enough, says Mat. Paris, to carry 60 men well armed in iron armour, besides 104 men who rowed, and the sailors: and some of them had triple banks of oars one over the other, after the antient fashion.

The *barca* || were a sort of boats, perhaps flat bottom'd: they seem chiefly to have been used in fleet waters, to convey the troops to shore.

They had besides *naviculas*, or small boats, with such like craft.

In all the researches that I have made, I have not been able either from the description of the historians, or in any delineation whatever, to discover the true form of the *buccas*, or wherein it differed from the other large ships, saving that it had three sails, but whether those sails were all on one, or divided on separate masts, I cannot possibly determine.

The common sailing ship is exhibited, plate 32, fig. 2, in the first vol. which bears the royal arms on the sail; also on plate 64, vol. 1, is a ship with the king on board. Both these ships are made to represent ships of the first rank, and such as voyages were made in at that period; and doubtless were decked over, though

† And an old author, who wrote the history of king Richard the First in English rhyme, says of the king, that

With the magnyngs glad and wrothe,
He made them seyle and rove bothe,
That the galley gede so swyfte,
So doth the fowle by the lyfte,

MS. apud Bib. Harlianæ infig. 4590.

‡ Exierunt e magnis navibus in naviculas, et galeas, et remigando venerunt ad terram, &c. Hoveden, 393, B.

§ Galeas nostras & *galiones*, Mat. Paris, page 263. *Galiones*, i. e. grandiores galeæ, ab Italico galione, a *gallion* ex Gloss. in Mat. Paris.

|| Multas naves cum quadam barca, Mat. Par. 264.

though the designer has made the figures so much too large, that they destroy all appearance of it ; yet this disproportion of the figures can be no objection to this supposition, because in all the delineations of this *Æra*, the rules of proportion appear either not to be known, or else they were most grievously neglected.

We may observe in these delineations, that there seems to be little or no distinction between the head and the stern of the ships ; and but for the rudder, which appears fastened with a ring to the hinder side of the vessel, I should have been led to conclude, that they sailed indiscriminately either way, as might best suit their occasions. The shrouds are not like those of the ships at present, fastened to the sides, but coming from the top of the mast, they are made fast at the head and stern of the vessel : the anchor they carried in the stern, lying over the side of the ship.

The galleys were chiefly used in war, and many great exploits were performed in them. Plate 31, fig. 9, vol. 1, is a representation of an engagement between two galleys, one of which, by the means of a cramp iron, (like an anchor) have drawn their antagonists in the other galley, close side to side, and are boarding them with horrible destruction ; in the mean time we see the slingers and archers are busily employed in the distribution of their missile weapons ; among the rest the archers shot from their bows arrows headed with phials, filled with quick lime ; and other arrows armed with combustible matter set on fire, which they shot into the rigging of the larger vessels. See page 98 and 99, vol. 1.

Mat. Paris.

Fig. 3, plate 32, vol. 1, exhibits a galley armed with an iron prow ; * which iron, for the greater strength and support of the sides of the vessel, is bound as it were all round, coming to a sharp point at the head. With this iron they damaged and broke in the sides of the vessels of their enemies, by rowing against them with all their force.

The Anglo-Normans were very expert in the management of their shipping, and fought with great courage and magnanimity. Their chief aim was to grapple with the galleys of their enemies, and come to a close engagement, hand to hand, and board them if possible ; though they always began the fight at a distance, with their arrows from their cross bows, assisted by the archers and slingers, upon a nearer approach, the close heavy-armed soldiers (men of arms) with their spears, axes, swords, and other offensive weapons, supported the engagement. They provided themselves with quick lime, finely powdered, and at all times carefully strove to be to windward of their adversaries, and then threw plentifully of this lime into their faces. Thus Matthew Paris, describing an engagement between the English and the French, in the time of Henry the Third, tells us, that the English had "*Calcem quoque vivam et in pulverem subtilem redactam, in altum projicientes, vento illam ferente, Francorum oculos excæcaverunt.*" *Quick lime also, which they threw up into the air, and the wind driving it full in the faces of the French, blinded their eyes.*

Mat. Par.
50.

They had trumpets, horns, and other martial music on board their ships, which, for the encouragement of their men, they sounded with great noise and vehemence. "The galleys, (says Matthew Paris, speaking of the emperor's fleet)

* Matthew Paris (speaking of the English) informs us, that at an engagement, A. D. 1217, "*Habuerunt præterea galleias ferro rostratas ; quibus naves adversariorum perforantes, multos in momento submerferuntur*" page 251.

Mat. Par.
pag. 500.

Hoveden,
383.

Temp. Hen.
3.

Flores His-
toriarum,
pag. 341.

See Stowe's
Survey of
London,
page 704.

fleet) together with the ships disposed in order, ploughed the Tyrrhenum Ocean, amidst the noise and tumult of the sailors, and the loud clangore of the hostile trumpet." And the words of Hoveden, quoted at the beginning, are "*Sonitu tubarum et buccinum.*" *The sound of the trumpets and horns.*

Hollinghead informs us, that there was a law established among the sailors (in the time of Richard the First) who were going to the holy war, that if any of them played at dice, or any other game, without licence, they should be plunged into the sea three mornings following, by way of punishment.

The commerce of the Anglo-Normans was very extensive, as may be judged from the words of Matthew of Westminster, who, after having declared that the ships of Tarsus were not to be compared to those of England, tells us, that "they brought from all the quarters of the world, the precious commodities of the universe. The Pisans, Genoese, and the Venetians, * (continues he) supplied England with the eastern gems, as sapphires, emeralds, and carbuncles; from Asia was brought the rich silks and purples; from Africa the cinnamon and balm; from Spain the kingdom was enriched with gold; with silver from Germany; from Flanders (called the Weaver of the Realm †) came the rich materials for the garments of the people; while plentiful streams of wine flowed from their own province of Gascoigny; joined with every thing that was rich and precious from every land, wide stretching from the *Hyades*, to the *Arcturian Star*.

And William Fitz Stephen (who wrote the Description of London) says of it: "To this city merchants bring their wares from every nation under heaven. The *Arabian* sends in his gold; the *Sabean* his francincense, and other aromatic drugs; the *Scythian* his provisions, gathered from the fruitful date trees; *Babylon* bestows the fruits of a fertile soil; the river *Nile* affords precious stones; the *Seres* send purple garments; and they of *Norway* and *Russia*, various furs both grey, and sable; and the *French* their wine." This author lived in the reigns of Henry the Second, and Richard the First.

Husbandry, &c. of the ANGLO-NORMANS.

The art of husbandry (with its appendage sciences) was, we may be certain, continually improving throughout the Norman *Æra*, notwithstanding historians (too negligent in these particulars) have not circumstantially noted it; for without doubt, while the other arts were ripening to maturity, one so truly useful should hardly have been neglected.

The Norman plough was made without wheels, though it had but one handle, (see plate 32, fig. 7, in the first vol.) which they held in one hand, while in the other they bore a plough staff to break the clods; and this method of ploughing was in use till the 17th century, as may be seen by a little book, entitled, *Orbis Sensualium Piæstus*. "The ploughman yoketh oxen to the plough, and he holdeth the plough silt in his left hand, and in his right the plough staff to break the clods." This is also shewn in the figure at the bottom of plate 26, vol. 1, which represents a man ploughing, with an axe, that answers the purpose of the plough

* Pisani, Januenses & Veneti.—Mat. West. lib. 2, pag. 341.

† Tua texitrix, Flandria texitur, &c. Ibid.

Orbis Sen-
sual, Piæstus,
p. 58.

plough staff. Fig. 5, plate 32, vol. 1, represents a man sowing of corn, which he is reaping, fig. 6 of the same plate. Figure 10 exhibits the mower whetting of his scythe; and in plate 33, fig. 3, is a man threshing the corn.

I have never been able to trace out the harrow in any M. S. delineation whatever, either Saxon or Norman, which defect I have been able to supply from the famous tapestry of Bayeux, where on the border, among the various ornaments wherewith it is composed, is a man ploughing, following another with a harrow, drawn by a single ox; which proves, that at least they were used by the Normans in very early times, if not by the Saxons before them, which circumstance is highly probable.

Among the other grains, as wheat, barley, rye, oats, &c. they carefully cultivated hemp. The hands and hammer, plate 33, fig. 10, represent the method of beating hemp; they also grew beans and peas, &c.

The corn thus sown, reaped and threshed, this plain question may naturally be asked, How was it reduced to flour? In early ages perhaps the grain was put between two ponderous stones, and ground to powder by moving them to and fro; or by beating the grain in large mortars. Then came in the hand-mill, turned and tended by the female domestic, as should appear from one of the laws of Ethelbert, the Saxon king of Kent, where it is enacted, that any man who should debauch the king's grinding-maid, should be obnoxious to a very severe and heavy fine. At this early period of the Saxon government, says Dr. Henry, water-mills were not known in England, though long before used in Spain. However, we may be certain, that they were soon after brought into use here in England also. In a charter of Ulfere, for the foundation of the monastery of Medeshamsted, An. Dom. 664, this mention is made: "Et totam illam partem ville de Staunpoc qui est versus Medeshamstede circa pontem cum trespur et Molendinis erodem parti adjacentibus," which, from the situation "*near the bridge*," we may conclude was a water-mill. And in another charter of some lands given by king Edmund to Elfrico, a certain bishop of his, dated An. Dom. 944, it runs thus: "Onðore eadban Wýlen þær þapelgar standað," and all the mills that stand thereupon. The date of the wind-mill is uncertain, or whether some of these mills thus mentioned in ancient charters, were not wind-mills, is very doubtful; however, the learned Somner has proved in his Antiquities of Canterbury, that they were used by the Anglo-Normans. "There was (says he) sometime a wind-mill standing neare the nonnery without Ridigate, which the hospitall held by the grant of the nonnes there: the conditions mutually agreed upon at the time of the grant were, that the nonnes bearing the fourth part of the charge of the mill, should reap the fourth part of the profit of it, and have their own corn ground there for them when they would, *gratis*, or of free cost; and the hospitall to find a way to it, a *cheminio magno regali*, that is, from the rode or highway by it; and this about the reign of king John." This is the first account that I have met with, where the wind-mill was particularly distinguished; though without doubt they were of a much more antient date. Immediately to the hand-mill, says the little book (*Orbis Sensualis Pictus*) above quoted, succeeded the horse-mill, to that the water-mill, then the ship-mill, and last of all the wind-mill. As to the ship-mill, I must own that I have not the least idea either of its form or construction. All the rest are easily understood.

See Mont-faucon's Monarchie François. And Dr. Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiq.

M. S. apud Bib. Cott. infig. Nero, D. 1.

Leges Ethelberti.

Dr. Henry Hist. Brit. vol. 1.

In Collec. Chart. apud Bib. Cott. infig. Aulandus 2. Ibidem MS.

Somner Ant. Cant. page 119.

Orbis Sens. Pictus, p.

Printed at
Nuremberg.

All the mills (wind-mills especially) which appear in the antient M. S. delineations, are represented at a distance, or so very small, that the particular form and appurtenances are not to be discovered: the wind-mill which appears at a distance, plate 17 of this volume, is as perfect as any I have seen, agreeing entirely with every other delineation: there is indeed in the Hartman's Chronicle, printed Ann. Dom. 1493, a representation of a wind-mill, with six sails; but this is not uncommon abroad.

The water-mills are delineated like square weather boarded houses, and the water wheel is discovered at one end; sometimes with, and sometimes without a pent house, or covering over the top of it. We are by no means able to make any farther discoveries of the works within; but so very simple is the construction of the wheels and motion of the present mills, that there is very little room left to doubt their being antiently erected nearly upon the self same plan.

Various
Chronicles.

The corn being ground to meal, the bran was severed from it by means of a sieve (the bolting mill not being then known) and the flour made into dough, was sent to the bakers; the poorer people made the dough into cakes, and baked them on the hearth. There were several laws and restrictions made by the Anglo Norman kings, fixing the assize of bread, and the price for the bakers; and their punishment for selling bread short of weight, was, for the first offence, the loss of their bread; for the second, imprisonment; and for the next, either the pillory or the tumberell. See page 9 of this volume.

Flores Hist.
341.

Camden's
Remains,
page 3.

Wool the great staple commodity of the kingdom, was not only used for home consumption, but great quantities were exported to the neighbouring nations. Thus Matthew of Westminster says of England, "*Et licet maris angustata littoribus, brevi terræ spacio distendaris, tibi tamen ubertatis tam famosæ per orbem benedixerunt omnium latera nationum, de tuis ovium veleribus calescæta.*" Which imports, *that though the kingdom is not large, or far outstretched, yet was it famous throughout the globe; and the bordering nations clothed with the fleeces from the backs of the sheep, did bless the island.* And says Camden (quoting a very antient author) "*In thy fields, oh Britaine, are infinite numbers of milch cattle, and sheep weighed downe with rich fleeces.*" Many very great sums of money were raised at different times by the kings of England, by subsidies and taxes levied on the wools, and the revenue of the nation greatly enriched by this commodity, as may appear almost from every chronicle.

Dress and Habit of the ANGLO NORMANS.

Perhaps there is nothing that has with more justice lain under the lash of the severest strokes of satirical censure, than the various and ridiculous modes of habit adopted by the English people:—dress, instead of being confined to useful and decent fashions, has too often been carried to such extremes, as to excite the laughter and pity of every sensible man.

Already, we have found our historians bitterly inveighing against the absurdity of habits worn in their own days, and chronicling from record the follies of the foregoing ages. In the Confessor's reign (who was educated in Normandy) the nobles (in compliance perhaps with the taste of their prince) began to adopt the fashions of the Franco-Norman court, and the immoderate shortness of their garment

garment was shocking and offensive to decency. The faithful Malmfbury, speaking of the preposterous length to which the men in the days of Rufus suffered their hair to grow, tells us, that they had much more the appearance of women than of men; and as for the women (continues he) so thoroughly were they disguised, that they scarcely bore the resemblance of human creatures at all: those of either sex whose own hair was not long enough, avidly supplied their natural wants with an artificial plenty. He then relates the following story (as a thing that happened in his own time) "A young soldier, whose chief pride lay in the beauty of his locks, which trayled down almost unto his knees; dreamt one night that a person came to him, and having got him down, strangled him with his own hair instead of a cord; and such an effect had this dreadful dream on the mind of our superstitious gallant, that he forthwith took a pair of shears, and in a few minutes demolished all his pride and glory!"

Henry the First, in order to abolish as much as possible so unmanlike a custom, ordered, "that such as did wear their hair long, should have it nevertheless so rounded, that parts of their eares might appeare." And he further ordained, that all his soldiers should have their hair trimmed round to a decent length.

The clergy also had their share in these enormities, for says Fabian in the life of William Rufus, "At this time prestres used bushed and breyded hedes, long tayed gownes and blasyn clothes, shynyn and golden girdelles, and rood with guilt spurres, with usyn of dyverse other enormities." All which vices Anselme would have corrected, but he lacked the assistance of his brethren the bishops: but Henry the First enacted a law in the first year of his reign, importing, that the "Priestes shoulde not haunte ale houses, and further, that they shoulde weare apparell of one manner of colour, and shoes after a comelye fashion; for a little before that tyme, prestres used to goe verye unseemely."

If we may believe the old poetical historian, Robert of Gloucester, we shall find that Rufus himself had his share of pride in his habit.

As hys chambeleyn hym boghte, as he ros a day,
A moire vorte weyre, a peyre hose of lay.
He esse what thei cossende, thei shyllynge the other seye
If a debles quath the kyng wo sey so vil dede,
Kyn to weyre eny cloth, vort yt cossende moire
Wu a peyre of a moire, other thou shalt be acorpe soir;
A moire peyre of ynou the other laththe hym boghte,
And seye thei weye vor a moire, & unnethe so y bogte,
Ce bel am quath the kyng ther weye wel y bogte,
In this manege seye me, other thou ne shalt me seye nogt.

Robert of
Gloucester's
Chron. pub-
lished by
Hearne,
page 390.

But Henry the First as is above observed, entirely discouraging this foolish pride and ostentation, both at his court, and wherever his authority might extend; by degrees in his, and the succeeding reigns, it dwindled away, and in room thereof was adopted a plain and elegant simplicity. Their hair ceasing to be ridiculous flowed with all the beauty of unadorned nature; their habits were useful and decent; and the ornaments of either sex so few, and so well chosen, that they added to the graceful and elegant appearance of the wearers.

The

The habits of the kings and noblemen partook also of the simplicity; their common dress consisted of a close long gown, or circoat, which reached down to their heels, the which habit was often ornamented with a border or collar of gold, or embroidery, set with precious stones; see the figure of the king, plate 36, No. 1 of the first vol. and plate 39, No. 2 of the same. Over this gown or circoat they wore a long robe or cloak, which also reached down to their heels; this robe in all the delineations (as well of the kings as of the nobles) appears to be only loosely thrown over the shoulders; sometimes (though indeed but seldom) it is seen fastened on the middle of the breast, by a round buckle, not unlike those of the Saxons; see in plate 45 No. 2, in vol. 1, the figure of the hermit who stands beside the king. And though it does not appear, yet doubtless the cloaks of all the figures represented in the Norman Æra, were in some manner fastened to the close habit, either by hooks and eyes, or some contrivance of the like nature.

Whenever the king or his nobles are represented riding or walking abroad, they have a hood constantly seen hanging behind their cloaks; as is exhibited in plates 41 and 45, No. 1 in the 1st vol.

The figures riding, represented in plate 58, No. 1 of the 1st vol. have cloaks differing from any of those above described, they seem to be put over the head, and so hung down before and behind, being divided on each side to make room for the arms, like the tabard or herald's coat; the caps are also very different from any of the others that are seen in the course of the delineations here copied; this I take to be the common riding dress of this Æra.

The close habit, or circoat, was put on over the head like a shirt, and then they girded it round their loins with a girdle, see plate 37 No. 1, of the 1st vol. thus the old poet, Robert of Gloucester, describes the coming of Stephen Segreave, and others, to make submission to king Henry the third.

Robt. Gloc.
in vita Hen.
3.

Unholed, barefooted, and ungirt also
Their arms to the elbows naked, and their heads bare thetso.

These girdles were often made of gold and embroidery, and set with precious stones.

In antient times none but kings and queens were permitted to wear purple, of this our own poet Lidgate makes mention, in his life of the Blessed Virgin,

M. S. Lyd-
gate Bib.
Hart.

So that no wight of the stooke royall
By statute olde tym ye shoud no man seen at all
In purpil clad, but oþer kynge or qweene
In hold tym past thus it hath been seen.

The soldiers were clad in a close Tunic, which reached only to the knees, see some of the figures, plate 36 of the first vol.

The queen and other great ladies were clothed in modest elegant habits, consisting of a loose gown girded round the waist, which reached to the ground, and a veil over their heads: the chief distinction between the married, and unmarried ladies appears to be an additional robe over the gown, which hangs down before, not unlike the sacerdotal robe of a priest. Robert de Brune (in
his

(his illustration of Peter Langtoffs Chronicle) describing the flight of Maud the empress from Oxford, in the reign of Stephen, says she got forth

Withouth kirtelle oze kemse, save Koverchef alle bare bis.

Robert de
Brume in
vita Stephani.

That is without a kirtle or pettycoat, over her shift, and only the koverchef or vail over her head. The queen, plate 61 of the first vol. is distinguished by the crown on the top of her head, besides the vail bound over her chin, which entirely covers her neck; whereas the princesses, plate 60 of the same vol. have only a hoop, or plain circle of gold put round their temples, and under it the vail hangs flowing over each shoulder.

The coronation habits of the kings, tho' then esteemed grand and magnificent, partake also of the elegance and simplicity of the age. The king, plate 40, vol. 1, is first habited in a close habit, or circoat, which has a broad collar turned down, from which behind him hangs the rich coronation robe; see also plate 48, vol. 1.

The caps which are worn by the noblemen on each side of the king in the 42 plate, vol. 1, are such as were worn by none but the grantees of the realm: the one worn by the figure at the king's right hand especially, which is ornamented with jewels in the front; these caps are sometimes turned up before as here represented, and sometimes quite plain, as in plate 49, No. 1, volume the first; and plate 44, No. 1, of the same volume, is a figure at the king's right hand, who wears a cap turned up at the corners, differing from any that appears elsewhere.

The habits of the clergy did not differ much from those of the Saxons. The monks are clothed in large loose gowns, with long sleeves, having a cowl or hood hanging behind; and this gown reached to the ground: thus the old poetical chronicler, John Harding, in the life of Henry the third has this line:

In furs cloathes, that wez full long tailed.

John Harding's Chronicle, fol. 154.

Their heads were shorn close round, see plate 34, vol. 1, the portrait of John Wallingford, and that of Mat. Paris, plate 35, both monks of St. Albans; and the monk represented on the miscellaneous plate 33, fig. 6, of the same volume: the assistant priests, plate 64, vol. 1, who are carrying the shrine of St. Alban, have an additional loose surplice over their other habits.

The chief dress of the common people was a short jacket, barely reaching to the top of the knees, girt round the loins. The man reaping fig. 6, plate 32, vol. 1, has a broad belt and buckle; some of them have stockings and shoes, and others are apparently without either. Their heads they covered with a kind of hood, as the men putting the stone on the tomb, plate 39, No. 1, vol. 1, also plate 63, No. 2, the man striking with his ax; the bonnet, or hat, of the plate 32, fig. 10, vol. 1, differs much from any of the rest, it is not much unlike the modern hat flapped all round.

The Normans constantly shaved their beards all over, and did not leave the upper lip unshorn, as the English in the time of the Confessor were wont to do; therefore, say the old historians, when Harold sent spies to watch the motions, and discover the number of the Normans, they returned, and declared that they had not seen any soldiers in the Conqueror's camp, but an army of priests; the

Malmshury
de gest. Reg.
Ang. lib. 3,
fol. 57, and
others.

Mat-Paris in
vita Ric. 1,
pag. 52.

Camden's
remains,
pag. 132.

Caxton's
Polychron.
chap. 12,
fol. 343.
Chap. 14,
348.
Speed vit.
Hen. pri.

Caxton Po-
lychron.
chap. 24,
fol. 360.
See also
Holling.
Chron. 471.

priests always holding it indecent to wear their beards: and again, Mathew Paris tells us, that William, the seditious Londoner, in the reign of Richard the first, had the surname *cum barba*, from his obstinately wearing his beard, in despite of the custom of the Normans, which was to be close shaven.

Robert, eldest son to the Conqueror, (says Camden) used short hose; and thereupon was by-named, Court-hose, and shewed first the use of them to the English; which opinion was followed by most of our chroniclers. Trevisa in his translation of the Polychronicon writes in one place Robert Short-boot; (so also does Speed after him) and in another he has it Robert Short-bootes; but sure if hose may be strictly said to mean stockings, as the chroniclers seem to agree, we shall find that Robert could not be the first that shewed the use of them to the English; because long before the conquest of the Normans, they were worn by all the Saxons, as almost every one of their own delineations sufficiently testify: so that most likely not from his showing the use of the short hose to the English, but from his first introducing them among the Normans, he might obtain that name *. the same perhaps may be said of Henry the second. Trevisa in the Polychronicon says, the King being some his body lay naked long time, till that a child covered the nether parts of his body with a short cloke, than hit seemed that his surname was fulfilled that he hadde of his childhode, Henry Short-cloke: that bright short mantel beyond the see, for this was the style that brought shorte clothes oute of Anglo into England. But if we look over the plates of the Saxon era, we shall at once be certain that this could not be the first introduction of short cleaks, when we find them so universally worn by the Saxons: perhaps tho' he was not the first that brought them into England, he might be the first of the Norman line that wore them here; and by that means might truly be said to be the restorer of an ancient custom, which might be grown out of use from the time of the Norman conquest.

And here it is to be noted, that the *umbrella* is by no means a modern invention; see one as used in the time of king Stephen, plate 1, fig. 13, of this volume.

Banquets, &c. of the ANGLO NORMANS.

We may learn from the ancient historians, how great and magnificent the public feasts and banquets were in this Norman era. The old poet Robert of Gloucester, speaks of the profuseness of the Conqueror in the following words:—

————— Aroun he was anon.

Ther septe he ber crown a ger, to Wydmynre at Gloucestre
To allestontyde at Willelmurprie, to Ceste at Wyndchestre
Ther he felle he woulde holde fo noblyche
With so gret prute and wast and so rybelyche
That wonder yt was Manne yt cou. ac to susteyn such noblye
He delude that pouere vole. and nom of them bys prepe
So that he was ryche hym self, and that lond pouere al out.

Robert Gloucester, published by Hearne, pag. 376.

The

* But I rather incline to the interpretation of Trevisa and Speed; for Malmesbury calls him *Robellus Carta Creca*; which may mean perhaps a kind of buskins, or half-boots, as are represented worn by the figures plate 33, fig. 5, and of these he might be the inventor.

The substance of which is, that he was crowned three times a year; and at each time there was such pompous feasting and waste, that he thereby greatly impoverished the whole kingdom.

At the marriage of Richard earl of Cornwall (the brother of Henry the third) with Cincia, daughter of Raymund earl of Province, there were more than thirty thousand dishes † prepared for the marriage feast: Mat Paris, sub. an. 1243

And at the knighting, and marriage of young Alexander king of Scotland, (who married Margaret, daughter to Henry the third) there were no less than sixty oxen slain, as one single article, with every other thing in proportion that was scarce and rare. Ibid. sub. ann. 1252

In the same year, that is in the 40th of Henry the third, John Mansel, the king's counsellor, gave a stately dinner to the kings of England and Scotland, and their queens: there was also present Edward the king's son, the bishop of London, and many earls, barons, knights, and citizens; in short, so large was his company that his house at Totehill could not contain them; therefore he set up tents, and pavillions for their reception; and seven hundred messes of meat was not sufficient to serve them for the first course. Let what has been said suffice, tho' many other incontestible proofs may be brought, of the vast and expensive profusion of their banquets, yet let us not, while here we censure the extravagance of this æra, forget to throw into the opposite scale, the many instances of benevolence, and true English hospitality. Stow's Survey of London, p. 525.

Our monarch, king Henry the second, (in expiation for the murder of Thomas Becket) in the time of a sore dearth, (an. 1171) maintained at his own cost ten thousand poor persons, till the new corn could be gathered up, and distributed forth. Ib. pag. 74

Walter de Suffield, bishop of Norwich, at the time of a dearth, (about the year 1245) sold all his plate to relieve the pressing necessities of his distressed fellow creatures.

The like benevolent disposition shone forth in Robert Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, besides the fragments from his table, every Friday and Saturday gave great alms, and a loaf of bread sufficient for the day, to any who would fetch it. The number of these mendicants (says Stow) generally amounted to four or five thousand at least; moreover every great festival he distributed forth, one hundred and fifty pence to as many poor people, one penny each person; and sent daily meat and bread, with money and apparel to such of the aged and diseased, whose infirmities might render them incapable of coming to share in his Christian-like bounty. These, with many other as singular instances of boasted English hospitality, so deservedly noted by our historians of the antient times, make us look back with pleasure; while we wish the same benevolent spirit may still continue; but alas! we sigh for like examples of Christianity and humanity, in the present age.

The boars head was esteemed a noble and princely dish: this we are told was brought to the king's table with the trumpeters sounding their trumpets before it in procession; for, says Hollingshead, "upon the day of coronation (of young Henry) king Henry the second his father, served him at table as sewer, bringing up the bores head with trumpettes afore it, accordyng to the ancient maner."

It

† In coquinali ministerio plura quam triginta millia ferculorum prandentibus parabantur, &c. Mat. Paris, edit. Will. Wats, A. D. 1684, pag. 536.

It should appear at this period, that the kings sat at meat attended by their physicians; which seems to be confirmed by Robert of Glocester, for king Henry the first, desirous to eat of a lamprey, which was brought to the table, was warned by his physicians to forbear, because it was very unwholesome for him; these are the words of the poet:

Robt. Gloc.
in vita Hen.

— — — — — He wylled of a lampreye to ete
But hys leches hym verbride, for yt was a feble mete.

Lecbe was the name by which all professors of surgery and physic were antiently distinguished; and in some parts of the kingdom to this day, a *cow doctor* is called a *cow leche*.

Musical Instruments, &c. of the ANGLO NORMANS.

It was customary with the Norman kings, (as well as with all other northern nations) to sit at meat attended by their bards, who accompanied the notes of the harp with their voice; singing the great and heroic acts of their patron, or his predecessors: thus say the historians, we owe the finding the tomb and bones of Arthur (the British king), to the curiosity of Henry the second; before whom a Welsh harper playing, in his song declared that the body of that royal Briton, lay entombed at Glastenbury, between two pillars; which place being opened by king Henry's order, it was found in manner as described in the first volume. On plate 1, fig. 16, of this volume, is exhibited a harp, the original of which is in a M. S. as antient as the time of king Stephen; one exactly of the same form appears in a M. S. of Mathew Paris, written in the reign of Henry the third. Plate 33, fig. 7, in the first vol. is the violin, with five strings, from a M. S. written about the time of Henry the second; and fig. 9, plate 1, of this volume, is one drawn by Mathew Paris, which has only four; the pegs of both are placed horizontally on the nut. In plate 33, at fig. 12, is an organ, from the psalter of Eadwine at Cambridge: we see four men are represented as blowing the bellows, while two others are playing; there is a double set of pipes, four on the right hand, which are larger than the six on the left, the last may be the treble, the former the bass; on the table part before the pipes is made eleven holes, all nearly of the same size; but their use I cannot determine; there appears to be also three barrels, or tubes, in front, the intention of which was very likely to contain the wind for the supply of the pipes; there does not seem to be any keys, but the fingers of the two figures that are playing, appear to be close pressed down upon the bottom of the pipes; and perhaps they might by pressing these, open some small aperture, through which the wind might be conveyed from the tubes in front to the pipes. But all this must be left to the judgment of the curious enquirer.

Fig. 15 of plate 1, in this vol. represents a lute, and fig. 14, a lyre, and fig. 17 a dulcimer; all as antient as the time of king Stephen.

The horn, the trumpet, and other martial music, seems to be much upon the same plan with those used by our ancestors the Saxons.

Sports

Page 69,
vol. 1.

See description of the plates.
Nero D. I.
apud Bib.
Cotton.
See the account of the M. S. S.
page 105.
vol. 1.

Sports and Pastimes of the ANGLO-NORMANS.

The most ancient and noble sports were hunting, hawking, and other Forrest amusements. Such a passionate admirer of these pastimes was the Conqueror, that he depopulated whole villages, and pulled down churches, for the full space of thirty miles, (in the county of Hampshire) to make a Forrest for the preservation of the game: and in this Forrest was his son Rufus slain, as he was hunting with his nobles. Henry the First also was so fond of all kinds of wild animals, that he made a park (the first park, says Stow, made in England) at Woodstock, seven miles in circumference, and walled it with stone, where he placed, besides great numbers of deer, many strange beasts sent him from afar, as lions, leopards, lynxes, &c. He had also there a porcupine, which was then esteemed as wonderful as it was uncommon, being the first seen in England. For the making of this park, he destroyed (says Stow) several villages, churches and chapels. Henry Earl of Warwick, was the first that followed his example, making himself a park at Wadgenoke, near Warwick, for the preservation of his deer and other animals for hunting. So also Henry the Second was famous for his exercise in "huntyng, hawkyng, and such lyke pastymes."

Malmf. lib.
4. in Vita
Will. 2d.
page 71.
Stow's
Chron.
page 143.
Malmf. de
Gelt. Reg.
Ang. lib. v.
page 91.

Grafton,
vol. 2. p. 49.

The game of chess was also in great esteem. Daniel, in his Collection, tells us the following story of prince Henry, the youngest son of the Conqueror, afterwards Henry the First, who, with his brother Robert, went to the court of the French king, where they were well entertained; and upon an after dinner (says he) prince Henry wan so much at chesse of Louis, the king's eldest son, as hee growing into choller, called him the sonne of a bastard, and threw the chesse in his face. Henry takes up the chesse board, and strake Louis with that force, as drew blood, and had killed him, had not his brother Robert come in the meane time and interposed himselfe; whereupon they suddenly took horse, and gat away.—In an old poem of the Life and Acts of Richard the First, is this verse,

Daniel's
Collection
of the Hist.
of Eng.
p. 35.

MS. apud
Bib. Harl.
infig. 4690.

And king Richard stode and pleye:
Hit the chesse yn his galey.

These were the kingly sports. Among the commoner people, the running at the quinten was a game the most esteemed. The figure of the quinten, from Stow's Survey of London, is represented in plate 1. fig. 10, of this volume, the top of which turns round with the greatest ease; one end thereof is flat and broad, and at the other hangs a large bag filled with sand: the method of performing was thus; The youth being mounted on a good horse, with a long staff or blunt lance, ran singly, aiming the lance at the broad part of the quinten, and he that hit it not (says Stow) was of all men laughed to scorne; he that hit it full, if hee rode not the faster, had a sound blow on his necke with a bag full of sand that hung on the other end.

See Stow's
Survey of
London,
p. 76 & 77.

In the year of our Lord 1283, (the 38th of Henry the Third) the young men of London set forth a game called *quinten*, (says Mathew Paris) and he who best performed, was to have a peacock for his prize.*

William Fitz Stephen, a monk of Canterbury, who was born at London, has left behind him an account of such sports and games as were in use in his time. He flourished in the reigns of Stephen and Henry the Second, and died in the year of our Lord 1191.

Fitz Stephen's Account of London.

See Stow's Survey, page 706.

In the first place, speaking of the theatrical amusements, he tells us, "that the enterludes belonging to the theatre, were plays of holy subjects, representing the miracles wrought by the Saints, with the acts and pious sufferings of the Blessed Martyrs." And these holy and religious matters, continued for a long time to be the only subjects for the drama. They also had plays, in which were represented the person and actions of our Blessed Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and the Twelve Apostles, &c.

Next he informs us, "that every Sunday afternoon in Lent, was spent in riding courses upon trained horses, and in counterfeit battles, made with lances and shields; those of the younger sort not having their pikes headed with iron. And to these sports not only the citizens of London, but even young men of note and family, (who had not yet attained to the honour of knighthood) resorted to try their skill, and exercise themselves in arms; while others, in divided companies, strove in races to outstrip each other, often throwing down their fellows in their course. In the Easter holidays (adds he) they have feint sea fights; or else a pole was set up in the middle of the river Thames, and a shield made fast thereto; then a young man standing in a boat, which being both rowed by oars, and driven by the tide, glides swiftly on, while he with his lance hits the target as the boat passes by, when if he breaks his lance without loosing his own footing, he performeth well; but if on the contrary the lance remains unbroken, he will be tumbled backwards into the water, and the boat passeth on; nevertheless there are always two boats ready to succour him as soon as they can conveniently. During the holidays, the youth were exercised in leaping, shooting with bows, wrestling, and casting of stones and javelins; at other times with bucklers, like fighting men. During the winter season, almost every hollyday, there was some bore-fight, (the head of which animal was much esteemed) or else bull-baiting. The ladies were mean while amused with dancing, and other feminine pastimes. When the waters were frozen over, the youth exercised themselves with sliding, or driving each other forward on great pieces of ice; but those more expert, bound to their shoes the leg bones of animals, and with stakes which they held in their hands, (headed with sharp iron) they pushed themselves along with such speed, that they seemed to fly like a bird in the air, or as darts shot out from the engines of war." (Hence it is evident, that the invention of skates was not then known or well understood in England, since they were put to such shifts to supply the want of them.) "Sometimes (continues my author) two men will place themselves at a distance, then pushing themselves on with great force, will run against each other with their staves, as it were tilting, by which means much hurt often ensued; while the graver citizens amuse themselves with birds, as spar-hawkes,

* Et eodem tempore juvenes Londinenses statuto *Pavone* pro Bravio, ad stadium quod *Quintana* vulgariter dicitur, vires proprias & equorum cursus sunt experti." Mat. Par. Sub. An. 1253.—Edd. Guliel. Watts, An. Dom. 1684, page 744.

ſpar-hawkes, gooſe-hawkes, and the like, others delight in dogs, to hunt in the woody grounds.

Among the ſchool-boys (ſays my author) at Shroſtide, were amuſement ſet forth of cock fighting; and in the afternoons; playing with balls, &c.

Marriages, &c. of the ANGLO-NORMANS.

Among the various alterations made by the Normans, there is none ſeems to have ſuffered leſs change than the religious ceremonies in general, but more particularly ſuch as appertained to the ſacraments of marriage, of baptiſm, or the ſepulchral rights; and indeed, from what may be gathered from the various church laws, we ſhall find, that even to the preſent time, the chief ground work of thoſe very ceremonies yet remains entire: a couple deſirous to be married, were to be three times aſked in the church (as is cuſtomary to this day) unleſs they obtained a diſpenſation from the biſhop of the dioceſe. Plate 49, No 1 in the 1ſt vol. repreſents the eſpouſals; where the lady is brought to the king, and her hand is by the prieſt placed between both of his: after this, as in plate 42, alſo of the 1ſt vol, the king is putting the ring upon the middle finger of the woman's right hand, and thus they were ſolemnly married. I find no mention of the wedding ring in the Saxon *Æra*, except in the *Polychronicon*, tranſlated by *Treviſa*, where there is told a fooliſh ſtory of a young man at Rome (in the time of Edward the Confeſſor) who being at play on the day of his wedding with his friends, “*Wyte his ſponſyng ryng on the ſynger of an ymage*” of Venus, and could by no manner of means get it off again. At night, when he ſhould have bedded with his bride, he found the ſtatue in bed in his place: and the ſtatue ſaid to him, “*thou haſt ſponſed me this day*”. But how ſhould the man have the “*ſponſyng ryng*” in his poſſeſſion after the wedding? except it was cuſtomary abroad for the bridegroom to have a ring as well as the bride: but perhaps, *Hidgden* may have been as far from juſtice in his mention of the ſponſyng ring, as he is diſtant from the truth in the ſtory itſelf. Though it is very likely that the Saxons might uſe rings at their eſpouſals and marriages; for it is moſt certain that they often were tokens of things of the greateſt conſequence: thus *Offa*, who after *Ethelbert*, was heir to the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles (being on a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher) adopted *Edmund* to ſucceed *Ethelbert*, ſending his ring to him as a token of his reſignation, and thereby ordained him king of the Eaſt Angles.

The guardianship, or *Ward* of the Saxons, and the diſpoſal of the wards by the *Wundbopa* or guardian, was not only continued by the Normans, but alſo even in the later times; for ſays *Grafton* in his *Chronicle*, “It is to be much lamented, that wardes are bought and ſolde as commonlye as are beaſts, and marriages are made with them that they are many tymes very ungodly, for dyverſe of them beyng of yong and tender yeres, are forced to judge by another mannes affection, to ſee with another mannes eye, and ſay yea with another mannes tongue, and finally conſent with another mannes hart. For none of theſe ſences be perſited to the parties in that minoritie, and ſo the election beyng unfree, and the yeres unripe, eche of them almoſt of neceſſitie muſt hate the other, whome yet they have had no judgement to love. And certainly the common bergayn-
yng

Vid. Linde-
wode pro-
vin. et Con-
ſtitut. Otho-
boni, &c.

Conſtitut.
Stephani
Arch. Cant.

Polychron.
Lib. 6. chap
26.

Speed's chr.

Grafton,
page 120.

ying and selling of them is be abhorred, beside the shamefull polling that many use, which if they consent not to such as are their sellers, they shall be handled as the common sayng is, like wardes, and striped almost out of al they have, when the same should do them most good. God graunt (continues he) the majestates maye take some good order therein, for surely it is nedefull, for many do so use them, as the same is not sufferable in a christian realme. For who seeth not daylye, what innumerable inconveniencies, devorces, yea and some murders, have of such marriages (or rather no marriages at all) proceeded, the present time sheweth too many examples, which minister sufficient cause for us to bewaile the same: but the greatest injury is to God who hath made that free, namely matrimony, which the lawe of the realme maketh bonde, the redresse whereof belongeth onely to the prince."

In the eighth year of king Henry the Third, the parliament granted to the king and his heirs (kings of this realm) by the barony of England, the ward, and marriage of their heyres.

In the Reign of Henry the First, there was a law confirmed by parliament, that no contract, made between a man and woman, without witness, concerning marriage, should stand good if either of them denied it; and another, that kinsfolk might not contract matrimony, but within the seventh degree of consanguinity; and a third was, that a widow should mourn for her husband twelve months, after which time she was at liberty to chuse as she would; but if she married within the space of one year, she should forfeit her dowry Morgengiften, and all the wealth she might have enjoyed from her first husband, &c.

Form of Baptism used by the NORMANS.

Vid. Lindewode's Provincial. The child was brought to the font (in the same manner as it is at this day) attended by the sponsors; that is, two men and one woman, if a male child; on the contrary, if a female, two women and one man; the infant was put into the water if it could bear it, if not, it was only sprinkled, and the priest said, either in English, "Ich christine the in the name of the fader, and of the sonne, and of the holre ghaſt, amen; or in French, as, *Je te baptize en nom du pere du filz et du saint esprit, amen*; or else in Latin, as, *Ego te baptizo in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen*. And then the child was anointed with this holy oil:—if the priest could not arrive time enough, it was lawful for some grave person of the laity to baptize it; even the father, or the mother, in time of need; and in such case, the priest, when he came, was very careful to examine them strictly, concerning the form and method, in which they had administered this holy sacrament; and then he performed the sacred unction, which was not proper for the layman to do.*

Arts

* Thus Mathew Paris, speaking of the inordinate practices of the laymen in the time of the Conqueror; says, they prophaned the holy mysteries, baptizing children, and anointed them with filth instead of oil; "fordido autum humore pro sacro chrismate utentes et oleo." &c.—Mat. Paris, sub An. 1074, in Vit. Williel. Conq.

Arts and Learning of the ANGLO NORMANS.

Tho' the arts cannot yet be said to have matured to great perfection, yet we certainly find them much improved. The buildings of the Normans, together with the many bas-relievo's, and the monumental effigies of their heroes, are not only curious, but many of them absolutely well executed. The bas-relievo in the chapel of Edward the Confessor, within the abbey of Westminster, that exhibits various passages of the life of that prince, which together with the rich shrine (now so ruined) were all executed by artists in the reign of Henry the third: many of the monumental effigies of the Normans were carved in wood; and some of them are most elegantly well executed. At the church of Danbury, near Chelmsford in Essex, there are three beautiful figures carved in wood, of three knights; all of whom being Crusaders, are represented cross legged: these figures are supposed to be of the family of the *Santo Claros*, about the time of king Stephen; they are exceeding fine, and designed with much elegance; these, with many others may be brought to prove the great height of the art of sculpture in this æra.

Vide Hist.
of Essex.

There also flourished in this æra, several great and learned men, as well historians, as divines and philosophers. Of the first class are William of Malmshbury, Henry Huntingdon, Richard Hexham, Roger Hoveden, and Mathew Paris, who stand the foremost among a great number of others; and have left us the antient records of our progenitors. They were also well skilled in astronomy, tho' but indifferent geographers: some among them were very great critics in chronology: the which with the computation of time, was well understood by the Saxons before them, as appears by a valuable M. S. in the Ashmolean museum, written by one *Byrdferthus*, or *Brid fertus*, a monk of Ramsey, who flourished in the reign of Ethelred, about the year of our Lord 980: he tells us that, þu hund 7 þeoƿer 7 rýxty atom 7 gepýncað an momentum. þeoƿer momenta 7 gepýllað minutum. 7 tƿegen minuta 7 heaƿ 7 gepýncað ane þƿican. 7 þeoƿer þƿica 7 gepýncað ane tid on þære runnan rýne. 7 rýx tida þýncað ane fýrðling. 7 þeoƿer fýrðlinga 7 þýncað ane dæg. 7 þeoƿon daga 7 ane þƿican, that is 564 atoms make a moment, 4 moments make a minute, 2 minutes and a half make a prick or point, 4 points make a tid or an hour in the course of the sun, 6 tids make a fýrthling, 4 fýrthlings a day, and seven days a week. This author improved upon Bede, whom he calls *appunða þumcƿertiga a worthy chronologer*. Caxton in the English edition of the Polychronicon, tells us that Lotharyngus, bishop of Hereford, "was connyng of al maner of artes and scyences, specially he couthe skýlle in abacion that is a table to make by dyverse figures and shoppes, he knewe the cours of the moune and other sterys and planetes;" he was also connyng in chonology, and in the same book speaking of Robert Grothed, bishop of Lincoln, says, "he was connyng in all the liberal artes, and specially he expowned many thynges in logyk, etyks, and astrologye." So says Hollinghead, in the time of Richard the first, flourished Robert de Bello-Foco, an excellent philosopher: and in the reign of John, there lived one Simon Thurnaye, who being an excellent philosopher, but standing too much in his owne conceyt, upon a suddayne dyd so forget all his knowledge in learn-

M. S. apud
Bib. Ashmol
Oxon.

Polychroni-
con, lib. 7.
chap. 2.

Ibid, lib. 7,
chap. 26.
Holl.Chron.
p. 54.

ing, that he became the most ignorant of all other; a punishment (as was thought) appoynted to hym of God, for suche blasphemies as he hadde wickedly uttered, both against Moses and Christ.

Their skill in surgery, at the beginning of this period, must have been very trifling indeed, if we may believe the old poet Robert of Glocester, who speaking of the Duke of Austrich, that took king Richard the first prisoner, says

Rob. Glof.
in vit. Ric.
pri. p. 490.

The fel of his Palefrey and brec is fet by cas
So fast so ent croue a moztwe his fet was
Tho that his leches seide, thez was red boie on
Othez smite of is fot, othez he was ded anon
The bet it do haffeliche, at non me ne fond
Of alle is men, that wolde sette thez on hand
A kene ax him sulf he buld thez to atte laste
And mid strengthe hit is chamberlein thez on smite balle
Thez on he smot thrice, the wperche to gret pine
So that he smot of than bot mid great we atte fine.

Which verses import, that he fell off from his horse, and sorely bruised his foot; and his physicians declared that if it was not immediately smitten off, he would die; but none would undertake the performance of the operation; till the duke took a sharp ax, and bid the chamberleyn strike it off, and he smote thrice ere he could do it, putting the duke to most horrid torture. And Hollingshead tells us, that in the time of Henry the third, there lived one Richard, furnamed Medicus, "a most learned phisician, and no less expert in philosophy and mathematics:" but makes not the least mention of surgery. Also some authors have attributed the death of Richard the first, (wounded in the shoulder at the castle of Chalezun) to the unskillfulness of those who had the care of the wound, and not from the quarrel's being poisoned, as others have insinuated.

Hollingh.
Chron.
pag. 814.

Rog. Hoved.
Rog. Wen-
dover.

The End of the NORMAN Æra.

T H E

E N G L I S H Æ R A ;

F R O M

The Beginning of the Reign of EDWARD the First,

T O

The Latter End of HENRY the Seventh.

NOW are we come to the last stage of this work, the æra of the English; and as here we have a larger prospect opened before us, the manners and customs of these later days, may be better explained; first because the historians are more numerous, and secondly because the particular customs of this æra, have been better attended to by them than they were in the former ages. And in the first place we will speak of their

F O R T I F I C A T I O N S.

The Norman castles (as we have seen before) consisted of a *base-court*, a *keep*, and *barbacans* before the base-court; the same method of fortification was almost continually practiced till the invention of guns, and when they were brought in common into use, the method of attack being then so different from the former usages, of course required the making their fortifications upon a plan entirely different from that of their ancestors. The sides of the walls were strengthened with innumerable angles, towers, and buttresses; and on the top with strong battlements, and kirknelles*. The castle itself also (as formerly) for its greater strength and defence, was surrounded with a broad deep ditch, which was filled with water; unless the situation of the place was such, that water could not be got at, sufficient for the purpose; and then the ditch was dug shelving down, and fortified with sharp stakes, thick set all round the walls, and strong palisades.

E 2

* Kirknelles, says Hearne, (in his Glossary at the end of Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle) are horn works, corners, or holes in the battlements.

Froissart, v.
3. in Vita
Reg. Ricar-
di Secundi.

does. Thus says Froissart, speaking of the town D'Aurene, besieged by John a Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; "*il ne avoit point d'eau au fosses, mais il y avoit bons Pallis de boys lancevant des murs, & y avoit de bonnes Espines & de Ronces, ou gens d'armes ne se pouvoient jamais embatre.*" That is, *there was no water in the ditches, but they had strong palisadoes before the wall, besides great piles, and sharp stakes, where the soldiers could never come to fight* *. Tho' it is not fully expressed here, yet it plainly afterwards appears, that this town was surrounded with a double ditch: the first (next the wall) was occupied by the pallisadoes; and the outermost by the sharp stakes, and the piles.

Over the ditch was the drawbridge, at the principal gate. The chief Gate-houses (particularly to the walled cities) were for the most part made four square; having each corner well fortified with a strong tower: and over the entrance, within the square of the gatehouse, a strong vaulted arch, with a chamber above it; through this arch were certain holes made, by means of which those above in the chamber, might, unseen of them below, see and examine all that passed: and the principal use of these holes was, when the enemy should have broken open the outer gate, and were got within the square of the gate-house; then they in the chamber, poured upon them through those holes boiling oil, melted lead, and the like, as they came forward to force the inner gate.

It is next to impossible to describe the form of these later built castles, because they were constantly varied according to the humour of the constructor, or to suit with the convenience of the places whereon they were built: some were square; others oblong, or round; some few with keeps, though indeed for the most part they were without: the walls of all their fortifications were made of rubble stone and cement, like those of their ancestors, both Saxons and Normans.

The Method of besieging Castles, or fortified Towns.

Froissart
Vol. 2.

Grafton
p. 277.

When a regular siege was made upon a town or castle, the first care was (if possible) to stop up all the avenues; as well to prevent the sallying forth of those within, as to hinder all assistance that might be given from without.—Thus king Edward the Third, when he laid siege to the town of Callice, built strong towers between

* The method the Duke took in assaulting this town was this: --- men well armed advanced to the ditch, being well provided with axes, and other necessary implements, and thus began by cutting down the sharp stakes; mean time the archers of the Duke's army plyed the besieged so fast with their arrows, that they scarcely dared to look over the wall: however, notwithstanding all these necessary precautions, the piles being but newly put down, they met with the greatest difficulty to cut and break them off; and many of the soldiers were killed by the darts of the enemy; but, encouraged by the presence of the Duke, they cleared the passage over the first fosse, up to the palisadoes: thus ended the first assault. To make the second, they went well provided with large axes, "*des haches a grans fer, longs, et larges,*" up to the second ditch, which was full as large as the first, and set with the palisadoes: however, impatient at the thoughts of these difficulties, they leaped into the ditch, broke up the palisadoes, and came up close to the wall: while those above poured down whole showers of darts, of stones, and other offensive weapons, making great carnage.---The next step of the undaunted Englishmen was to apply their scaling ladders to the wall, which they had ready prepared by the carpenters of the army: then the valiant knights and esquires mounted the ladders, covering their heads with their targets; and, with their swords in their hands, came hand to hand in fight with the besieged; who, notwithstanding a long and valiant resistance, at last were overcome, and forced to yield up the town. Froissart's Chronicle, vol. 3.

between the town and the haven; and another tower behind the town to guard the passage towards the Downs.—So also Henry the Fifth, when he came before the town of Caen in Normandy, caused forthwith a high mount and deep trenches to be made, to keep those within from issuing out:—The next care was to annoy the besieged as much as possible; this was done by erecting high towers of wood to overlook the town; and from thence to play upon those within with stones, arrows, and other missive weapons.—This indeed was an ancient custom, as is shewn in the First Volume, and Richard the First, in his wars abroad, had (says an old poet, who wrote his history)

Hollingshead, p. 1187

Page 94

— — — A Castell Understonde,
That was made of Tymber, yn England :
With fere Stages, y made of Styvelles
Well and flouryched, with gode Beznelles.

M.S. apud
Bib. Harl.
infig. 4690.

And this castle he took in the ships with him, says Robert de Brunne,

In schip he did it ledre,
To raise up bi the walls,
And if him stode in nede,
To coveye him with alle.

Peter Langtoft's Chron
improved by
Robert de
Brunne, in
Vita Ricardi Primi.

and this he set up against the walls of the city of Messina, and called it, says Caxton *gate gryffons*: and with this castle he afterwards took the city of *Arce*. And a castle, or rather tower, something like this, is mentioned by Froissart to have been used by the English at the siege of *Reole*: it was made (says he) to run upon wheels, so that it might be moved by the soldiers wherever they desired; within it would easily contain an hundred knights and an hundred archers, so that having filled the ditch, the engine was brought to the walls:—its frame was of strong timber, covered over with boiled leather, to prevent its being set on fire. From this tower the archers annoyed the besieged with their arrows; while the rest, with pickaxes and hammers, beat down part of the wall (in spite of all the resistance the besieged made with their darts) so that they entered the town, and took it.

Polychron.
lib. 7. c. 26.

Froissart,
v. 4. in Vita
Ric. Secun.

And Edward the Third, at the siege of Callice (as above-mentioned) made a strong high tower, or castle of wood, betwixt the town and the sea. And Henry the Fifth, at the siege of *Meaux*, “devised mightie engines of boards (says Hollinghead) to defend the Englishmen as they approached the walls, and gave the assaults.”

Hollinghead Chron
p. 1214.

The better to come at the walls, they filled up the ditch: as, says Grafton, the Scots, in the reign of Edward the Third, at the assault of a castle (belonging to the earl of Salisbury) “caryed wood and tymber to have filled up the ditches, to entent to bring their engines to the walles,”—and that they might also have firm footing, to set their scaling-ladders, which the besieged endeavoured as much as possible to prevent: Thus say the chronicles, that the town of Caen, when besieged by the English, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, was strongly fortified, having fixed upon the top of the embattlements: “great rolls of timber so moving, and so unsteadfast, that neither any scaling lader could catche any holde, nor no person that should climb up could get any sure footing.”

Grafton,
page 251.

lb. p. 604.

Again

Again when a town was situate near the water side, so that boats could come up to the walls, they used to fasten boats and barges together, and so upon them make a platform for the soldiers and their engines to pais the water in the ditch.

Having thus passed the ditch, and got sure footing by the wall, they set their scaling ladders. Thus the English, in the reign of Richard the Second, (says Grafton) at the siege of Berwick castle, had ladders, which they rered up against the walls, and they went upon them with targets over their heads and before them, and so came and fought with the Scottes hand to hand upon the walls. And the same author, speaking of the siege of Werley castle by the Scots and French, says, the Frenchmen mounted up by ladders, and fought hand to hand with the English, with daggers upon the walls. At the siege of Caen, in the fifth year of Henry the Fifth, the Englishmen studied all the ways possible to dammage their enemies, some shot arrowes, some set scaling ladders to the walls, other shot *gonnes*, some brake the walles with engines, and other cast wild fire; every man endeavouring to come hand to hand in engagement with his enemies.

Besides these methods of assault, they used at times to undermine the walls, and the miners supported their work with wooden pillars, rubbed over with rosin, pitch, and other combustible matters, so that when the work was finished, the pillars were set on fire, and they giving way, the part that was undermined of necessity must fall down. Thus, says Hollingshead, while king Henry the Fifth lay before the town of Caen, "and seeing that he lost more than he wonne by his dayly assaultes, he determined to underminye the walles, wherefore the pioneers cast trenches, and made mines, and brought tymber; so that within a few dayes the walles stood only on postes, ready to fall when fire should be put to them." And Grafton here adds, "The king caused his people to approche the walles, and keepe the citezens occupied, lest they should make a countermine to be an impediment to his workmen and labourers, wherefore he caused the assault to be cried again." Thus much for the besiegers. Let us now examine what methods the besieged had of defending themselves: "The Normans, (says Grafton, speaking of the above siege of Caen) seeing themselves closely besieged, threwe downe great stones, barres of yron, dartes, hot pitch, brennyng brimstone, and boyling lead," &c. And when the English had taken the above city (of Caen) in the 20th year of Edward the Third, as they entered therein, the Frenchmen went into their houses, and cast down upon the Englishmen below in the streets, great stones, timber, hot water, and bars of iron; so that they hurt and slew more than five hundred persons. And at the siege of the town of Eme, in the reign of Henry the Fifth, "many Englishmen were hurt with quarrells shot from the loupes and walles of the town."

King Edward, says Stow, when he had taken the mannors of Markes and Hay, (the enemy being still near them) with great difficulty built in them forts and castles, setting in order where walls were wanting, hogheads filled with stones, to defend the workmen from the enemy while they built the walls within.

Engines and Warlike Instruments used at the Sieges of Castles and Fortified Towns, &c.

Besides those machines mentioned page 95 of the first volume, they had engines which threw a sort of wild fire, long before the invention of gunpowder, which fire was made of so subtle a composition, that there was no way whatever of extinguishing it, but by smothering it with heaps of dust. Hollingshead tells us, that when the Black Prince, at the siege of *Remorentine*, saw that the castle was not to be won by assault, he devised engines, wherewith they cast wyld fire into the base court, and so sette it on fyre, whiche encreased in such vehemente sorte, that it toke into the coveryng of a great tower, (which was covered with reede) then they within yielded up the castle.

Of Richard the First, says Robert de Brunne, (in his wars against the *Saracens*) that,

In bargeis and galleis
He set wyldnes to go,
The sailis as men saie
Som were black and blo,

Some were rede and grene;
The wynde about them blew,
A felly sight to sene,
Fle the sailis threwe.

Camden's
Remains,
239.

Holling.
page 958.

Peter Lang-
toff's Chron.
improv. by
R. de Brunne

The stones were of Rynge,
The noyse dyedfull & greet;
It assaid the Sarazins
As leven the fire out schete.

Which imports, that in his barges and galleys he had mills, which were turned by the wind, and by force of the sails threw fire and stones, which were got from the Rhine.* Fabian, speaking of the sea fight against the Flemmens, the 15th year of Edward the Third, says, "With hydous & fearful dynne & noyse of gunnes, with terrible stampyng of wyld fyre." And Harding, writing of the acts of Henry the Fifth, says-

With his gunnes casting, they made the towre to fal,
And their bulwerke bent with shot of wild fyre.

Fabian's
vol. 1.

Harding's
Chron. ch.
222, p. 210.

The strength of their machines for throwing stones, was incredibly great; Camden informs us, that with the mangonels, trabuches and briccolas, they used to cast forth *mill stones*; and says Hollingshead, king Edward the First, at the siege of Strively Castle, "caused certain engines of wood to be reised up against the castell, which shot off stones of two or three hundred weight:" this engine Camden supposes was the *war wolle*; but all these machines were by degrees left off, as cannons and great guns came into esteem. Some authors have supposed that the invention of gunpowder, was about the year 1381, made publick, which was the 5th year of our king Richard the Second: when say they it.

Holling.
Chron. 839.

Polydore de
invent. re-
rum.

* Strange stones were found in the river Rhine, fit for the warlike engines.—Hearne's Gloss. at the end of Robert de Brunne's Chronicle,

Graft. 345. it was discovered by a German : but as Camden justly observes, it must have been much earlier : " For," says he, (speaking of guns) " the very time of their first invention is uncertaine, but certaine it is that king Edward the Third used them at the siege of Calice, 1347, for *gunnarü* † had their pay there, as appears by record." About thirty-three years before they were seen in Italy, about that time they began, as it seemeth to be used in Spaine, but named by writers *dolia igninoma*, as fire flashing vessels ; yet the French, as Polydore Vergil noteth, skant knew the use of them, untill the yeare 1425. Froissart, in the life of Richard the Second, speaking of a sea engagement, tells us, that John Bucq, the Flemish admiral, was in a ship that carried three *canons*, which cast forth darts or quarrels (*carrieaux*) so large and heavy, that they did great damages wherefoever they fell: most certainly at the first invention of guns, they shot darts and arrows from them: an old¹ M. S. chronicle, said to have been written by Dowglafs, a monk of Glastonbury, informs us, that in the 9th year of Henry the Fourth, the earl of Kent was smote upon the head with a quarrel, shot from a *gonne*, of which wound he died: after this they used stones, thus says the chronicle, called Brute of England, when Henry the Fifth received a taunting message from the dauphin of France, and a ton of tennice balls by way of derision ; " he anoonne lette make tenes balles for the dolsin, in alle the haffe, that he myght, and they were grete gonnesstones, for the dolsin to playe with alle." And after tells us of the dreadful effects of those *gunstones*, in the following words, " and there" (before Hareflete) " he" (Henry the Fifth) " playede at the tenys with his happe gonne stones, that were shot into the towne; and wherene they beganne to pleye, they within the towne sauge welle away, and serbe, allas that ebit such tenes balles were made, and curfede alle those that the warre byganne, and the tyme that they ebit were borne." We are not certain of what materials these guns were made in general, though Caxton says, that in the year 1436, was taken from the French, " a grete gonne of brass. whi he was called bygon, and many other grete gones and serpentyns ; these last were perhaps a smaller sort of guns.

Plate 6, fig. 20 and 21 of this vol. represents two cannons taken from the 42d plate of vol. 3. of Montfaucons *MonarchieFrancois*, they are most probably made either of iron, or brass, and bound round with many strong hoops, the better to resist the force of the powder ; these he has given in a print from an illumination, representing the siege which the Dauphin laid to the camp of lord Talbot before Dieppe, in the year, 1442, the 21st of Henry the Sixth ; but in plates 43 and 44 of this volume. the cannons are made upon a much better construction, and seem more likely to do execution. When Henry the Fifth in the fourth year of his reign, prepared to go over sea into France, he stocked himself (says the Dunstable Chronicle) with all manner of ordynance, that is to say *armonie*, *gonnes*, *tripgettis*, *engines*, *scalles*, *basselles*, *brugges* of lether, *pavysses*, *bowe* and *arowes*; and thither come unto hym *shippes* lade with *gonnes*, and *gonnepowder*. The *tripget* was also an engine for throwing stones ; *scalles*, or scaling ladders ; *basselles*, are wooden castles ; *brugges*, are small boats of leather, see the article navigation : *pavysses*, were the large shields used by the pavyssers, in scaling the walls of towns, &c. see more of this in the account of the soldiers and their arms, which follows.

Soldiers

* They are called *gunners* and *artillers*, in the list of the army, in an old English M. S. in the Harleian Library, written the beginning of the reign of Henry the Sixth, marked 53.

Soldiers, and Armies of the ENGLISH.

The English chiefly depended upon the force of their infantry; and the bravery and expertness of their archers, which was always the first step to victory: for with their long bows, and sharp barbed arrows, they did great execution; and disordered the battles of the enemy; the mean while the men of arms, taking the advantage of the confusion, rushed in upon them in good order, bearing down all before them; and this often, when the numbers of the enemy were considerably superiour to their own.

Their armies were composed of many different degrees, as, first the chief leaders; secondly, bannerets; thirdly, knights; fourthly, men of arms; fifthly, archers; sixthly, cross-bowmen; seventhly, of glave or bill men; eighthly, of pavissers; and ninthly, hobbilars; these were the principal:—On the chief leader attended a chaplain, a physician, and a crier, and all the leaders had their *bannerers*, or standard bearers, from the king to the banneret: the knights attendants were the esquires, and the *sargiauntes* attended on the men of arms. Besides these, in the list of the army which went over with king Edward the Third, to the siege of Callice, were *guners* and *artillers*; *masons*; *carpenters*; *smythes*; *pavylers*, or *pavilioners*; *mynours*; *armerers*; and *vintenaers*.

MS. chron.
in 'the Harl.
Lib. mark'd
No. 53.

The *bannerets* and *knights* made a considerable figure in the armies of the English: the title of *banneret* was particularly honourable, because he was only created in the field, as a reward of his bravery and good service. See the chapter treating on the creations of knights, which follows hereafter.

The *men of arms** fought both on horseback and on foot, though on foot they generally performed their chief service, for they seldom mounted their horses but to pursue the enemy. They were at times habited in a body-armour of iron, and plates of iron on their arms; the joints are defended with mail, which was worn under the whole armour (therefore often called by the historians a shirt of mail;) see many of the figures exhibited in the 53 plates of the life of Beauchamp earl of Warwick, given in this volume. At other times they were still closer armed, with the joints of the armour defended by plates of iron;† the same is also seen in fig. 8, plate 4. of this volume, which represents the men of arms in the reign of Richard the Second; and fig. 2. of the same plate, the man of arms in the time of Henry the Sixth.

The *archers* were armed with a body-armour, the arms being left perfectly free, see plate 402; sometimes indeed they wore a brigandine of mail, which came before them like an apron, plate 13; their arms were a long bow, a sheaf of arrows, a sword, and a small shield, see plate 13 of this vol. Fabian thus describes their habit at the battle of Agincourt; "the yowen hadde at those dayes theyr

Fabian, vol.
2. page 172.

F

lymnes

* They are sometimes called by Froissart *gens d'armes*, at other times *lances*, from the spears or lances that they often carried.

† These answer very well with the description Froissart has given of them, when he calls them "*hommes armés de pied en cap de toute piece & armés de fer*." That is, men armed cap à pit, or from head to foot at all points in iron armour.

lymnes at lybette, for theyr holsyn were than fastened wth one point, and theyr jacks were longe & cary to shote in, so that they myghte drawe bowes of great strength and shote arrowes of a yerde longe besides the hede."* And says Caxton, "the primary hede theyr holsen telen or bounden byneth the knee, having long jackys. But every man hade a good beaver, a sherk, armoys, and a tuncid."

Addit. to
Polychron.
book 8, ch.

13.

The cross bow men were much the same in armour and accoutrements, with those before described in the Norman era, see plate 40 of this vol.

The bill men, so called from the weapon which they bear, resembling a bill, or hooked ax; these as in plate 55, were sometimes armed in brigandines of mail; and at other times they appear to be armed but very slightly, see plate 22.

Holl. 954.

The glove men, differed only in the weapon, which they bore from the bill men; for as the hooked ax was called a bill, the other ax was called a glove; see the difference between these weapons, plate 5 of this volume.

The pavissors,† also were so called from the pavis, or shield which they bore; this shield was large enough to cover the whole of their bodies. These men were particularly serviceable at sieges, to scale the walls, &c. which they did, bearing their shields before them.‡

Lamb. per-
ambulation
of Kent, fol.
70.

Ant. Hibern

The hobblers § were aunciently fuche men (says Lambarde) as in time of daunger rode in poste from place to place, to give notice thereof upon hobbyes, or nagges; whereof the name of hobblers was given to them; others say, they were certain persons, who were by their tenure obliged to maintain a little nag, or hobby, to serve the king in the wars, either at home or abroad.

Graft. 295.

The bannerers, or standard-bearers, always went before their chiefs with a proper guard: thus the black prince at the battle of Poitiers, said to his standard-bearer, "advance your banner in the name of God, and St. George," and the knight that bore it did his commandment.—And thus says Froissart, speaking of the same prince, at this battle, "*Le prince qui tenoit a toute perfection de bien et donner chevalchoit toujours atant, sa banniere debant lui en resonoyant ses chevaliers la ou il les voit ouyr*," that is, *the prince in every thing performed the part of an excellent warrior, riding at the head of his army, with his banner born before him, to aid and assist his soldiers wherever they were oppressed*.

The standard-bearers were always closer and stronger armed than any of the other soldiers; see the figure, plate 46, who holds the banner of the earl of Warwick.

Froissart:

* Thus in the old song of Chevy chase, speaking of an English archer, "he had a bowe bent in his hande, made of a truste tre, an arrowe of a clere yerde long, unto the hede drew he."

† I fancy that these were the same with those soldiers, called *brigans*, so named in those days says Hollinghead, from an armour which they called *brigandine*, used by the footmen that also bore targettes, or pavises, Holling. p. 978. Brigandine was a jacket, or coat of auncient armor of scale, like plates, and many joynts: Vide Glossographia; perhaps this was not unlike the armor worn by the fig. 2, plate 31, vol. 1. Brigandine also signified a coat of mail.

‡ They had also other shields which they used at sieges, see plate 5, fig. 19 and 20. Father Montfaucon supposes, that fig. 19, is a shield framed of wood; and that fig. 20, is one made with osiers, interwoven, or as he calls it, *une tisse d'osier*, and something of this sort the cross-bow-men seem to have to defend them (see plate 43 of this volume) while they shot their quarrels, to annoy the enemy that are in the ships, which are lying before the town.—They in the vessels have shields, set up in the fore-castle, to secure the mariners from the shot of the cross-bows.

§ *Hommes amez montez sur petites naguenes*.---Armed men mounted upon little nagges or hobbyes. Froissart, vol. 3.

Froissart, also among the forces of the English, mentions "*de gros-varletz*," these I fancy were the attendants who did the drudgery of the camp.

The helmets of all these soldiers are so numerous, and different, that it would require almost an age to describe them all; the reader is referred to the examination of the plates of this volume, where there is to be found a great variety; the same may be said of the impossibility of particularising the other armour, any further than has already been done (especially in that fantastical period the reign of Henry the Sixth) a specimen of which the reader will find, in the 4th plate of this volume; whereon is represented ten different soldiers, all from a MS. written and illuminated in that reign, on purpose, as a present for the king himself.

Walsingham, page 104.

The bishop of Exeter, when he was taken in the reign of Edward the Second, had on a coat of defence, called *aketon*, which was most likely a kind of mail, worn by the nobles of the realm.

The Manner of Encampment.

Having taken possession of the most advantageous part of the field, they set up their standard; thus Robert de Brunne, speaking of the battle of Lewis, in the reign of Henry the Third, says,

Symoun com to the feld
And put up his banier,
The Kyng schewed forth his scheld
His dragon fulle austere,
The Kyng saide on his,
Symon so vous deir.

Rob. de Brunne, Edit. Hearne p. 217.

This was Symon de Mountfort, a principal leader of the barons against the king.—In the reign of Edward the Third (says Stow) the French king, when he had taken possession of the field at Cressy, before the battle, set up his banner, called *auriflaine*, after which time it was not lawful for a French man to save the life of any prisoner that he might take: this banner, that it might differ from his standard, had in it lillies of gold very broad; on the other side, king Edward commanded his banner to be erected of the dragon, which signified fierceness and cruelty, to be turned against the lillies.—Then they fortified their camps either with deep trenches, or pallisadoes, see plate 44 of this volume: the duke of Normandy fortified his army against king Edward the Third, enclosing the field with great rampires of earth; and (says Grafton) "the duke of Somerset (persecuted by Edward the Fourth, to Twekebury) entending to abyde bataille, like a politike warriour, trenched his campe rounde aboute of suche an altitude, and so strongly, that his enemies by no means easily could make any entry." The French in the reign of Richard the Second, intending to have invaded England, made a wall of wood; this wall (says Walsingham) was built to the height of twenty feet; and every twelve foot was made a tower, large enough to hold ten men; which towers were built ten feet higher than the rest of the wall; it contained (says Hollingshead) when set up, full 3000 paces, and was to have been brought over in their ships to defend their men, from arrowes of the English.

Stow's chronicle, 242.

Hollingshead Chron. 919.

Grafton, page 702.

Walsingham, 315.

Holl Chron. p. 1053.

Lambard's
Peramb. of
Kent, page
139.

English archers. But their ships being taken by the English, the wall was brought to Sandwich, and there set up (says Lambard) "to our great safety, and the repulse of the Frenchmen."

The Arrangement of the Army.

Grafton,
page 704.

As we have seen before in the Norman Æra, so we shall now find in this, that the battle was begun by the archers. "The trumpets blew to battle; the archers first began, and the bill-men followed," (says Grafton) speaking of the battle at Barnet, in the 10th year of Edward the Fourth; the men of arms and the close armed foldiers supported the encounter.

Holling-
head,
p. 792.

Edward the First intermixed the archers with the cavalry, at the battle fought against Lewellin, prince of Wales, near Orewin Bridge; and they (according to Hollingshead) did great execution. The same did the earl of Warwick, in a battle against the Welch, in the 23d year of the reign of the above king: "They on the earl's approach had set their men of arms fronting his army, with exceeding long spears or launces, which being placed in the earth, the points were suddenly turned towards the earl and his company, to brake the force of the English cavalry; but the earl had well provided against them, for between every two horsemen he placed an archer; so that by their missive weapons, those who held the launces were put to the rout." At the battle of Foulkirke, the 26th year of

Nic. Trivet
Annales,
fol. 282.

Holling-
p. 833.

Edward the First, "the Scots divided their battles into four schiltrons, as they termed them, (says Hollingshead) or as we may say, round batailles, in forme of a circle, in the which stode their people that carried long staves or speares, which they crossed jointly together one within another, betwixt which schiltrons, or round battails, were certain spaces left, the which were filled wyth their archers and bowmen; and behinde all these were their horsemen placed: they had also prudently chosen a strong ground, somewhat fideling on the side of a hill." Or take the description from the old poetical historian Peter Langtoft, as translated and improved by Robert de Brunne:

R. de Brunne
Edit.
T. Hearne,
page 304.

Our Inglishmen & thei
Thei togidere mette
Thei forsaik conveiy
Thei backhis togidere sette

Thei speies poynt ober poynt.
So late & so thikke
And faste togidere soynt
To see it was for like..

Alle a castelle thei stode
That were walked with stone, &c..

Froissart
MS. vol. i.,
feul. 63.

The common method of the English was to divide their whole force into three main battles, except perhaps a company or so that might be set aside for an ambush, or to be ready to succour wherever they saw any disorder.

Thus, says Froissart, when the king of England (Edward the Third) was preparing for an engagement with the French king, in the 13th year of his reign, he divided his forces into three well set battles or squadrons on foot: their horses and baggage were put into a little wood behind them, which they fortified.

fortified. In the first battle were 22 banners, 60 penons, and at least 8000 warlike men : this was led by the duke of Gherles. In the second battle were 24 banners and 80 penons, consisting also of 8000 men, headed by the duke of Brabant ; and the third battle, which was the largest, had in it 28 banners, and about 90 penons ; and in this battle were full 8000 men of arms, and 8000 archers : this was led by the king himself, attended by many of the principal nobles of England. Then there was also ordained another battle, as a wing, commanded by the earl of Warwick, the earl of Pembroke, lord Berceley, lord Multon and others, on horseback ; these were to stand aloof, and give succour occasionally to any of the other companies that should begin to be confused or hard pressed by the enemy. The battles thus ordained, the king (mounted on a little hobby) rode with his marshalls from rank to rank, begging and exhorting the earls, barons, chevaliers, &c. that they should think of their honour and renown. Every lord standing under his banner, and every banneret under his penon or pendant, strict command was given that none should quit his post, or go before his banner. Yet (says my author) notwithstanding all these preparations, both the French and the English withdrew their forces without striking a single stroke. Some few instances are found of their marshalling their army in a different manner. Edward the Third, in the 34th year of his reign, came before Paris (says Speed) with his army divided into nine battalions. And in the battle fought against the Flemish rustians, by the bishop of Norwich and his company, in the 6th year of Richard the Second, the foot were set in the form of a wedge, sharp at the front, and broad behind, armed with sharp axes : on either side stood a wing of archers, and the rear was brought up by the cavalry.

Walsingham in Vit.
Reg. Ricard.
2.

At the battle of Poitiers, the Black Prince was obliged to take other methods, because of the unequal number of his antagonists. The French (says Froissart) came into the field with full 60000 fighting men, besides 3000 horsemen ; while the English in all could only muster up 8000.

MS. Froissart, v. 27
fol. 17.

The French were divided into three battles on foot, one led by the marshall of France, another by the duke of Normandy, and the third by the king himself ; and 300 chosen men of arms, in close armour of iron, mounted upon the very flower of their horses, were appointed to break in upon the archers of the English : these men were also very expert, and could fight on foot, if occasion should require it, as well as on horseback.

The prince, thoroughly sensible of the care and sagacity that was necessary in this extremity, prudently chose out a convenient place, having a narrow entrance, which was well fortified by nature with thick bushes and a strong hedge ; and behind these bushes he placed a great number of archers in such fashion, that neither the horsemen nor the men of arms (of the enemy) could approach them to do them damage : nor could they come near the army of the prince, without passing the whole force of the archers, who were planted in double rows. This done, the prince marshaled his battle in the following manner : All the men of arms were set on foot, and the archers placed before them, in the form of an herse,* or herche. Against the battle of the marshall of France, the prince ordained.

* Orthio-phalanx, or the deep phalanx, (commonly called the herse) is that which proceedeth by wing, having the depth much exceeding the length. Bingham's Notes upon the Tactics of Ælian, page 138.

dained a wing of experienced knights and batchelors ; and on the top of a hillock, of pretty easy access, he placed 300 horsemen, and as many archers on horseback, against the battle of the duke of Normandy, who with his forces had taken possession of the plain at the foot of the hill. The prince himself with his great battle was on foot in the front ; but all their horses were placed under the cover of the bushes, opposite to which the prince placed the carriages and baggage by way of defence on that side, with a strong guard, so that none could enter to assail him from that quarter. Lord James Audley, before the engagement, humbly beseeched the prince, that he might give the onset, which being granted, he with four stout and valiant knights to guard his person, placed himself in the front of all the battles ; mean while the prince was busied in cheering up the spirits of his officers and soldiers, and exhorting them to fight valiantly.

The battle was begun by the horsemen of the French, which were appointed to ride into the main body of the archers, and put them into disorder ; but as soon as they entered the narrow path, the archers arranged behind the hedge, let fly whole showers of their long arrows, which so wounded and galled the horses, that they broke out from all order, and threw their riders, trampling over them, and beating down each other ; so that none of the soldiers could reach the army of the prince to do him any hurt : then lord Audley, who with his knights stood in the front, taking the advantage of this confusion, rushed in amongst them, making a horrid carnage, and at length quite disordered the first battle, led by the marshall of France. The English men of arms seeing this disorder, and observing that those on the hill had made the second battle of the French, led by the duke of Normandy, give back, they mounted their horses, and rode upon them with such good order and irresistible force, that they bore down all before them, crying out aloud, St. George! St. George! The prince himself riding continually up and down with his banner before him, to succour his people where-soever need should be of his presence : then by the advice of lord Chandois, (seeing the discomfiture of the two first battles) he with his men of arms and valiant soldiers, bore down full on the third battle, led by the king of France himself, which also, after a long and obstinate resistance, was put to flight, and the king was taken prisoner.

Grafton,
Holling-
head, Stow,
&c.

King Henry the Fifth at the battle of Agincourt, having chosen a convenient spot to martial his men ; sent privately two hundred archers into a low meadow which lay on one side of his army, where they were so well secured by a deep ditch, and marsh, that the enemy could not come near them : then he divided the foot into three squadrons, or battles ; the *a warde*, composed entirely of archers ; the *middle warde*, of bill-men only ; and the *rere-warde*, of bill-men and archers mixed together ; the horsemen as wings went on every side of the battle.

Stratagems, &c. whereby the enemy were annoyed.

Nic. Trivet. The Welch in the reign of Edward the First, (as we have seen already) got themselves close together, having long spears planted in the earth, which they pointed to the enemy, to secure themselves from being trodden down by their cavalry.

cavalry. This invention Henry the Fifth improved at the battle of Agincourt, for he caused to be made stakes of wood, about five or six foot long, headed with sharp iron; these were fastened in the ground, and the archers so placed before them, that they were entirely hid from the sight of the enemy; who, well mounted on strong horses, came on with the utmost impetuosity, to run down and disorder the archers; but when the horsemen were so near them, as to render it impossible for them to stop their horses, the archers shrunk at once behind the stakes, and the Frenchmen rode full upon them; so goreing the horses, and overthrowing their riders in such dreadful confusion, that the foot men, who were to support the encounter feared to follow. Then the English archers layed aside their bowes, and took axes, bills, gloves, and swords, and slue the Frenchmen till they came to the middle-warde: "This device," says Hall, "of fortifying of an armie with stakes, was at this tyme first devised and practised, but since that tyme they have devised, caltropes, harrowes, and other newe trickes."

Vide Graft.
Hollingf.
Stow, &c.

Hall's Uniq.
on, p. 49.

The Scots put in practice another method of defeating the cavalry, for they, says Stow, (speaking of the battle of Shrivelin, in the sixth year of Edward the Second) having gotten the most convenient place in the field for victory, made ditches in the ground three foote deepe, and the like in breadth, from the right wing of the armie, unto the left, covering the same with weake twigs, or herdes, and againe over with turfe and grasie, which was not able to beare horsemen: and this stratagem had the desired effect, for the English horse coming furiously down upon the Scots, broke in the slight covering, and were totally overthrowen in the ditches.

Stow's
Chron. pag.
216.

King Henry the Fourth, at the battl fought at Shrewsbury, against Henry Percy, and the Scottishe earle Dowglais, caused Sir Walter Blunt, and four others to be apparelled in his suit, and arms, with banners like his own, born before them; (for he well knew that his person would in chief be aimed at) and this seems to have been a lucky stratagem, for Sir Walter Blunt, and three more of the others were slain by Dowglais, who, says Grafton, cried out, "I marvell to see so many kings to arise so sodainely!"

Grafton
p. 425.

Wherein the English had the Advantage over the Enemy.

The English had the advantage over the enemy in former days, chiefly by their archers, and light armed troops: archers, slingers, darters, &c. are particularly useful in eight grand points.

First, To begin the fight.

Secondly, To provoke the enemy, to harraß and draw him from his advantageous post.

Thirdly, To wound the enemy at a distance.

Fourthly, To disorder the enemy as he makes his approach.

Fifthly, To gaul the horses.

Sixthly, To cope with, and hinder efforts of the light armed troops of their antagonists.

Seventhly, To scout, and discover ambushes, as well as to lie in ambush themselves.

And Eighthly, In making speedy, and sudden attempts in time of battle.

How

How much praised (and how deservedly) our own light troops, and archers in particular, have been; the various chronicles of every neighbouring nation, as well as those of our own, will plainly set forth. It will be needless, perhaps, also to say, that every battle almost since the Conquest, to the end of this æra, was chiefly won by the bravery and good service of the archers, slingers, &c. Their performances at the famous battles of Cressy, where they overcame the Genoese cross-bowmen; at Poitiers where they routed the cavalry of the French; and at Agincourt, where from the meadow they disordered the well-set battles of the French, are facts so notoriously known, that they need no further be insisted upon in this place: but I will conclude this subject, with the words of a very learned and ingenious man, who perfectly well understood the use of the bow, and is consequently much better able than myself to support the argument. "I may not" (says he) "premitte the praise of our nation in this skill. Our own stories testify, that the great batailles, we gayned against the French, were gayned by the joint-shooting of our archers principally. And that the English have heretofore excelled in archery and shooting, is cleere by the testimony even of strangers. *Cicuta* commending the use of bows, as necessary for the service of the field, (and that long after guns were invented) prefereth the English before all other, and setteth them downe, as a patterne for others to follow. And *Patritius*, disputing of the violence of arrows, doubteth not to affirme, *that an English arrowe with a litle waxe put upon the point of the head, wil passe through any ordinary corsette or curace.*" And afterwards adds, "all the wonders done by the Parthian bowes, were notwithstanding not to be compared to our auncient English bowes, either for strength, or for shooting." Then in a very learned manner, he draws a comparison between the use of bowes, as formerly practiced, and of guns, as used at the time in which he wrote, (which was in the reign of king James the First) wherein he proves that archery ought not to be neglected, and that in many points it exceeded even the musket. "Surely (says he) it may not be denied, that the force of fire weapons of our time, doth farre exceed the height of all old inventions, for annoying the enemy. And when I have given them the first place, I will not doubt to give the second to bowes and arrowes: being so far from casting them of, that I would rather follow the wisdom of the Græcians; who albeit they esteemed arrowes the best flinging weapons, yet thought it not amiss to hold in use slings and darters; for every weapon hath its property; and that which is fitt for one service, is not so fitt for another." And after he continues thus: "Nowe then for us to leave the *bowe* being a weapon of so great efficacy, so ready, so familiar, and as it were so domesticall to our nation, to which wee were wont to bee accustomed from our cradle, because other nations take themselves to the *musket*, hath not so much as any shewe of reason. Other nations may well forbear that they never had: neither Italian nor Spaniard, nor Frenche nor Dutche, have these five hundred years been accounted *archers*; it was a skill almost appropriated to our nation: by it we gayned the batailles of Cressy, of Poitiers, of Agincourt, in France; of Navarre in Spaine; by it we made ourselves famous over Christendome. And to give it over upon a conceit only (for no experience can say that our *bowe* was ever beaten out of the field by the *musket*) will prove an imitation of *Æsop's* dogge, whoe carrying a piece of fleshe in his mouth over a river, and seeing the shadowe in the water, snatched at the shadowe,

and

John Bingham's notes upon the Tactics of Ælian, pag. 25 and 6.

Aurel Cicuta de Discip. Mili. lib. 2, fol. 206. Patrit. Paral. parte secundæ, lib. 3. fol. 37.

test the fleshe. I speake not this to abase the service of *muskets*, which all men must acknowledge to be great; I only shewe, there may bee good use of *bowes*, if our archers were such as they were wont: which is not to bee dispaired, and will easily come with exercise."

We are yet further to understand, that the archers were not only useful with their bows, but fought also with other weapons: an extraordinary instance is given us by Hollinghead, at the battle of *Aulroy*, the 38th year of Edward the Third; "The Frenchmen (says he) after the manner of that age, every man hadde cutte his speare (as then they used, at what time they should join bataille) to the lengthe of five foote, and a short axe hanging at his side: at the firste encounter, there was a sore battaile, and truelie the archers shotte right fiercelie, howbeit their shotte did but little hurte to the Frenchemenne, they were so well armed and paved: the archers perceiving that (being bigge men and light) cast away their bowes and entred in amongst the Frenchemenne that bare axes, and plucked them out of their handes, and therewith fought right hardly." At the battle of Agincourt, as has already been mentioned, the archers laid their bows down, and "took axes, bills, and glaves, and slue the Frenchmen, till they came to the middle ward:" and at the skirmish, in which lord Talbot was taken, (the seventh year of the reign of Henry the Sixth) Grafton informs us that divers archers of the English, which had shot all their arrows, having only their swords, defended themselves, and with the helpe of some of their horsemen, got themselves safe to *Meun*.

Holl.Chron.
p. 970.

Graft. 536:
Vide page
33 of this
vol.

The next thing to which our ancestors owed their victories, was the courage and bravery of their leaders, who were generally men trained up to the wars from their youth; for the rough soldier in those days was more beloved and regarded, than the polite and polished courtier.

Our noble hero, Edward the First, at a tournament, (or rather battle) coped with the earl of *Chabloun*, who was esteemed a stout and valiant warrior: after some strokes had passed, the earl cast his arms around the king's neck, intending by the weight of his body (for he was a man of very large stature) to have dragged the king from his horse; but he keeping himself upright upon his saddle, and setting his spurs to his horse's sides, carried the earl from his saddle, and by main force shook him from him to the ground; and he coming to regain his honour, and revenge his disgrace, turned (says Walsingham) a sportive play into a tumultuous battle; but he and his met with such a reception from the king and his party, that he was glad to retreat.

Walsing-
ham, in vit.
Edwardi
prim, fol. 3.

And our historians tell us that Richard *Cœur de Lion*, in his wars abroad, stood upon the draw-bridge of a city, and with his battle ax,

"The thyne in tuo dede betw."

Vide the
Chron of
Rob. de
Brunner.

and again, says an old chronicler, speaking of the acts of the above prince,

Ther armour ferde as yt wer ware,
Agensse Kyng Richarde ys are;
The Sarazynes, as y now telle,
Wende he were a sende of Helle.

MS. Har-
lean Lib.
No. 4690.

Vide Speed, King Edward the Third, when he was in France, being to pass the river *Some*,
p. 688. at a ford called *Blanch Tacque*, his soldiers seeming rather backward, he entered the river first, calling out to his followers, "He that loves me, let him follow me;" as tho' he had resolved either to conquer, or to die in the attempt: and both this king and his son, prince Edward, were always foremost in danger, hastening to succour and relieve their soldiers, wheresoever they might be oppressed by the enemy; and exhorting them to think of their own honour, and follow the glorious example, which they themselves (their leaders) were always the first to set them. What a nervous energetic speech, was that of the Black Prince, to his officers and soldiers, before the battle of Poitiers:—*My good lords and friends, (says he) tho' the number of our army is but small, compared with the great forces of the king our enemy, yet let us not despair: the victory falls not always with the greatest numbers, but there where it pleases Almighty God to send it. If the glory of this day should be ours, the whole world will honour us, and if we fall, we fall gloriously! and my lord the king, my father, my brothers, and your good friends, will amply revenge our fall: therefore I beg you all, that you would all exert the utmost of your valour this day; and for my own part, I promise you, if it please God and Saint George, I will do the part of a good and valiant knight.* Surely here is the true fire of a noble soldier, in this short oration! and how well was it calculated (together with his brave example) to inspire his soldiers with the love of glory! and shall we here pass over unnoticed, that great and valiant hero, Henry the Fifth? a glorious prince, and a brave and noble soldier: In short, where shall the annals of any nation be found, that can boast a more numerous series of great and valiant men, than our own histories? Take the true picture of a soldier, from the industrious Stow,—“A monk coming to the duke of Clarence, (to implore him to save the monastery of St. Stephen's at Canoe) in the dead of night, found him lying in complete harness, in a garden upon the grass, with his head upon a stone.” How would such a pillow suit the softness of the present age? But now we will conclude this subject, with a passage from Hall's union, speaking of the two armies preparing for the battle of Bosworth field, in which king Richard the Third was slain; *Our armie (says he) espyed the other, lord howe hastily the soldourers buckled their helmes, how quickly the archers bent their bowes and trusted their scabbards, how readily the byemen shoke their bylles and proved their staves, ready to joyn when the terrible trumpet should swonde the bluddy blaste to victorie or deathe.*

MS. Froissart, v. 2, lixii. 23.

See all the Chronicles.

Stow's Chron. pag. 354.

Hall's Union, p. 351.

Warlike Habits, &c.

Vide Speed, The kings went royally habited to the wars, with their standards borne before them: thus the Chronicles report of Henry the Fifth, that at Agincourt he rode in the main battle compleatly armed; his shield quartered with the royal achievements of England and France: upon his helmet he wore a coronet, circled with pearls and pretious stones of inestimable price*: his horse of fierce courage,

* And after the victory (say the Chronicles) he would not suffer his helmet, cut and bruised with the heavy blows he sustained in the battle, to be shewn to the people, but ordered all his men to give the glory to God alone. Stow's Chron. p. 351.

courage, prancing as he went; the bridle and furniture was of gold-smith's work, and the caparisons were most richly embroidered, with the victorious ensigns of the English monarchy: before him was borne the royal standard, which was ornamented with gold and glorious colours, with many other banners in warlike order waving in the wind.

Edward the Third, at the battle of Cressy, wore a chaplet of pearls upon his helmet. A crown, or some such distinguishable mark, being always worn by the kings in battle; so that when Maudlin was set up to counterfeit Richard the Second, he had a crown put upon his helmet, that the people might be deceived, and take him for the king.

Froissart
MS. vol. 1.
Stow 351.
Ibid 325.

The lords often carried their soldiers to the wars, all armed in the same livery or arms, which were the badges of their Lords. See the soldiers of the earl of Warwick, plates 31 and 32 of this volume, who wear the ragged staff on their armour, which was his badge.

The Arms, &c. of the English.

The ordinance for arms, in the time of Edward the First, as in an old MS. of that age in my own possession, runs thus, Comaunde per le roy, que chekun homme tpt en la mesoun pour'e armur, pour la pes garder, selon le auncien assise; ces est asavour, que chekune homme entre 15 auns et 60, septent assis et jures, as armes selon la quantite de lur terres, et de lur chatens; ces est asavour, a 15 libers de tere, & de chatens de 40 marc, Habergeun, chapel de ter, espeye, cotel, et chyval; & 10 livres de tere, & chatens de 20 marc, Habergeun, chapel, espeye, et cotel; & cent soutes de tere, Purpoynet, chapel, espeye, cotel; & 40 soutes de tere, et de plus dekes a cent soutes des terres, espeye, ark, cotel, et fetes; e que ad meynes des chatens de 40 soutes, sept lunc as, faus, gyfarms, coteaux, & autres menus armes; & tous les autres qui pobut, ave ark, et fetes hors de foreste; et en foreste, ark & piles. It is commanded by the king, that every man should have in his house, arms, to arm himself with, for the keeping of the king's peace, according to the ancient statutes: that is to say, every man from the age of 15 to 60, should be sworn to have arms according to the quantity of land, and value of the chattles that he should possess; every man who had fifteen pounds in land, and chattles to the amount of 40 marks, should provide for his use, an harbergeon, an iron helmet, a sword, and a dagger, and a horse; every man having 10 pounds in land and 20 marks in chattles, an harbergeon, helmet, sword, and dagger; and all having 100 shillings † in land, a purpoint, helmet, sword, and dagger; and very one possessing from under 100 shillings, to 40, shall have a sword, a bow, a dagger, and a lance; and all that possess chattles to the amount of 40 pence, shall have bills, gisarms, daggers, and other commoner arms: and all others who could should have bows and arrows, living without the forest; and all living within the forest, should have a bow, and piles. It was also further ordered, that constables, and proper officers, should make search in every house, to see that the armes were kept in due order, and ready for service; and these officers made their report accordingly, to the justices who were ordained for that purpose.

Edward

† I think *soutes* should be translated shillings, and not pence, from the latin word *solidus*; and here-in I am confirmed by a book entitled Magna Carta, printed by Petyt, in the year 1543.

Ibid. M S.

Edward the Second, made, (says an old Chronicle) every towne of England finde a manne of armes, on her owne costage, in his weyes agenste the Scottes, wherfor he wrote into Scottelond with 100,000 menne of armes, at Willefouthe, A.D. 1322: and, says the same author, when this king was fearful of his queen and son, who were raising forces against him; he ordeinede in every hundredde, and every wapentake of England, 11000 of men of armes, and soteremen, which wezen put in diuise sommes, as som man was a Keeper of 20, and som men of 100, and he also commaunde alle these to bee in reddynesse, at the lealle calle or signal, to isshue forth*.

The chief offensive Arms of the ENGLISH, were as follows :

The *long lances*, and *tilting lances*; the staves were mostly made of Oak.

The *darts*, which the Pavifiers used.

Gloves.

Bills.

Axes.—One sort of these axes had three spikes set on the edge; this weapon seems to be entirely appropriated to the leaders and chief men; we see in plate 44, of this volume, the king constituting the earl of Warwick governor and general, by giving him this ax.—

The *bipennis*.

The *Sword*.

The *Dagger*.

The *long bow*.

The *cross bow*.

The *hand gun*, this instrument originally was without any cock: I take that to be the hand gun, which the soldier plate 4, fig 1, bears upon his shoulder; the original of this figure is as early as the beginning of the reign of Henry the Sixth.

Quarrels for the *cross bows*.

And *barbed arrows*, for the *long bows*; which were as we have heard already full one yard in length.

Brute of
England M.
S. in Bib.
Hail. No.
24.

How far the archers with the *long bow*, could send an *arrow*, is not certain; but with the *cross bow*, they would shoot *forty rod*, for in the Dunstable Chronicle, we are told, that Henry the Fifth "came near to the city of Roan, by 40 rodes of length, within shotte of quarrell."

When the king was present in the field, the royal standard was displayed.—The lords, and barons, and bannerets, had banners with their arms; and the knight batchelor displayed his streamer or penon.

Their *tents* were much upon the same principle throughout the whole æra; plate 4, fig. 22, of this volume, is a tent, during the reign of king Richard the Second; and those fig. 21, of the same plate, are as old as the reign of Henry the Sixth; and see several also of the following reigns, in the various plates given in this volume.

In

* For the better preservation of the peace in the realm, and to give an immediate alarm, beacons were made and placed in the high places about the kingdom; these, says Lambard, before the time of Edward the Third, were made of great stacks of wood; but about the eleventh year of his reign, it was ordeined, that in our shire (Kent) they should be high standards with pitch pots. Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, page 69.

In an old M. S. chronicle is a balade, made on the victory gained by Edward the Third, over the Scots at Halldowne hill, in which are these lines, that speak of the warlike instruments of music then in use.

M. S. Chronicle in the Harl. Lib. No. 4690.

This was do with myrre sowne,
With pipes Trompes and Tabers thereto,
And loude clazionnes theri blew also.

And in the prose account of the battle,—then the Engliche mynstrells beten their tabers, and blew their Trompes, and pipes pipedene loudre, and made a grette schowte upon the Skotter.— Ibid. fol. 79.

It is extraordinary enough that king Edward, should pursue Robert Bruce, as Harding expresses it, with *horns* and *bounds*, it runs thus :

The King Edward with Hornes and Boundes him fought,
With men on fote, through mazes mosse and myre,
Through Woodes also and mounteines wher they fought.

Stow, has added drums to the above instruments, which he places in the reign of Henry the Fourth and Fifth.

Harding's Chronicle Chap. 168. page 109.

Religious, and Domestic Buildings.

To enter into a particular description of the religious buildings of the English, would be swelling out this work to very little purpose ; since there are so many better evidences yet remaining : I mean the various stately, and beautiful edifices, as churches, chapples, and the venerable ruins of the antient abbies. Some of these must fall under the inspection of most of my readers : therefore the idea by them conveyed will be much more clear and perfect, than the most elaborate description ; besides the impossibility of giving any proper description ; for of all the buildings mentioned, it is rare indeed to meet with any two alike : my purpose is not to dwell upon things already known, but to explain and illustrate such things, as either through negligence or wilfulness have been forgot or mis-understood.

In the early part of this æra, they built with rubble stone and cement ; which was either faced with square free stone, or else with flint curiously hewn out, placed with great exactness, much in the same manner with those described before in the Norman Æra ; the Gothic stile of building almost universally prevailed, of which more is said in the first chapter of this volume.

The domestic buildings through the various reigns of this Æra, were so numerous, and so different, that only general matters can be specified : the houses of the knights, and rich gentlemen were large and capacious : the lords and barons, had stately mansions of stone : the common run of houses (especially among the middling sort of people) were built with wood ; they generally made large porches before the principal entrances, with great halls, and large parlours ; the frame work was constructed with beams of timber, of such enormous size, that the materials of one house as they built antiently would make several of equal size, according to the present mode of building : the common method of making walls was to nail laths to the timber frame, and strike them

Hollings. descrip. Brit.

over

over with a rough plaister, which was afterwards whitened, and ornamented with fine mortar, and this last was often beautified with figures, and other curious devices. In plate 4 of this volume, fig. 19, we see the plaisterer at work; the whole of the building is done over with the rough cast, while he with the trowel is laying on the finer white mortar: figure 18, exhibits an engine for drawing up the materials from below, to the scaffold: and fig. 20, exhibits the mason squaring a stone with a hatchet; some had houses built with bricks, but these were of a much more modern date.

The houses in the cities and towns, were certainly built, each story jetting forth over the former story, so that where the streets were not very wide, the people at the top, from opposite houses might not only talk, and converse with each other, but even shake hands together; their houses were covered with tiles, shingles, slates, or lead; except in the city of London, where the use of shingles were forbid; for the magistrates were obliged (says an old book, entitled the Chronicle of London) to enquire yf ther be any Houſe in the Ward, that is hylled without other thyng than tyle, or ſlat, or lede, for perrell of fyre: and further "yf ther be any chement that hath a recydos made uncomly other wyſe than it ought to be; for perrell of fyre." also "if any Baker, or Brewar, hete ther ovenis or other furnye (for furnace) wpyth ſtawe, or reydre, or any other thinge, that might cauſe perrell of fyre." also "every Ward must have a racke, with two longe cheynes of yrne (Iron) and two ladders redy for perrell of fyre." also "every Houſe must have a Tubbe with water, redy for perrell of fyre." And in the scavengers oath, was that they should examine "that all the chimneyes, reddynges, and furnyſſes be made of ſtone, for deſent of fyre." All these judicious precautions were most strictly necessary; for the houses were all built of timber; and besides, entirely unprovided as they were with engines for throwing water, that in case of fire the conflagration must have been great and extensive.

In Candlemas day 1444, (says Caxton) Paulus ſteple was sette a fyre by ȝyghnyng, on the myddes of the ſtalle, in the tymbre, whiche was quenched by force & labour, and preſpecially by the labour of the moſtowre maſſe preſſe of the Bowe in Chepe, which was thought impossibly, ſauf only the grace of God." It was quenched (says Stow) with vinegar.

It seems they had no notion of paving the streets of their cities and towns; for Stow tells, us that the citizens of London, in the 3d year of Henry the Seventh, caused their streets to be new gravelled, because the king and queen were to make their public entry through the city. Neither were there any lamps put up on dark winter nights, for, says Stow, (speaking of the steeple of Bow church, Cheapſide, which was finished with arches and lanthorns, An. 1512) "It appeareth, that the lanthornes on the top of this steeple, were meant to have been glased, and lights in them placed nightly in the winter, whereby travellers to the city might have the better sight thereof, and not miſſe of their ways."

There were watchmen who patrolled the streets of London, and a standing watch, well armed. "Then (says Stow) had ye besides the standing watches, all in brighte harnesse, in every ward and street of this city and suburbs, and a marching watch that passed through the principall streets."

And here it may not be amiss to speak of a subject that hitherto seems to have been quite neglected, that is, the bridges used in antient times by our ancestors. It doth not appear that any stone bridges were ever made in England before the year 1118, when Matilda, queen to Henry the First, "caused (says Stow) two stone bridges to be builded in a place one mile distant from the old foord, of the which one was situated over Lee, at the head of the towne of Stratford, now called

Chronicle of
London.

Caxton Add.
to Polyechnicon, lib
8, chap. 23,
fol. 417.
Stow's Survey, p. 358.
Stow's
Chron 473.

Stow's
Survey, page
269.

Ibid. p. 84.

called *Bow*, because the bridge was arched like unto a *bow*; a rare piece of worke, for before this time the like had never beene seene in England: the other bridge was over the little brooke, commonly called *Chanelbridge*; and before this time (continues the same author) all the great bridges of this realm were made of timber; as was the bridge of London, even in the year 1136, the first year of the reign of Stephen, when it was burnt down, and was again rebuilt with new timber in the year 1163: and in the year 1176, was begun a bridge of stone, which was full three and thirty years before it was compleatly finished. From this time stone bridges became very common; and in the latter ages they built bridges (even of several arches) with bricks.

Stow's
Chron. 139.

Stow's Sur-
vey, page 7
& 8.

At the sieges of castles or cities, or to convey an army over any dangerous waters, temporary bridges were made of boats and barges fastened together, and planks of wood laid over them; as in the old Chronicle of Peter Langtoft, improved by Robert de Brunne, we are told, that Edward the First did at Snowdown.

Botre he toke and barges the sides togidere knytte
Over the water that large is, fro bank to bank rought ftre,
Thei fleked them overthwart, iustly for to ligge,
Over the water line; it was so ordeyned a brigg.

R. de Brunne
page 241.

This bridge says Hollingshead, “contained roomth for sixty armed men to pass afront.” And, says Stow, “when king Henry the Fifth came before *Melun*, which town was situated on an island, between two arms of the sea, so that there was no coming at it by land, but by the bridge; and by water no vessels could come, because the bed of the river was so thick set with strong piles: besides this, the town was defended with strong high walls, and well furnished with men, and ammunition and provision. Then the king, when he had well considered the strength of the place, caused his smaller vessels to approach, and clear the river of the piles, which was at last with infinite labour performed; then he fastened all those vessels together with strong chains of iron, (making a firm and substantial bridge) and built thereon strong towers of wood to assault the town; but when those within saw all these preparations, they capitulated, and the town was yielded up.”

Stow's
Chron. page
359.

Grafton tells us, that the French men, in the eleventh year of Henry the Sixth, “departed from the fort under the Yeore, over a bridge which they had made of tonnes.”

Graft. 556.

State of Government, &c. of the ENGLISH.

The government of this kingdom by a royal sovereign, hath been as ancient as history is, or the memorial of any time. The *soveraigntie* before the reign of Henry the Third, had a very full power. Rex habet protestatem et jurisdictionem super omnes qui in regno suo sunt; ea quæ sunt jurisdictionis & pacis ad nullum pertinent nisi ad regiam dignitatem; habet etiam coercionem, ut delinquentes puniat et coerceat. And again, Omnes sub rege, et ipse sub nullo nisi tantum Deo; non est inferior sibi subjectis, non parem habet in regno suo.

Vide Jen-
kins, p. 1.
Bracton
temp H 3.
lib. 4. cap.
24, sect. 1.
Ibid. Brac.
sect. 5.
Ibid. lib. 3,
cap. 7.

And

Camden's
Brit. fol. 109

And further, *Rex non habet superiorem nisi Deum* ; satis habet ad pœnam quod Deum expectat ultorem. All which evidently prove the great extent of the supreme power which was invested in the kings ; and that as Camden has it, the king is the most excellent part of the commonwealth, next unto God ; he is under no vassalage ; he takes his investiture from no man ; he acknowledges no superior but God alone.

Jenkins,
p. 2.

The law of the land hath three grounds ; first, *custom* ; secondly, *judicial records* ; and thirdly, *acts of parliament*. The two latter are but declarations of the *common law* and *custom* of the realm, touching *royal government* ; and this, law of *royal government*, is a *law fundamental*. From William the Conqueror, till the reign of John, the customs of the realm touching *royal government*, were never questioned, but those kings enjoyed them in a full measure : But in John's time the lords, barons, and Commons, &c. of the realm, conceiving that the ancient customs and rights were violated, pressed the king to sign the charters of their liberties, which were afterwards confirmed by his son king Henry the Third, and are called *Magna Charta* et *Charta de Foresta*.

The king of England hath his title to the crown, and to his kingly office and power, not by way of trust from the two houses of parliament, or from the people, but by inherent birthright from God, Nature, and the Law.

Coke tit.
Treason.

Jenkins,
p. 56.

Jenkins.
page 74.

There was never any king deposed but in tumultuous times, by the power of armies, led on by those who were to succeed them ; therefore all deposers were traitors, as appears by the resolution of all the judges of England. And usurpers that come in by the consent of the people, are kings *de facto* but not *de jure*, as appears by the acts of parliament declaring them so and by all our books of law, and the fundamental constitution of the land ; regal power is hereditary, and not elective : and to affirm the king's power is separable from his person, is high treason.

The division of honourable dignities were antiently only eleven, till the addition of the knight baronets made twelve.

First the king, secondly the prince, thirdly the duke, fourthly the earl, fifthly viscount, sixthly the marquis, seventhly the baron ; and these seven were called princely, and allowed to wear coronets. The other five were only noble, as first the knight baronet, secondly the knight banneret, thirdly the knight batchelor, fourthly the esquire, and fifthly the gentleman.

Hollingshead,
p. 1065.
Grafton's
chron. page
645.

The king, when he received any foreign ambassay, or gave public audience, was seated under his rich canopy of state, upon a splendid throne, above the rest of the attendant lords, who were ranged according to their ranks and degrees on either side ; when they went to their parliaments they were royally habited : thus says Hollingshead, in the eleventh year of the reign of king Richard the Second, the king, when the lords were assembled in the great hall at Westminster, “ apparelled himselfe in his kingly robes, and with his scepter in his hand came in unto them ; ” and says Grafton, Henry the Sixth, though yet an infant, was brought (to the parliament house) through the city of London, upon a stately courser, with great triumph.

Ibid, p. 807.

On saints days, they often shewed themselves with great splendour, going to church in solemn procession, or else they rode through the city, where they might at that time keep their court ; thus says Grafton, “ king Richard the Third appeared at York in habite royall, with his scepter in his hande, and diademe on his head, and made proclamation, that all persons should resort to

York

York on the day of the assention of oure lorde, where all men shoulde both beholde him and his queene, and prince, in their high estates and degrees, and also for their good wylls, should receyve many thanks. At the daye appointed, the whole clergie assembled in copes richelye revested, and so with a reverent ceremonie went about the citie in procession; after whome followed the king with his crowne and scepter, appareled in his circote robe royall, accompanied with no small number of the nobilitie of hys realme: after whome marched the queene Anne hys wyfe, lykewyse crowned, leading on her left hande prince Edwarde her sonne, having on hys head a demv crowne, appointed for the degree of a prince." And when they thus rode in procession, the sword of state was borne before them.

How much a grand appearance was affected in this Æra, may be seen from the following passages.

When Richard the Second met the French king, to confirm his marriage with the young Isabel, there were erected three rich and splendid pavillions; one for the king of England, one for the French king, and the third, which was in the middle, for them both to meet and confer in: and on each side from the other two pavillions to the middle one, were placed 400 knights richly armed, with their swords drawn in their hands; on the English side the knights were habited in the arms of England, and the French knights on the other side, were in the arms of France.

And when Henry the Fifth met the king of France, to conclude the peace, and settle his marriage with Catherine, the French king's daughter; there were erected three pavillions, but I will quote the very words of Hall, a faithful and good historian.—The Frenchmen (says he) diked, trenched, & paled their lodgynges, for fear of after-clappes. But the Englishmen had their parte only baryed & parted: the Kyng of Englande had a large tent of blew velvet & grene richely embroidered with two debises; the one was an antlop drawing in an hoxe mille; the other was an antlop sityng in an high stage with a braunche of olife in his mouthe: and the tente was replenished & decked with this poysie. After busie labour commeth victorious rest. And on the top and height of the same was set a greate eagle of golde, whose eyes wer of such orient diamondes that they glistered and shone over the whole feld.

The frenche Kyng likewise had in his parke a faire pabillon of blue velvet richly embroidered with flower deluce, on the toppe of the same was set a white harte flying, made all of fyne silver with wynges enameled. Between these two camps or enclosures was appointed a tent of purple velvet for the counsaillors to mete in; & every parte had an egall nombre to watche on the night and to se good oyre on the daye.

And, says the same author, when king Edward the Fourth met the French king, "he with foure other, were appareled in clothe of golde frised;" And king Edward had on his head, "hys bonet of blacke velvet & a floure depece of golde, set with very ryche orient stones."

Let us now conclude with saying something of public entries, and the grand receptions made by the Londoners to several of the kings of England.

The Londoners, in order to make their peace with king Richard the Second, (whom they had very much offended) met him at Black Heath, as he and his queen were coming unto Westminster, and entreated him to pass through London on his way, to which he at last consented. The citizens were in number full 400, all dressed in one livery, and well mounted on horseback. These

Vide Frois-
sart, vol. 4.
Grafton.

Hall's Uni-
on of the
Houses of
York and
Lancast. p.
50.

Hall's
Union, page
234.

Fabian's
Chron. vol. 2
fol. 147.

ducted the king (says Fabian) till he came to London bridge, where (says my author) he was presented wth two fayre sledes, trapped in ryche clothe of golde partyd of redde and whyte, (one for him, the other for his queen) then ryding on til he came to the standarde in Chepe, the cytezens of the cyte standynge upon eyther syde of the strettes in there lyberyes, and cryeng Kyng Rycharde, Kyng Rycharde, and at there bakes the wyndowps and wallys hanged wth al ryche tappettes & clothes of assail in moste goodlye & shewyng wyse. And at the sayd standarde in Chepe, was ordeigned a sumptuousse stage, in the whych were sette divers personages in ryche apparel, amonge the whych an awgell (angel) was ordeigned, whyche set a ryche crowne of golde garnysched wth stone & perle uppon the Kynge's heide, & another on the queens as they passed by."

The victorious Henry the Fifth, returning from France, the mayor and aldermen (says an old Chronicle, written in the beginning of the reign of Henry the Sixth) with a great number of citizens, to the amount of 20,000, rode to welcome him home, and met him at Black Heath, from whence they conducted him to London, where, (continues my author) he was "riolly receyvet with procession and song, (sailing him Lord of England! Flower of the World! and Soldier of Christ! And when he was come to London brigge, wher as were two tuzettes on the draw brigge, & a gret geaunt (giant) & on the tuzettes stondyng a lyon & a antelope. With many angesles syngyng, Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord; & so he rode forth into London, & the stretes were riolly hanget with rich clothes, & in Cozubyke was made a riol toune full of pataiches (patriarchs) syngyng, Sing unto the Lord a new song, praise his name in the Holy Church: & they kest down quyk biddes (live birds) which flawe (flew) thikke about the Kyng: & when he came into Chepe the condites ranne wyne, & on the gret conduit were 12 apofficles syngyng, Have mercy on my soul, Oh Lord! and 12 Kynges knelyng cast downe oblays (oblations) welcomet hym home. And the cross in the Chepe was riolly arayet like a castle, with toures pight full of banceys, and thetyn angesles syngyng Nobell, Nobell: gybyng belandres (perhaps for basons) of golde to the Kyng, & so he rode forth to Paules where as mette hym 14 bisshoppes * [rebrefted & mytpride with sensounz to welcome hym] & al the belles ronge agaynes hym; & there he alight and went to the hye awter (altar) & there thei song Te Deum Laudamus; & from thense he rode forth to his palice at Westmynstre."

Fabian has given a long and circumstantial account of the publick entry into London of the young unfortunate king Henry the Sixth, (the son of the above-mentioned noble hero Henry the Fifth.) This entry was made on his return from France, where at Paris he was crowned king of France, according to the solemn agreement made between his father and Charles the French king. As the Chronicle of Fabian is now become very scarce, I present my readers with the account of this grand procession, word for word, as I found it.

What

* What is enclosed in the parenthesis, is added from the Dunstable Chronicle.---Here note, that the songs in the original are in Latin: I have given the meaning as near as I could in English.

When the kynge was comen to the brydge, there was deuyled a myghty gyaunt standyng wyth a swerde drawyn, havyng thys speeche wryten by hym.

Fabian's
Chronicle,
vol. 2, page
186.

All tho' that ben enemyes to the kyng,
I shall them clothe with confusyon.
Make hym myghty by vertuous lyving,
His mortall soon to oppresse and bere downe,
And hym to encrease as Christes champion,
All mischeves from hym to abridge
With grace of God at the entry of this brydge.

And whan the kyng was passed the fyrste gate, and was comen to the draue brydge, there was ordeyned a goodly towre hanged and appazayled with sylke and clothes of aras, in mosse ryche wyse, out of whiche todaynly appered three ladyes rycheley cladde in golde and sylke, with coronettes upon theyr heddes, wherof the fyrst was named Dame Nature, the second Dame Grace, and the thyrde Dame Fortune, the whiche unto the Kyng had this speche.

We ladies thre all by one consent,
Thre ghostly gyftes hevynty & dyvyne,
To the Sir Kynge, as now we do present.
And to thyne hyghnes here we do this tyme,
Utterly shewe and them determyne.
As I grace, fyrst at thy comynge,
Endowe the with scyence and connyng.

And I nature, with strengthe and fayrnesse,
For to be loved and drad of every wyghte,
And I fortune, prosperyte and rychesse,
The to defende and to gyve the myght,
Longe to enjoye and to holde thy trewe ryght,
In vertuous lyfe with honour to procede,
That thy two ceptours thou may well possede.

There was also in the sayd towre, 14 vyrgyns, all clothed in whyte, wherof 7 stode upon the ryght hande of the sayd 3 ladyes, & 7 upon the left hande; the 7 upon the ryght hande had bawdrykes of saphyr colour or blew; and the other 7 had theyr gaymentes powdred with sterres of gold; than the first 7 presented the kynge with the 7 gyftes of the Holy Ghost, as sapience, intelligency, good counsayll, strengthe, cunnynge, pyte, (piety) and drede of God. And the other 7 gave hym the 7 gyftes of grace, in maner as foloweth.

God the endowe with crowne of glory,
And with the ceptre of clenness and pyte
And with a swerde of myghte and victorie
And with a mantell of prudence clad thou be
A shyld of fayth for to defend the
An helme of helthe wrought to thyne encrease,
Gyrte with a gyrdyll of love and parfyte peace.

And after they had thus saluted the Kyng, anone they beganne thys roundell wyth an hevenly melodye, and songe as foloweth.

Soverayne Lorde, welcome to your cytye,
 Welcome our joye, and our hartes pleasure
 Welcome our gladnesse welcome our suffysaunce
 Welcome welcome, ryghte welcome must ye be.
 Syngynge before thy royall mageste
 We saye with harte withouten varyaunce
 Soverayne Lord, now welcome out of France

The mayre and cytesyns with all the comynalte
 Rejoyse your comynge newly out of France,
 Whereby this cytie and they relevyd be
 Of all theyr sorow and former grevaunce.
 Wherefore they saye and synge without grevaunce
 Welcome welcome welcome our hartes joye,
 Welcome you be unto your owne newe Troye.

Then the Kyng rode forth a softe pace, tyll he came at the entree of Cornhill, where upon the hylle was ordeyned a tabernacle of curpous worke, in which stood Dame Sapience, and about her the 7 arts or sciences, liberall as first gramer, logike, rhetorike, musyke, arithmetick, geometry, & astronomye, everych of them exercysynge theyr connyng & facultye, and the Lady her selfe hadde thys speche to the Kyng.

Lo I chyefe pryncesse, dame Sapience
 Shewe unto you this sentence of scripture
 Kynges that ben most of excellence
 By me they reygne, and moste joye endure
 For through my helpe and my besy cure,
 To encrease theyr glory & theyr high renowne,
 They shall of wysdome have full possession.

Then the Kyng passed on tyll he came to the conduyte in Cornhill, where was set a Pageant made circle wyse, & in the summet or toppre thereof, was set a chyld of wonderfull beaute, apparyled lyke a Kyng. Upon whose ryght hand satte Lady Mercy, and upon the lefte hande Lady Truth, and over them stode Dame Clennesse, embrasyng the Kynges trone. Then before the Kyng stode two judges and 8 sergeantes of the corpe. And Dame Clennesse had thys speche to the vi Henry the Kyng.

Lo by the sentence of prudent Salomon
 Mercy and ryght preservyn every kyng
 And I clennesse observed by reason
 Kepe his trone from myschyfe and fallynge,
 And maketh it stronge with longe abydynge
 So I conclude that we ladyes thre,
 A kyng preserve in longe prosperite.

And Davyd sayd, the psalme beryth wytnesse,
 Lorde God thy dome thou to the kynge;
 And gyve to hym thy trowth and ryghtwytnesse,
 The kynges sonne here on erth lyvyng.
 And thus declared he by his wrytyng
 That kynges and prynces shuld about them drawe
 Folke that ben trewe and well lerned in lawe.

After this the Kyng rode forth a quycker pace tyll he came unto the Conduyt in Chepe, where were ordeyned dyvers wellys, as the Welle of Grece, the Welle of Grace, and the Welle of Pyte. And at every Welle a Lady standynge, that mynystred the Water of every Welle to such as wolde aske it, and that Water was turned into good Wyne.

About these Welles were set dyvers trees wyth flourysshynge leves and fruytes, as oranges, almandes, pomegranades, olyves, tymones, dates, peppys, quynces, blaunderelles, peches, and other moze comon fruytes, as cokerides, wardens, pomewardens, rycardons, dampsyns, and plummes, wyth other fruytes longe to reherse, the which were so cunnunly wrought, that to many they appered naturall trees growynge.

In the bordour of this delicious place whych was named Paradyse, stode two forgytten faders, resemblynge Enoch and Hely, the whych had thys sayenge to the Kyng.

Ennok fyrste with a benygne chere,
 Prayed God to upholde his prosperite;
 And that none enemyes have of the power
 Nor that no chylde of false iniquyte,
 Have power to perturbe thy felycyte.
 This olde Ennok to processe can well tell
 Prayed for the kyng as he rode by the welle.

After Helias with his lokkys hore,
 Sayde well devoutely lokynge on the kyng,
 God conserve the and kepe evermore,
 And make the blyssed here on erth lyvyng
 And preserve the in all maner thyng,
 And speycyall amonge kynges all,
 In enemyes handes that thou never fall.

And that speche synished, the Kyng rode forth a lytell forther; and there was ordeyned a Tower garnished wyth the Armys of Englande and of Fraunce. Thys Tower was wonderfull to beholde, for there was shewed in order the tytle wyche the Kyng hadde unto the Crowne of Fraunce. And up-ryght by thys Tower stode two grene Trees, artifycally with grene levis garnished and wrought, that one beyng the genealogy of Saynte Edward, and that other of Saynte Lewys, and garnished with Leopardes and flour-delyces. And over these two aforesayd Trees was ordeyned the thynde, whych was made the forth spryng of Jesse, wherein was shewed the genealogy
 of

of our blessed Lady, sette out in most curpous wyse, ; and upon the front of
thys Tower was wryten these verses followynge.

By these two trees which here grow upright,
From St. Edwarde & also Sent Lowys ;
The rote I take, palpable to eche syght,
Conveyed by lyne from kynges of great pryce
Which some bare leopardes, & som flourdelyce,
Armys excellent of honour have no lacke,
Which the VI. Henry may now bere on his backe.

As in degree of just successiowne,
As olde cronicles truely determine ;
Unto this kyng is now descended downe,
From eyther partye right as any lyne,
Upon whose hede now freshely doth shyne
Two ryche crownes moche soveraygn & pleasaunce
To bring in peas betwene Englande & Fraunce.

Than from thys the Kyng passed on tyll he came at the Conduyt at
Paulys Gate ; where was pyghte a celestiall Trone, & therein was sette a
Personage of the Trinitye, wth a multitude of Aungels playenge and syng-
ynge upon all instrumentes of musyk. And upon the front of the sayd Trone,
was wrytten these verses or ballades followynge, the whych were spoken by
the Father unto the Kyng.

To you my aungels thys precept ye assure,
This prince that is so younge & tender of age,
That ye entende & do your besy cure,
To kepe & save hym from all mane damage,
In hys lyfe here duryng all his age
That his renowne may sprede & shyne ferre
And of his two realmes to cease the mortal warre.

And I will ferther as I shewe to hym here,
Fulfyll hym with joye & worldly habundaunce ;
And with lengthe of many a holsome yere,
I shall comfort & helpe with all pleasaunce ;
And of his lieges to have faythfull obeysaunce
And also multiply & encrease his lyne,
And cause his nobles thourgh the worlde shyne.

And thys done, he entred the Churchyard, where he was mette wth pro^{ss}cession of the Deane & the Chanons of Paulys, wth whome also in Pontificalibus came the Archbysshop of Caunterbury & Chauncelor of Englaunde, wth the Bysshop of Lyncolne, of Bathe, of Salysbury, of Norwiche, of Ely, & of Rochester, whyche so conveyed hym into the Church, & there made hys oblacions.

And that done, he took agayne his Stede at the West doze of Paulys, & so rode forth to Mestimynstre, where agayne he was of the Abbot & Covent receyved wth procession, & by them conveyed unto Saynt Edwardes shryne, & there taryed a whyle, "*Te Deum*" was songe in the Dwyer. And that finished, he was of his Lordes conveyed unto his Palays; and than the Gayre wth his Cytizens returned joyfully to London.

History of Coronations.

Perhaps there is no subject in history to be found more pleasing, or more curious, than the account of the various methods of electing kings, and the various ceremonies used at such elections. These, if regularly traced out from the manners and customs of all the different nations, and placed in a proper series, would well deserve the attention of the public. But such is the nature of the present work, that matters here touched upon must not (to keep the work in any moderate size) be lengthened with extensive comments; and add to this, that there is little else than what is strictly national, can be of much real use to the furtherance of the design; therefore I shall content myself with a short account of the ancient and more modern ceremonies of our own ancestors; with mention only of such foreign matters as are absolutely necessary for the better explanation of them.

Among the Britons, (as it is thought by many authors) such men were made Dr. Pfort, Borlase, &c. kings (or rather *vice-roys*, the Druids bearing such universal sway) as the Druids themselves should chuse forth from the rest, or else it was left to the determination of the sword.

Cæsar hath told us, that when the nation united against him as the common Cæsar's Comment, Lib. 5. foe to all, they chose for their leader an experienced chieftain, the brave Casibelan; but rent and torn as they were with different factions, and various governments, they so ill obeyed his orders, (as Cæsar himself confesses) that scattered about and divided among themselves, they opened the way for the more experienced and more politic enemy.

During the Roman government, we meet with many chiefs or kings starting up, till at length, more pleased with the Roman yoke, they in imitation of their conquerors, elected one king, or chief, who presided over them all. And in this Vide Speed. state we find them at the arrival of the Saxons, under Vortegern their chief, their leader, or their king. But yet there does not among the whole catalogue of British kings, (opposers of the Saxons) appear to be any regular and hereditary succession, for they seem to be rising up like the judges of Israel, from the valiant and great men of the realm, to save (if possible) their drooping and oppressed country.

Gildas.
Hist. Brit.

The great *Aurelius Ambrosius* was elected by the voice of the people, a brave and worthy man, whose *eulogium* the mournful Gildas has given in the following words : Duce Ambrosio Aureliano viro modesto, qui solus fuit comes, fidelis, fortis, veraxque, &c.

And among our ancestors, the ancient Saxons, the valiant men were chosen forth to be their kings or leaders, which authority only was to be held by them during the time of danger, to defend their country from its common enemy.

Veritegan,
p. 314.

The name of king itself, with our ancestors, imports a valiant man, and a leader ; for, says Veritegan, “Cuning” (the ancient Saxon word for king) “is as much in signification as one *especially valiant*, and this being the title of the chiefe of all, expresseth him the most apparent in courage or valour. And certaine it is that the kings of most nations were in the beginning elected and chosen by the people to raigne over them, in regard of the greatnesse of their courage, valour, and strength, as being therefore best able to defend and governe them. And as Olaus Magnus writeth, it was an ancient custome in the Septentrional regions, that such young noblemen or gentlemen as gave greatest prooffe of their singular valour, were by those country kings adopted to be their sonnes ; yea, and to succeed in the crowne after them, if their owne sonnes were not thought to have in them such great valour as in those times was expected. And the reason why they adopted such sonnes as aforeseyd, and thereby made them capable of succeeding them in their kingdomes was, for that (as they sayd) they might in their owne sonnes be deceived, when they saw not how they would prove, but in their adopted sonnes they could not be deceived, because they had seene of them sufficient experience and tryall already.”

Olaus Mag.
Lib. 8.

The Jews, when they referred the choice of their king to the determination of Almighty God, prayed fervently for one, who by his valour might be a constant check upon the mighty power of the surrounding nations, under whose yoke they had experienced grievous hardships. Nay, what was their expectation of the promised *Messiah*, but of a temporal chief or king, under whose victorious banner they might be led on to conquest and to glory ? whose puissant sword might with blood and destruction relieve them from the oppression of the Romans, and set them high in honour, as lords above the other nations of the universe ?

Wide pag. 87
of the 1st
vol.

The ceremonies used by the ancient Britons, at the inauguration of their kings, have not been handed down to us : but when the old Saxons had elected their chief, he was set upon a shield and borne aloft, amidst the loud applause and acclamation of the surrounding people : and somewhat of this custom the Danes preserved in setting their new-elected king upon a high stone, placed in the midst of a circle of twelve smaller stones. And this shewing of the king to the people was afterwards practised by the Saxons, even in the days of Christianity ; for Athelstan was crowned by Dunstan, at Kingston, upon a large scaffold erected in the market-place, that he might be seen and approved of by the people. But this custom is of very ancient standing, for thus Solomon was anointed in the presence of the people. “So Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah the sonne of Jehoiada, and the Cherethites, and the Pelethites went down, and caused Solomon to ride upon king David’s mule, and brought him to Eihon. And Zadok the priest tooke the horne of oyle out of the tabernacle, and anointed Solomon ; and they blew the trumpet, and all the people said, God save king Solomon ! And all the people came up after him, and the people piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy, so that the earth rent with the sound of them.”

First Book
of Kings,
1 chap. ver.
38, 39, and
40.

The

The antient ornaments placed on the heads of the chiefs and leaders, by way of distinction, were wreaths, or garlands of laurels. An old delineation (copied in the *Monarchie Francois*, of Father Montfaucon) which represents a chief elected, and set upon a shield, has therein pictured a youth, who stands on an elevation behind the chief, holding over his head a garland, which appears to be made of laurel leaves: from these honourable wreaths, came fillets*, as worn by the kings of the Grecians; circles of gold, and radiated crowns, as used by the Romans; and from thence the rich and splendid crowns, ornamented with jewels, as are exhibited on the portraitures of the kings of the latter ages. And these honorary ornaments, thus given to the valiant men, were as it were, a kind of *memento* of that confidence which the people placed in their chiefs, and they were as spurs to their valour, to lead the armies forth with intrepidity, and caution; lest by any unmanly cowardice, they should fully, or disgrace that high honour, which was bestowed upon them by the people.

The ceremony of anointing the king, at his inauguration, we seem to owe to the Jewish nation only; among whom it was esteemed as sacred, and the person so anointed, was consecrated to God; for this reason the priests were anointed, Moses, by God's command, made holy oil, "And thou shalt make an oyle of holy ointment, an ointment compound after the art of the apothecary; it shall be an holy anointing oyle." With this he was commanded to anoint the ark, the tabernacle, and all the utensils, which were to be consecrated to the Lord, and further the Lord said, "thou shalt with this oyle annoint Aaron and his sons, and consecrate them, that they may minister unto me in the priests office."

Exodus,
chap. 30,
ver. 25.

Ibid, v. 25.

And when the Lord had chosen Saul, "then Samuel took a vial of oil, and poured it upon his head, and kissed him, and said: is it not because the Lord hath annointed thee to be the captain over his inheritance?"

1 Sam. chap.
10, ver. 1.

Thus also when the Lord had chosen David from his brethren, Samuel took the horn of oyle, and anointed him in the midst of his brethren: and the spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward. And hath not the Psalmist David himself, metaphorically expressed the *Messiah*, by the epithets of "*Holy One*," and of "*The Lord's Anointed*?"

Vide Psalms
of David.

The son of Sirach also speaking in praise of the prophet Elias, or Elijah, saith "who anoynted kings for revenge, and prophets to succeed after him." The first part of this verse alludes to Elijah's being sent by God to anoint Hazael; "Go (said the Lord to him) to the wilderness of Damascus, and when thou comest, anoint Hazael to be king over Syria." This man was by God ordained, as a scourge to the Israelites, for their disobedience; for afterwards it is said, "In those days the Lord began to cut Israel short, and Hazael smote them in all the coasts of Israel." The second part of the verse is explained by the following command of God to Elijah, "and Elisha, the son of Shaphat, of Abel-Meholah, shalt thou annoint to be prophet in thy room." From all

Ecclesiasticus,
chap.
48 ver. 8.

1 Kings, 19
chap. v. 15.

2 Kings, 10
chap. v. 32.
1 Kings, 19
chap. 16 v.

these

* Some authors have affirmed, that no ornaments were worn upon the heads of the kings, or emperors, but the fillet, before the time of Constantine the Great, who wore a diadem, or circle of gold: but this must be a great mistake, for there are coins of Alexander, the son of Antony and Cleopatra, with several of Augustus, that have radiated crowns represented upon the heads on the obverse.

these instances it is plain, that the persons so anointed, were held sacred before the Lord; or as in the Holy Bible it is expressed, "the spirit of the Lord was upon them."

This custom of anointing, was also with Christianity brought into this kingdom: the exact time is uncertain, but the learned Selden has thought, that it was in use here, even before it was practised in France, Ann. Dom. 496, at the coronation of Clovis: and very likely this custom prevailed among the Christian Britons from the time of *Lucius*, the first enlightened prince of this kingdom. for it is not reasonable to suppose, that an ordinance so holy, given at first by the command of God to his people; (and after constantly continued by them, at the consecration of their priests especially, as well as at the inauguration of their kings; by which means it became as it were, a part of the antient law) should be entirely neglected. For tho' the Christian religion forbids the use of sacrifices, with many other Jewish ceremonies, yet the sacred distinction of priests, made holy before the Lord; and of kings appointed by God; was never altered that we find from any passage in the Holy Testament: nay the contrary appears in the first epistle of St. Peter, wherein we find, that the second great part of man's duty, is to respect the person of the king, as a ruler placed over him by Almighty God; "*Fear God, and honour the king,*" are the words of the apostle. Among the Christian Saxons, this sacred custom continued in full force: the antient author Bede, makes mention of the *ampula*, and *holy oil*, but in no place of his history, (either at the consecration of the ecclesiastics, or coronations of the kings) takes any notice of anointing: and indeed, after a very strict research, I meet with no particular mention of this ceremony, till the year 857, when, says Afferius in his annals, *Hunberchtus Opemtalum Anglorum Antistes unxit Oleo, consecravique in pægem Eadmundum gloriosissimum cum gaudio magno et honore maximo in Villa regia quæ dicitur Burna, quia tunc temporis regalis sedes erat, anno ætatis suæ xv.*— Which signifies *that Eadmund, in the 15th Year of his age, was, by the holy Hunberchtus, anointed with oil, and sacred king of the East Angles, with great glory and much joyfulness, at a town called Burna, then the seat of the kings of that country.*

a Gen. Epist.
of Peter, cap.
1, ver. 19.
Bede Ecclesi.
Hist. lib. 3,
cap. 15.

Afferii Annales, sub.
an. 857.

Malmf. de
gest Reg.
Ang. lib. 2,
cap. 4.
Afferius in
vita Ælfredi.

And William of Malmfbury, speaking of Ælfred, tells us, that "*unctio- nem regiam, & coronam a papa Leone olim Romæ susceperat,*" which expresses it fuller than it is done in Afferius's life of Ælfred, for he only says, "*unxit in pægem,*" which signifies no more than *the anointing of him king*; whereas the former not only speaks of the *anointing*, but of the *crowning* also.

And so likewise the Norman princes were anointed, and solemnly crowned.

William the Conqueror, the day of his coronation, caused the peers to take oath of allegiance to him, while he himself at the altar of St. Peter's, took a solemn oath, to defend the rights of the church, and to establish good laws for the preservation of the people's liberty, and for the advancement of justice and good order throughout the realm.

In the time of the Saxons, as well as in the beginning of the Norman æra, we find no mention made of more than one ecclesiastic who crowned the king; and the Archbishop of Canterbury made a claim, either to perform himself, or depute some other to perform for him that sacred office; for when Henry the

Second

Second caused his son to be crowned, Thomas Becket made it a bone of contention with the king, because he had not been appointed by him to do it; and moreover farther, he suspended the Archbishop of York, and the bishop of Durham, for crowning the prince without his licence. But in the later time, there is particular mention made of two, three, and sometimes more ecclesiastics, who attended to crown, and assist at the coronations of the kings. The principal ceremonies at the coronations of the Christian kings of the Saxons differed but little (as appears from the imperfect tracings left in the antient histories of their times) from those of the Normans.

The first king whose coronation is circumstantially described, is Richard the First; the whole ceremonies, as given in that faithful old historian Mathew Paris, are here set down.

The duke Richard, having every thing prepared necessary for his coronation,* came to London, where there were assembled together the archbishops, of Canterbury, of Rhean in Normandy, and of Treves in Germany; also the archbishop of Dublin, and all the bishops, earls, barons, and nobles of the realm, in order as follows: First came the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and the rest of the clergy, habited in their rich canonical robes, bearing crosses, holy water, and censers with incense; and from the very inner door of his bed-chamber, they conducted the duke in solemn procession to the high altar of the Abbey Church of Westminster; between the bishops and clergy, went four barons, each bearing a candlestick, with a wax taper therein lighted up; and after these came two earls; the first carrying the royal scepter, on the top of which was a golden swan; the other bearing a royal rod, on the top of which was a dove; after these came two earls, and between them three others, carrying swords in golden scabbards, taken from the king's treasury, and they were followed by six earls, and barons, bearing the royal robes and vestures; then followed the earl of Chester, bearing the crown, beautifully wrought with gold, and set with jewels; and after these came the duke, with several bishops, both at his right hand and at his left; and over them was borne a rich canopy of silk, held by four barons, upon four lances, ornamented with gold: being come to the altar (on which was laid the book of the Holy Gospel, and many various relicks of saints) he there swore "that all the days of his life, he would constantly endeavour to keep the holy ordinances of God, and preserve the peace and honour of the church:" he swore also, "to exercise justice towards his subjects, to abolish all grievous laws, and observe, and put in practice all that were good, and agreeing with the constitution of the people:" then they striped him of all his garments, except his breeches and his shirt, which was cut away at the shoulders, because he was to be there anointed: he then having rich sandals splendidly wrought with gold, put upon his feet, was by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, anointed in three several places, that his to say on this head, his shoulders, and on his right arm, with solemn prayers and other offices of the Holy Church: then they placed upon his head, a sacred cap of linen, furred without; and after that

Mat. Paris.
in vit. Reg.
Ricard.

* The method of proclaiming a king, as from a M.S. of Lidgate, written in the reign of Henry the Sixth, was thus: two heralds went first, who with their trumpets sounding, proclaimed the heir of the crown; next followed the prince himself royally habited, with his sword bearer on his left hand, attended by the lords and nobles. Vide plate 4, fig 13. So also all our antient chronicles, speaking of the proclamation of the English kings, tell us that it was done "with sound of trumpettes."

that he was habited in the regal garments, the Tunican, and the Dalmatia; and the archbishop gave him a sword to defend the rights of the Church, which done, two earls put their spurs upon his shoes, and cloathed him in a cloak; then the archbishop conjured him not to accept of the charge, which they were about to lay upon him, unless he fully resolved to perform what he had so solemnly sworn; and he answered, that he would, with Gods help, faithfully observe the whole that he had promised. Then he had the crown given to him from the altar, which he took, and gave to the archbishop, who placed it upon his head; then the scepter was put into his right hand, and the royal rod (with the dove on the top) in his left; and so crowned, he was led by the bishops, and barons, preceded by the barons bearing the tapers, with the crosses, and the three swords before mentioned to his seat; and they then began to perform the solemn mass, and when they came to the anthem of offering, two bishops led him to make his offering, and after re-conducted him to his seat again; at last the mass being finished, with the singing, and every other sacred rite performed, the two bishops then led him crowned, with the scepter in his right hand, and the royal rod in his left, and the procession returned to the place where the king was first seated: and then he had his royal garments, and crown taken of, and was cloathed in lighter vestures, and a lesser crown put upon his head, and so went forth to dinner; where the archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons, were placed at the table according to their order, rank, and dignity, with the clergy, and people.

Froissart's
Chronicle
vol. 4.

Among the more modern authors, *Froissart*, who lived at the very time of Henry the-Fourth, has given the following circumstantial account of the coronation of that prince, "and the day being assigned for his (duke Henries) coronation, which was on a Monday, the 13th of October, 1399; he the Saturday preceeding, went from the palace of Westminster, to the tower of London, accompanied with a great number of attendants; and the esquires, who were to be made knights the morning following, were also there lodged, to the number of 46; and every one of these esquires, had each man his chamber, and each man his bath, wherein he might bathe himself that night, and on the morrow the duke of Lancaster, made them all knights at mass, giving to each a long strait circoate of a green colour, and the sleeves furred with menever; * and hoods of the same furred in the same manner like priests; and these new made knights, had besides upon the left shoulder, a double cord of white silk, with white tassels hanging down; on Sunday after dinner the duke went from the tower to Westminster bare headed, having a collar about his neck, with the same device as was usually worn by the kings of France; he was habited in a short jacket of tissue of gold, after the German fashion, with a blew garter on his left leg; and he was mounted on a beautiful white courser. He was accompanied with the prince his son, six dukes, six earls, and eight barons, with at least eight or nine hundred knights; and in this manner they rode through London, where all the citezens and companies, with their ensigns and different devices, met and conveyed the duke to Westminster, Their number amounted to full 6000 horsemen; and that day, as well as the next also, were nine branches of fountains in the cheap, † which run both red and white wine,

* *Menever* or *minever* fur, is said to be the skin of a squirrells belly or white weazel.

† Now called Cheapside.

wine. And at night the duke was bathed, and on the morrow, at his uprising, he went to confession, (of which, says the author, he stood in great need) and after that he heard three several masses. That done, the prelates who were assembled, with a great number of clergy, came from the Abbey Church at Westminster to the palace, to conduct the duke to the church; and they returned in the same procession, followed by the duke, and all the lords and grandees attending.

The dukes, earls and barons, were habited in long *houppelands* * of scarlet, and long robes furred with menever, and large hoods furred in the same manner; and the dukes and earls were distinguished by three *honobles* † de menever over the left shoulder, some rounding, others lengthways; whereas the barons had but two: And in the procession from the palace to the abbey, there was held over the head of the duke, a rich canopy of silk, borne upon four silver wands, and at the corners were four golden bells ringing. This canopy was carried by four citizens of Dover, ‡ to whom it belonged by right; and on each side of the duke was borne a sword, the one the sword of the church, carried by his son the prince of Wales, and the other the sword of justice, borne by Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, constable of England; and the earl of Westmoreland, marshal of England, carried the scepter. This procession entered the church about nine o'clock, and in the middle thereof was erected a high scaffold, covered all over with rich cloth, and upon this scaffold was placed a chair, or rather royal throne, covered with gold tissue; and when the duke was come into the church, he went up on the scaffold, and seated himself in the royal chair with great state, without either a crown or a hood upon his head: and then the archbishop spoke to those below the scaffold, and told them, that God had sent them a man (shewing them the duke) to be their king and lord; and then he demanded of them if they were willing he should crown and consecrate him for their king; to which they all with one voice cried out, Yes! Yes! holding their hands crossed, as promising him their faith and loyalty. This done, the duke descended from the scaffold, and went to the altar to be consecrated; to perform which holy office, there were two archbishops, and ten bishops, and there before the altar he was undressed to his shirt, and was there anointed in six places, on the head, on the breast, upon the two shoulders, and behind between the shoulders, and on the hands; then they put a hood upon his head, and while they anointed and consecrated him, the clergy sang the litany, and like offices that are used at the blessing of the water at the font. Then was the king habited in a church dress, like a priest, and they put upon him a robe of red velvet like a prelate, and put upon his feet shoes made of the same velvet, and spurs with only one point, without any rowels; and the sword of justice was then drawn out of the sheath, which was first blessed, and then given to the king; he returned it again into the sheath, and presented it to the archbishop of Canterbury, who girded it upon him: then was brought the crown of Edward the Confessor, (this crown was arched in the form of a cross) which being first blessed by the archbishop, was afterwards placed upon the head of the king; then after hearing the mass, the king departed from the church, and went to his palace. The constable of England, and the mar-

shall,

* Houppelands are long circotes or gowns, loose at bottom, training on the ground.

† Honobles or ourletz, were rows of fur put at the top of the robes, like the capes of cloaks.

‡ This is from the French printed edition, in a MS. in the Royal Library. It is citizens of London.

shall, together with constables lieutenant, went before the king to clear the way as he returned to the palace. In the middle of the palace yard there was a fountain, which played out wine, both white and red, through several various pipes. The king being returned, went into the hall, and from thence into his chamber, from whence he soon returned into the great hall, and sat down to dinner. At the first table was the king, the two archbishops, and ten bishops. On either side of the king was borne a sword, the one by the prince of Wales, and the other by the constable of England; and at the bottom of the table stood the marshall holding the scepter.

At the second table were the lords of the cinque-ports, &c. of England; and at the third the citizens of London: the fourth was occupied by the new-made knights; and the fifth by the knights and esquires of honour.

While they yet sat at dinner, came a knight named *Diuereb*, armed at all points, mounted on a horse, which was also covered with mail, of a beautiful red colour, and before him went a knight, who carried his lance; and the aforesaid knight had by his side a naked sword, and on the other side a dagger; and he gave to the king a label, which he read, and the contents of it were, "that if any knight, squire, or gentleman, would either say or maintain, that king Henry was not the rightful king, he was ready to combat with him immediately, or any where, or at any time that it should please the king to assign." And the king gave the label to one of his heralds, and caused him to cry it in six several places in the city, as well as in the hall, but none were hardy enough to make any answer to this challenge.

And when the king had dined, and taken some wine and confectionary in the same hall, he retired to his chamber, and every one departed to their own homes; and so ended the day of the coronation of king Henry.—Thus much is from Froissart; and if the reader would know any further matters on this subject, he is referred to Hall and Grafton, in either of which he may find a long and particular account of the splendid coronation of king Richard the Third, which I would have here inserted, but that on account of its great length, I was obliged to omit it. And I have to observe besides, that the chief ceremonies are very little differing from those of the above related inauguration, which is another principal reason of its omission.

The unhappy prince king Edward the Second, was in the following manner deprived of his honour and royal power: He was brought into a room in Kenilworth castle, amidst a great number of the opposite faction, where he, as before instructed, (for he found all resistance was in vain) declared to them, "that he was sorry that the people should so much dislike his government, and that he was very ready to resign his power, and hoped that they would chuse his son Edward to be king over them in his stead." This resignation being received, a knight, named William Trussel, spoke as follows: "I William Trussel, in name of alle the menne of the lande of Englande and of alle the parliamente procurator, resigne to thee Edward the hommage that was made to the somertyme; and from this time forward nowe following, I desie the, and prive the of alle royalle power, and I shall never be tendante to the as for king after this tyme:" which being done, Sir Thomas Blunt, knight, steward of the household, by breaking his staffe, resigned his office, and declared that the late king's family were discharged.

Thus

Thus also at the beginning of the troubles in the reign of Richard the Second, Thomay Percy, erle of Worcester and lord of kinge's housholde, (says Grafton) breake his white staffe of office, and licenced all the servants to depart. And king Richard himself, when he was taken, made a forced resignation of his crown before a great assembly of lords at the Tower of London. He was brought into the chamber before the lords royally habited in his coronation robes, and a rich bonnet upon his head, and he held the crown and scepter in his hands, which he resigned to the duke of Hereford, beseeching the lords who were present, that they would accept of the duke to be their king in his stead. Then this resignation was taken down, and read in full parliament, and the king thenceforth deprived of his royal power.

Grafton,
page 399.

Froissart,
vol. 4.

See plate 32
& 33 in the
Reg. & Ecc.
Antiq.

It was customary with the Norman kings to be crowned more than once; nay, the historians tell us, that William the Conqueror was crowned three times a year. They also sometimes caused their sons to be crowned during their own life time, and made the lords and nobles swear allegiance to them, as if thereby they confirmed to them the succession of the crown after their death.

Vide Hard-
ing.

Mathew
Paris,
Reg. Hove-
den, &c.

Ensigns of Regality.

Purple in old time was the regal habiliment, and none but kings or emperors permitted to wear it.

The *scepter* is an ensign of regality as old as the history of kings. The scepter of David in the bible, is a metaphorical expression for the whole kingdom or dominion over which David ruled.

The *crown*. Of this we have already made some mention. In the earlier ages, the Saxon kings, as appears from their coins, wore diadems or circles of gold, some plain, others appear to be ornamented with pearls, as they are exhibited plate 23 of the first volume, figures 9, 10 & 11. To these succeeded the radiated crown, fig. 5 of the same plate; and from thence the flored, fig. 1, 2, 3, and 4; after which it was embellished, besides the flower, with crosses, (see the rest of the crowns in the same plate) and varied in many different forms and shapes, according to the fancy of the artist who formed them, or desire of the wearer. See also the crowns of the Normans, plate 2, and those of the latter ages, plate 6, both of this volume. Some authors have insinuated, that Henry the Third was the first king that was crowned with a crown arched and flored; others have said it was Henry the First; but both must be mistaken. See the Saxon crowns, plate 23, fig. 7 & 8. So also we have seen from Froissart, that Henry the Fourth was crowned with the crown of the Confessor, which was arched over in the shape of a cross.

Vide Analy-
sis of Ho-
nour, page
135.

The *globe*; some have affirmed that Edward the Confessor, was the first English prince that used it, yet there is very little doubt to be made, but that it is of a much more antient date; for in the first plate of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England, which represents king Edgar between two saints, adoring Christ; one of the saints bears his scepter, the other the globe with a cross upon the top: this delineation was made in the year 966; but we may prove

Ibid.

prove its still greater antiquity, if with the faithful Speed, we agree that the *Tufan*, which Bede informs us was born before Edwine, may really be rendered in English, a *ball*, or *globe*, the emblem of *sovereignty*. The cross was after added, which signified the faith of the king.

On the great seal of Henry the First, of Stephen, and of Henry the Second, the globes which they hold have a bird on the top, above the cross, perhaps a dove, the symbol of peace; which every good king should endeavour to promote, as well in the church, as among his subjects.

The *ring* was also an ensign of royalty, and was put upon the finger of the king at his coronation. Thus in the time of the Saxons, Offa adopted Edmund to reign over the East Angles in his stead, by sending his ring, as a token of his resignation: and when that unfortunate prince, Richard the Second, delivered up his power to the Duke of Lancaster, he confirmed the resignation, by taking his signet ring from his own, and putting it upon the Duke's finger.

Of the Nobility, and Method of their Creation.

The *Prince of Wales*, is not a very antient title: Edward the First, the eldest son of Henry the Third, was the first who bore it; and from his time, the king's eldest son hath constantly been stiled Prince of Wales. The present method of creating him is as follows, "he is presented before the king in princely robes, who putteth about his neck a sword bend-wise, a cap and coronet on his head, a ring on his middle finger, a verge of gold in his hand, and his letters patent after they are read. The word prince is borrowed from the Latin *Princeps*, but antiently our ancestors wrote it *pupyr*, which signifies a first, or chief.

The title of *Duke*, says Verstegan, was by the French taken from the Latin *Dux*, a leader; but by our progenitors it was antiently written *Hepetoga*, the chief conductor or leader of an army; *Hepe*, signifying an army, and *tega* to train or draw forward. Among the Norman nobility, the title of Duke was almost lost, such kings indeed bore it, who in right of the Conqueror, were dukes of Normandy. They were created by girding on them the ducal sword. Thus was Richard the First, says Hoveden, "*accinctus est gladio ducatus Normanniæ*." That he was girded with the ducal sword of Normandy; and besides this John had a coronet, or diadem, placed upon his head, for says Mathew Paris, "Et interim comes *Johannes Rothomagum* veniens, in octavis Pa'chæ gladio ducatus *Normanniæ* accinctus est, et matrice ecclesia, per ministerium *Walteri Rothomagensis* archiepiscopi: ubi archiepiscopus memoratus, ante majus altare in capite ejus posuit circulum aureum; habentem in summitate per gyrum (*circuitum* apud Hoveden) rosulas aureas artificialiter fabricatas. Et dux coram clero et populo juravit super reliquias sanctorum & super evangelia sacro sancta; quod *ipse sanctam ecclesiam & ejus dignitates bona fide & sine malo ingenio defenderat; & ordinatos honoraret*: juravit etiam quod *leges iniquas, si quæ essent, destrueret, & bonas furrogaret*: which imports that after the ducal sword was girded on, in

the

the body of the church, the archbishop of Rboan, before the high altar, placed upon his head a circle of gold, having on the top a circle of small roses.—And further, that he there swore upon the Holy Gospels, and upon the holy reliques, faithfully, without fraud or deceit, to defend the Holy Church and its dignities; and regard the ordinances thereof with honour; he also swore that he would abolish bad laws, if any there should be, and establish good ones in their stead.—

The earl was originally derived from the old word *earl*, honour, and *ethel noble*, which, says Verstegan “is as much as to say, as *honour noble*, or noble of honour; the earl was created in the same manner as the duke, by girding him with the sword of the earldom: thus was Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, on the day of king John’s coronation, girded with the sword of the earldom of Essex, and that day he served “*ad mensam Regis accincti gladiis,*” *at the King’s table, girt with the sword.* Hoveden p. 451.

Formerly there does not seem to have been any difference between the ornaments worn by the dukes and earls; their golden circles which were in the place of coronets, are precisely the same in the reigns of the Norman kings, as well as to the time of Richard the Second; these circles were only ornamented with small round knobs, or balls, or else roses. Edward the Black Prince, and John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, in the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, have this circle thus ornamented: See fig. 10. pl. 6. of this vol. In No. 42 & 43, plates of the abovementioned Antiquities are figures with crowns or coronets, who are in both plates represented as attending upon the king; both the delineations from which those plates are copied were done in the reign of Henry the Sixth; and the coronet worn by the figure on the 43d plate (which is supposed to represent the duke of Gloucester, uncle to the king) is given in pl. 6. fig. 14. of this volume; the other, the wearer of which is unknown, is exhibited fig. 12. of the same plate. But in the reign of Henry the Seventh, when John Rous, that excellent antiquarian lived, we find the coronets belonging to the earls are composed of an entire circle of roses; and those appertaining to the dukes have little balls above the roses, see pl. 6. of this volume, fig. 14. which is the duke’s coronet, while that represented fig. 15. belongs to the earl. In the latter days, the dukes and earls were created by hanging the sword over their shoulders, which the *barons* and *vizcounts* had not; else no ways differing in the ceremonies of creation. Pl. 15 & 16.

Bannerets, by some called *equites vexillarii*; these were created in the field in the following manner; the knight was brought into the presence of the king, between two other knights, with his pennon of arms in his hand, and there the heralds declare his merit, for which he deserves to be made a knight banneret, and thenceforth to display his banner in the field. Then the king caused the point of his pennon to be rent off, and the new-made knight returned to his tent, the trumpet sounding before him.—A banneret, thus made, might bear his banner displayed, if he was a captain, and set his arms thereon, as other degrees above him. “Howbeit (says Hollingshead) these knights were never made but in the warres, the king’s standard being unfolded.” Camden fol. 70b.

The *knight*; “this title (says Verstegan) of right worshipfull dignity, was heretofore of our ancestors written *Cniht*; —a Knight, as we understand it, is in the modern Teutonicke, Saxon or Duytsh tongue, *Rider*, which is, indeed, all one in English with *Ryder*, and answereth unto the French word *chevallier*, which might be *Englished* a *Postman*, and so agreeth with *Eques* Segar fol. 69
Analysis of Honour, 39.
Hollingsf. Brit. p. 105.
Verstegan p. 318.

MS. of Lidgate. in Latin." Thus also Lidgate, in his tale of the horse, the sheep and the goat, has it,

Esque ad Equo, is said of beyn ryght
And Chevalier, is said of Chevalrie
In whiche a Rider taked is a knyght &
Apogonys done also hys office,
Caballiers through all that partie,
Is name of worship, & so took his ginning,
Of Spurs of Gold, and chiefly Riding.

Dr. Hickes's Gram. Sax. p. 151. And an old MS. quoted by Dr. Hickes, gives an account of the Conqueror's making his son a knight at Westminster; it runs thus. "J dubbade hyr runu þenne to proepe þap, and there be dubbed his son Henry a Rider.— By all which (as Verstegan observes) it may seem strange how our name of Knight, being with us in such esteem and worship, should in the etymology thereof, appear no more than it doth (for, both in High and Low Germany, by the name of Knight is understood a servant.) "To resolve (continues he) which difficulty, I can judge no other, having no proof or pregnant reason otherwise to enduce me, but that the name of Knight must have begun to be a name of honour among our ancestors, in such as were admitted for their merits to be Knights to the king, that is to be his owne servants, or in some sort his officers or retainers, and to ride with him, and therefore it should seeme some of them, if not all, were antiently called Knight-ryders."

Mat. Paris in Vit. Guli. Conquest. As the creation of a duke or an earl was antiently expressed by girding on of the sword, so that of a knight is expressed by "the gift of the military girdle:" thus says Mathew Paris, speaking of the knighting of young Henry, the Conqueror's son, Rex Anglorum Willielmus apud Westmonasterium Henricum filium juniorem cingulo militari donavit.—William, the king of England, at Westminster, gave to his youngest son Henry the military girdle.

Dugdale's Warwicksh. "Bathing before knighthood (says Dugdale) is a custom of very antient date: for (continues he) when Geofry of Anjou was made a knight at *Roan*, by Henry the First, he, with twenty-five esquires that attended him, were (as John the monk of Marmonstier affirmeth) bathed according to the ancient custom." And among the Norman writers we find the baths mentioned: Froissart, who wrote in the time of Henry the Fourth, has also been very particular in his account of the forty-six knights, made by Henry the Fourth the day before his coronation, "Et eurent tous ces esquires chascun sa chambre, et chascun son Baing ou ilz se baignerent telle nuit." and so it has been continued down to us.

Froissart vol. 4. The antient method of creation was as follows; the esquire who was to be knighted, was first habited in his proper habit, and then brought in before the king; where the gilt spurs were put upon his feet, and the king himself girded on his sword; see plate 37, No. 1, in the first volume: then the king kissed him, and bade him be a good knight, at the same time threatening him, that if he derogated from his duty, he should have his spurs hewn from his feet, and be deprived of all his honour: we see also, in the above plate, that a herald attended this ceremony, with a shield and banner displayed.—The above old author, quoted by Dugdale, adds, at the creation of the forementioned Geofry, that he was first clothed in fine linen, and a robe of purple, then was put upon him a harness of double mail, and gilt spurs, and a shield of the lions of Anjou was hung about his

Dugdale's Warwicksh.

his neck; a rich helm was put upon his head, and an armed spear into his hand, and lastly, a sword from the king's store was girded upon him: and thus armed he mounted a Spanish horse, which was also given him by the king: and the feast which belonged to his reception of this dignity, was called *festum tyrocinii*, (or the feast of the new-made knights) and was honoured with tournaments and masques, which lasted no less than seven days.

The learned commentator (Dr. Percy) upon the Reliques of English Poetry, Reliques of English Poetry, vol. 2, p. 79. hath justly remarked, that "a collar was (also) anciently used in the ceremony of conferring knighthood." And in plate 9 of this vol. we see the king is creating Richard Beauchamp knight, and is putting a collar round his neck.

The robes and other ornaments which were prepared for this ceremony, were as follows: When he (Geofrey of Anjou) first came from the bath, he was clothed in fine linen, over that a gown of gold tissue, with a tunic of purple upon that, furred with furs of a blood colour, with velvet hose, and shoes wrought with gold upon his feet; and the edges of his garments were also ornamented with gold: and when he was to be created, he was unclothed, and clothed again in fine linen and purple garments ornamented with gold, like those before mentioned.

And when king John made Thomas Sturmy a knight, he sent a mandamus before to his sheriffs at Hantshire, to make the following preparations: A scarlet robe, certain close garments of fine linen, and another robe of green or burnet, with a cap and plume of feathers, &c. And those knights created by duke Henry the day before his coronation, had, says Froissart, *longues cottes vestes a effioiter, manches fourres de menever, et chappurons pareil fourrez de menever, en guise de pte-lat; et avoient les ditz rbevaliez sur la senesce espaule, ung double ceideau de foye blanche a blanche bouppettes pendans.* See the account of the coronation of Henry the Fourth.

The offering the sword upon the altar, is a ceremony of very ancient date. See page 32 of the 1st vol. Ingulphus mentions it as practised among the Saxons. And, says Dugdale, that it was continued by the Normans, is witnessed by John Sarisbury, and Peter Coffensis, who both wrote in the time of Henry the Second.

Hollingshead, speaking of the later ceremonies of making knights, says, *Holl. Def. Brit. p. 102* "When any man is made a knight, he kneeling downe is stricken of the prince or his substitute with his sword naked upon the shoulder, the prince saying, *Soyez chevalier au nom de Dieu.* Be a knight in the name of God. And when he ryseth up the prince sayth, *Advances bon chevalier.* Stand forth a good knight. At the coronation of a king or a queene, there be knightes made (continues he) with longer and more curious ceremonies, called knightes of the bath."

Thus much for the dubbing or creating of knights, and their habits. Let us now see the ancient method of degrading them, as given us in an old MS. chronicle of Douglafs, monk of Glaffenbury, in whose very words I will give it to the public: Sir Andrew Harclay, knight, and earl of Carlisle, (being accused of treason in the reign of Edward the Second) "was ladde to the barre in the maner of an ryle, rially aqatade, with a swerde goyde, and hestebe, and sporedde; and thenne Sir Antonye Murge stode in this maner, Sir Andrew the king recordeth on yow for the worthinesse thatte he gaff to you, making yow erle of Cardoille; and ye as a treitour, have ladde the folke off this cowntre bi Sopelande, and bi the erldom off Lancafter, wrefor the Scottes have discomfited us, by yowre tresonne, atte the Abbey off Bekelonde; for iff ye hadde come thider by resonnabell tyme, the king hadde hadde the victorie: and thatte tresonne ye dide, for the grete somme off money thatte ye receivede

MS. in the Harleian Library, No. 4690, fol. 64.

ceivedde off Sir James Dowglas, the kingges enemy; and therefor the king wolle thate the order of knightthode, by which ye received your worshipping, be in your parsonne broughte to noughte; thatte all other knightes, of simpell blode as ye bene, in alle Englande, nowe take ensampelle by you, to serve the king the more trewly. Thanne he made a knave to hewe off his spores with an axe, from his helis; and after thatte he made the same knave to hake his swerde on his owne hede, (it should be over his head) the whyche the King hadde geve to hym, the with to defende his londe, when he made him eyle of Captoile; and than he made a knave to do off his clothes, bothe gowne and hose, gurdell & cote, and then the foresaide Antony seide, Andrewe nowgh arte thee no knighte, but thou arte a knave; and for thi tresonne, the king wille thatte thou be drawe, and hongedde, and behededde, disbowelde and thi bowelles brennedde, thy body quartredde; and thi hede schalle be sente to London, an there itte schalle be sette on the brigge, an thi 4 quarters schalle be sende to 4 townes of Englonde, thatte by the alle other soche mowghe be chastized. And so itte was do in alle pointer, the laste day of Octobre, the yere of our Lorde 1322.*

The order of the garter is by historians reported to have been established by king Edward the Third, as an honorary reward for valour and military prowess.* As also for the encouragement of warlike amusements, was by him established the knights of the round table; and in this he is said to have followed the example of the noble British king Arthur, of whom, together with his hundred knights of the round table, so many stories and poetic fables have been related by the later writers. Here was a noble field for their romantic geniuses; here they could raise up monstrous dragons, huge giants, and dreadful necromancers, and give immortal honour to their heroes, by sending them amidst such various dangers, there to fight and conquer; and after that exhibit them in triumph, followed by all the vanquished devils, bound in chains of adamant.

Laws and Administration of Justice.

Holling-
head, p. 688

We have already seen, that by the constitution of the kingdom, every man obnoxious to the penal law, had a right to have fair trial by a jury of twelve men, and then if the delinquent refused to plead, he was pressed to death; and this law was in force as early as the reign of Edward the Third; for, says Hollinghead, in the first year of Edward the Third, "one Adam Miniot (concerned in the riot at Bury) stode mute, and refused to be tried by his country, and so was pressed to death, as the law in such case appoynteth."

Stow's
Chron.

Witnesses at the London sessions, who were perjured or bribed to favour either party, were in the reign of Edward the Fourth, adjudged to ride from Newgate to the pillory at Cornhill, with mitres of paper upon their heads; and there having stood their time in the pillory, they were in the same manner conducted back again to Newgate:

Edward

* Some have attributed the origin of this order to different causes, as that of the king's taking up the Countess of Salisbury's garter; and when his courtiers smiled, he replied, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*; which was afterwards made the motto. Others have said, that it was the queen's garter that the king took up. But Grafton writes (as he tells us) from an old Chronicle, that king Richard the First, "before his departure to the Holy Land, called all the lordes and knightes unto him, and did sweare them for evermore to be true unto him, and to take his part; and in token thereof he gave to every of them a blew lace or ribband to be known by; and hereof (sayth that olde Chronicle) began the first occasion of the order of the garter." Grafton's Chronicle, vol. 2, page 86.

Edward the First, in the 38th year of his reign, caused an inquisition to be made throughout his kingdom, called *trouyebaston*. This inquisition (says Grafton) "was made upon all officers, as maiors, shirifes, baylives, excheters, and other officers that misbehaved themselves in their offices, or had used any extortion or evill dealing with the kinges people, otherwise then they might lawfully do by vertue of their offices. By reason of which inquisition, many were accused, and redeemed their offices by grievous synes, to the kinges great profite and advauntage." And the poetic historian Harding says thus :

He (king Edward) set Justices in heize by all assent
That called was that time *Trouyebaston*,
For to enquire of all extortion, &c.

Harding's
Chron. chap.
150, p. 158.

In matters that could not be proved by witnesses, combat was sometimes granted (particularly if the crime was great enough to threaten the life of the accused) and in that case, the conquered party was constantly held guilty ; (if the accused of the crime he was accused of ; and if the accuser, of perjury and false witness) and was straitways without further examination, drawn to the gallows and hanged ; as was the case between two esquires in the reign of Richard the Second ; the one of Navarre, accused an English esquire, called John Welsh, of treason ; for trial thereof a day was appointed for a combat, which was to be performed in the king's palace, at Westminster : accordingly being met, there was a valiant fight betwixt them ; but at last the Englishman was the conqueror, and the vanquished Frenchman, was dispoiled of his armour,* and drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged for his untruth.

Grafton's
Chron. pag.
380.

The order of the combat, with the process, was as follows ; the accused strongly denying the fact alledged against him, threw down his gauntlet, or any other gage ; † calling the accuser a liar, and thereby challenging him to combat ; then the other took up the gage of the accused, and threw down his own, declaring his willingness to prove by battle, the truth of his assertions ; the gages were then sealed, and delivered to the Marshall, and leave to combat demanded of the king ; which if he granted, a day and place was then appointed, by which time a scaffold was erected for the king, and his attendants, and the lists were railed round.

In the reign of Richard the Second, Henry duke of Hereford, and Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, accused each other of treason, and challenged each other

* Thus also were lords and knights disgraced, as well as by reversing their coat armour, as it was born before them, or by tearing them, or dawbing them over. Lord Audley, who was concerned in the rebellion, An. 13 Hen. 7. was taken at Black Heath field, he was drawn from Newgate to Tower-hill, in a coat of his own arms, painted on paper, reversed and torn ; and there he was beheaded, Grafton, pag. 918. And the Londoners, An. 51 Ed. 3, in despite of John Duke of Lancaster, caused his armes (says Hollinghead) in the public streets to be reversed, as tho' he had beene a traytour, or some notorious offender. Hollinghead Chron. pag. 999.

† At the parliament (says Fabian) holden upon the Wednesday, nexte following the feast of St. Symonde and St. Jude, (the first year of Henry the Fourth) the lordes openly appeared to the castle of Saleisbury of treason, and caste his hood for a gage to fight with him by batayle, and the other caste his gloves for a gage, to prove his saying false and untrue, which were there sealed, and delivered unto the lord Marshall. Fabian's Chronicle, vol. 2, fol. 165.

other to combat; and having obtained licence of the king, all things necessary were immediately prepared; and on the day appointed, the duke of Aumerle, high constable of England, and the Duke of Surry, marshall, first entered the lists, with a great company of men, every one of which bore a *tipped staff*, to keep the field in order. Then came the duke of Hereford, the appellant, completely armed, in rich attire, and mounted on a stately white courler; the constable and marshall came to the barrier of the lists, and demanded who he was; he answered, "I am Henry of Lancaster, duke of Hereforde, whiche am come hither to do my devoir against Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolke, as a traitor untrue to God, the king his realme and me; then incontinently he sware upon the holy evangelists, that his quarrel was just and true, and thereupon he required to enter the lists:" he also further swore, that "he delt with no witchcraft, nor arte magicke, whereby he might obtayne the victorie of his adversarie; nor had about him any herb, or stone, or other kind of experiment, with which magitians use, to triumph over theyr enemies." This ceremony being performed, he put up his sword, which before he held naked in his hand, and putting down his visor, making a cross upon his horse, and with his spear in his hand he entered the lists; and descending from his horse, sat down in a chair of green velvet, at one end of the lists, and there reposed himself, waiting the coming of his adversary: soon after the king entered the field in great triumph, attended by all the peers of the realm, and above ten thousand men in armour, lest any quarrel might arise among the nobles of either party: a king at arms then made open proclamation, prohibiting all men in the name of the king, of the high constable, and of the marshall, to approach or touch any part of the lists, on pain of death; except such as were appointed to order and marshall the field. This proclamation ended, another herald cried, "Beholde here Henry of Lancaster, duke of Hereforde, appellant, whiche is entered into the listes royal, to do his devoir againste Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolke, defendant, upon pain to be founde false and recreant." Then came the duke of Norfolk, defendant, to the barrier, completely armed, and likewise richly attired, mounted on a good horse: he also answering who he was, and taking oath, as the duke of Hereford had done before him, entered the lists; then alighting from his horse, he sat himself down in his chair; which was crimson velvet, trimmed with white and red damask. The lord marshall viewed their spears, to see that they were of equal length, and delivered the one speare himself to the duke of Hereford, and sent the other to the duke of Norfolk, by a knight. Then the herald proclaimed that the traverses, and chairs of the champions should be removed, and commanded them in the name of the king to mount their horses, and address themselves to the combat: the duke of Hereford was soon mounted, and closed his visor, and cast his spear into the rest; and when the trumpets sounded, he set forward courageously to meet his enemy; but ere the duke of Norfolk had well set forward, the king cast down his warder, and the heralds cried, ho, ho; and so the combat was prevented, by the king's taking the matter into his own consideration, to give judgment as he should think meet: but in other cases, as the combat fought at Westminster, between Sir John Anncly, knight, and one Thomas Katrington, Esq; who was accused of treason by the above named knight,

Hollingsh.
Chron. pag.
1100.

Ibid, pag.
1017.

Ibid, 1100.

Ibid.

knight, after the former ceremonies had passed the champions made their prayers devoutly, and began the battle; first with spears, after with swords, and lastly with daggers: till at length the knight had bereaft the esquire of all his weapons, and then closing together, the esquire was manfully overthrown: and while they were grappling on the ground, the king commanded them to be parted; but the knight begged of the king to let them be replaced, as they were at the time of parting them; that is, himself on the ground undermost, and the esquire upon him, which was granted; but the esquire through heat, and the weight of his armour, fainted, and notwithstanding all the efforts used to bring him to himself, he was obliged to be stripped of his armour; which thing proved him vanquished; so the knight was acquitted with honour, and the esquire by death prevented his further shame and disgrace.

The punishment of impostors and pretenders to astrological predictions, were various; one of which is related by Hollingshead in the following manner: "A lewde fellowe (in the 6th year of Richard the Second) who tooke upon hym to bee skilful in phisicke and astronomy, and caused it to bee published thorough the cite of London, that upon the Ascention even, there would rise such a pestilente planet, that all those whyche came abroad foorthe of theyr chambers, before they hadde saydde fyve tymes the Lordes prayer, then commonly called the *pater noster*, and dyd not eate somewhat that morning before theyr going foorthe, shoulde bee taken with sicknesse, and suddaynely dye thereof. Many fooles beleevd him, and observed hys order; but the nexte daye, when hys presumptuous lying coulede be no longer faced out, he was set on horsebacke, with his face towards the tayle, which hee was compelled to holde in hys hande in stead of a bridell, with two jorden pottes about hys necke, and a whetstone, in token that hee had well deserved it, for the notable lye which he had made."

Hollingshead, page 1038.

And Stow tells us, that one Roger Bolingbrooke, (in the second year of Henry the Sixth) being accused of necromancy, and endeavouring by diabolical arts to consume the king's person, he was seized upon, and all his instruments of necromancy, that is to say, "a chayre paynted, wherein he was wont to sit, upon the four corners of whiche chayre stood four swords, and upon every sword an image of copper, hanging, with many other instruments. He stood on a high scaffold in Paules Church Yard, before the crosse, holding a sword in his right hand, and a sceptre in his left, arrayed in a marvellous attire; while a sermon was preached by Maister Law, bishop of Rochester; which being ended, he abjured all articles belonging to necromancy, or misfowning to the christian faith, in the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury, the cardinall of Winchester, and many other prelates." Others who were accused of witchcraft, were hanged; but the most common punishment (particularly in the later reigns) was burning them alive.

Stow's Chron. P. 381.

It was extremely dangerous in these days of superstition, to pretend to any supernatural knowledge; for every one not only believed in the appearances of devils and evil spirits, but also firmly credited, that they would constantly aid and assist their agents, the necromancers, to do mischief. No contagion could happen among the cattle of a farmer, but the devil was the cause, and some conjuror was fought out; so that if any wretched vagabonds of fortune tellers could be found, they were instantly accused of this horrid crime, and perhaps burnt alive; when the utmost extent of their pretended skill and cunning, was but the rising the pockets of the gaping, credulous multitude.

Traytors were drawn upon hurdles to the gallows, then hanged up for a little space, and let down and quartered; and their quarters were set up in the most conspicuous parts of the towns, and cities; but if the malefactor was a nobleman, he was beheaded instead of being hanged.* Some were dragged by the heels, at the horses tail, to the place of execution.

Hollingf.
page 1076.

The wilful murderer was justly excluded from all mercy; nay, Hollinghead informs us, that in the 14th year of Richard the Second, there was an act made, against those that committed any wilful murder; that none should presume to sue for their pardon; a duke, or archbishop, so suing, should forfeit to the king one hundred pounds; and if any earl, or bishop, he should forfeit one hundred marks." If this horrid crime, was attended with cruelty, or any other aggravation, the prisoner was hanged in chains alive, near to the place where the fact was committed; * but in cases where any mercy could be shewed, they were first strangled, and then hung up with a chain of iron to the gallows, where they were left hanging, till they were quite consumed; and thus were all malefactors served, who were hanged, till the time of Edward the Second; in whose reign, a law was made, that every malefactor hanged for theft, or crimes of like nature, should be cut down as soon as they were dead, and buried; whereas before that time (says Grafton) they were wont to be left still hanging. Perjury was punished by the pillory, and burning in the forehead with the letter P, with loss of all their moveables. Many offences were punished by cutting off both ears, as seditious persons, fraymakers, &c. Petty rogues were burnt through the ears. And such as stole sheep, and carried them out of the land, had their hands cut off. † Heretics were cruelly burnt alive,

Polydore
Vergil.
Holling. 874
Grafton,
page 203.
Hollingf.
descrip. Bri.
page 107.

Sir Thomas
More's hist.
of king
Richard 3d.
Grafton,
page 783.
Fabian's
Chronicle
page 221.

Stowes sum-
marie of the
Eng. Chron.
page 227.

Harlots and bawds, were punished by ducking in the water, or doing open penance: thus Jane Shore, in the first year of Richard the Third, did penance as a prostitute, walking before a cross, on a Sunday at procession, with a lighted taper in her hand; and bare-footed, having only her kirtle on. William Hampton, mayor of London, the year of our Lord, 1472, "corrected fore" (says Fabian) bawdes, and strumpettes; and caused them to be laded about the towne with rare howdes, upon theyr howdes;" notwithstanding he might have taken 40 pounds ready money; which was offered to save one of them from judgement. This mayor also (says Stow) caused stockes to be set in every warde; and (says the same author) Robert Bassett, mayor of London, in the 16th year of Edward the Fourth, "did sharpe

* Sir Roger Chamberlayn Knight, Richard Middleton, Thomas Herbert, and Arthur Turvey, Esqs; with Richard Needham, Gent. (were in the 25th year of Henry the Sixth) condemned of high treason, and had this (says Speed) unexampled punishment. They were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, hanged, let downe quick, striped naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, and then a charter of pardon, shewed for their lives, by the Marquess of Suffolk; but the yeomen of the crown, had their livelihood, and the executioner their cloathes. Speed's Chronicle, page 830.

* Poisoners were scalded to death in melted lead, or boiling water. Hollinghead descrip. Brit. page 107.

† In the 20th year of Edward the First, three men had their right hands stricken off at the wrists, in the *West-Cheape*, London, for rescuing a prisoner, under the arrest of an officer. Grafton's Chronicle, vol. 2, page 170. And the hand of John Davy, a servant, of king Edward the Fourth, was stricken off, at the standard in *Chepe*, because he had stricken a man within the king's palace, at Westminster. Fabian's Chronicle, vol. 2, page 207.

harpe correction upon bakers for making bread light of weight, * he caused divers of them to be put on the pillory; as also one *Agnes Daintie*, for selling of mingled butter."

Scolds were ducked on ducking stools, in the water.

One thing that must not here escape our notice, is the gallows, used in the reign of Henry the Sixth, see the 6th plate of this volume, fig. 22; the top, like the beam of a pair of scales, is made to move up and down; at one end thereof hangs a halter, and at the other end is a large weight: when any criminal was to be executed, the halter was drawn down; which being put round his neck was let loose, and the weight at the opposite end raised, and suspended him from the ground:

The pillory was just the same as it is at present: in the statutes of Edward the First, it is enacted, that every pyllory, or *stretchneck*, should be made of convenient strength, so that execution might be done upon offenders, without peril of their bodies. Statute of E. 1.

In the first year of Edward the Second, was the following statute made,—
"Concerning prisoners whiche breke the pryson, oure soverayne Lorde the Kynge wyllenth and commandeth, that from hensforth he that bath broken his pryson, shall not have ponyshement of lyfe, or membre, for breakynge of the pryson onely, excepte the matter, or cause for whiche he was imprysoned, and taken, dyd require such judgment: yf he had ben conveyte thereupon, after the lawe and custome of the realme, al be it that in tymes passed it bath ben done and used otherwyse."

Holl. Def.
Brit. p. 107.

Vide the
book entit.
The Great
Charter, fol.
163.

Marine Affairs, Shipping, &c. of the ENGLISH.

As in the former æra, we found the Normans improving upon the shipping of the Saxons, and extending their commerce; so now we find the English still advancing with hasty strides to that perfection, which within this last two centuries has shone so brightly.

The chief Vessels of the English were these:

Large Sailing ships, Gallies, Barges, Balingers, and other small craft, as *Skiffs*, and *Ship-boats, Wherrys*, &c.

The *large sailing ship*, in the time of Richard the Second, as taken from a MS. (written and illuminated at the latter end of his reign) like those of the Normans, hath only one mast, and but one sail: (see plate 4, fig. 17 of this vol.) they differ in two respects from the Norman vessels; in the first place the shrouds in this are made fast on either side of the ship, while those of the former æra, run from the top of the mast, to the head and stern of the vessel; and, secondly, in this, the stern is flat behind, and the head comes up sharp before, whereas those of the Normans are alike, both at the head and stern.

But

* In the great charter it is ordered, that there should be but one measure for wine, and one for corn throughout the kingdom, and that according to the *quarter* of London: and one breadth of dyed cloth, ruslets and *banberjertes*: that is to say, two yards within the lists; and the weights shall be under the same regulations with the measures. Magna Charta. cap. 32.

But we find the ship improved in the beginning of the reign of Henry the Sixth (see plate 4, fig. 14, of this volume) here the decking over appears more perfect, and the bowsprit is added; but that I must own does not appear to be of any very great use.

An old poet who lived in the reign of Henry the Sixth, describes certain vessels tossed and damaged in a storm, in the following words:

MS. in the
Harl. Libr.
No. 4690.

And brake her schyppes masse & ore
And alle thei tacle lesse and more
Bowsprete ancre and rother
Ropes cables oon and oother.

these should seem to be only galleys, by the mention made of oars.

But let us pass on, and view the more stately vessels in the latter end of that king's days, as well as during the reign of Edward the Fourth, Richard the Third, and Henry the Seventh; see plate 55 and 56, of this vol. here we have four masts; the main mast, the fore mast, and two hinder masts: to each a sail, and a bowsprit.

The forecasse, and the cabbin in the stern, are like two towers, whose communication in the middle, is as it were the base court to two monstrous keeps. Plate 56 of this volume represents a dangerous storm, where all the sails, the main sheet excepted, are furled up. The only use of the bowsprit appears to be its serving as a holdfast to the foremast. These ships had the advantage of sailing with a side wind, see plate 15 of this vol. which none of those exhibited heretofore could do.

The *large sailing ships* are often called *carikes*.

Grafton's
Chronicle,
P. 571.

The *bulkes* were (as I take it) large heavy vessels of burthen, without masts; Grafton tells us that in the thirteenth year of Henry the Sixth, the French intending to destroy the haven at *Calice*, caused four great *bulkes*, which were loaded with large square stones cemented and joined together with lead, to be sunk in the harbour; but this being done when there was a full sea, they were so ill placed, that at low water they were left dry upon the sands; then those within the town issued forth, and carried the timber and stones into the town for their own use.

Addit. of
Polychron.
pag. 409,
chap. 14.

Besides the *galleys*, Caxton (in his addition to the Polychronicon) mentions *gallyetis*, which very likely were a smaller sort of *galleys*.

Barges were large heavy boats, chiefly used to transport the soldiers over rivers, or else to make bridges; or at sieges to raise scaffolds upon; see page 47 of this volume.

The *Balinger* was a small sailing vessel.

They had *crayers*, or *fishing boats*, and various other *boats*, one of which from a MS. illuminated in the reign of Henry the Sixth, is exhibited plate 4, fig. 16, of this volume, this is very handsome, and has a rudder behind, but the places for the oars on the sides, do not appear.

The *ship boat*, plate 27 of this vol. seems very strong and compact.

Stow's
Chron. pag.
356.

Besides the above-mentioned craft, they had (in time of war) light *boats*, framed with wicker or thin timber, covered over with leather; these they carried with them in their wars abroad, the more readily to pass the waters that might

might happen in their way as they were on their marches. Such were the *naisselles*, (mentioned by Froissart) carried over into France in the wars by Edward the Third. They were, (says he) "*faittes et ordonnees sy subtillement de cuir bouilly*," made so artfully with prepared or boiled leather, that each would easily hold three men therein to fish or take their pleasure. So also, says Hollinghead, king Henry the Fifth, against his second expedition into France, made great preparations for the war, providing "*boates covered with leather to passe over rivers*." Froissart's Chronicle vol. 2.
Hollinghead, 1171.

Engagements upon the Sea.

The navys of the English were very potent upon the seas. Froissart has been very particular in the description of a sea fight between the French and the English, in the 14th year of Edward the Third. The following is an exact translation of his very words :

The king of France, with more than 240 great ships, besides multitudes of smaller craft, * with at least 40,000 fighting men, Normans, Picardeans, Bretons, and Genoese, lay at anchor near Leluse, waiting for the English fleet, which was to pass that way. The king of England (whose fleet consisted of 200 ships well armed, being come up with them, caused all his vessels to be put in proper order, placing his largest and strongest ships in the front, with archers in all parts of the fleet, that is, between every two smaller ships of archers, was placed a large ship of close armed men ; and then he arranged another battle of archers entirely on the side, to succour occasionally such as should stand in need of their assistance. Froissart's Chron. v. 1.

The fleet thus ranged in order, they drew all their sails the contrary way, and came on a side wind, that they might have the advantage of the sun which before shone full in their faces. When the haughty Normans saw them turning about, they vainly imagined they were preparing for flight, and said, tauntingly, Ah, ha, these are not warriors bold enough to encounter with us ! But the English soon to their cost convinced them, how much they dared to do ; for having turned about to the other side, they bore down full upon them. This when the Normans saw, and found by the royal banner, that the king of England was there in person, they set their ships in order, (for, says my author, they were hardy men, and used to war.) They placed a great ship, called Christopher, (that the foregoing year had been taken from the English) full in the front, which with great shoutings, and the noise of pipes, trumpets, and various other warlike instruments, came forward towards the English, and then began the battle fiercely and terrible : from all sides flew the death-dealing weapons, from the long bows of the English, the cross bows of the enemy, and the javelins darted by the hands of the furious warriors ; but still coming closer and closer, the men of arms began the cruel combat hand to hand ; the which the better to effect, they had on either side large iron cramps fastened with strong chains ; these were thrown over the sides of the vessels, and drew them close up side to side : the carnage then was horrible and cruel, for death and destruction raged on every side.

Sea.

* Speed says the whole number amounted to full 400 vessels.

Sea engagements (continues my author) are much more bloody than those on land, because all retreat was so easily cut off. Here was re-taken the Christopher, that great and noble vessel, and all slain who guarded her. With a great cry, and dreadful noise, the Englishmen approached in the most hardy manner; and having filled this vessel with archers of their own, they bore down with her to encounter the Genoese: so that in the end, the whole fleet of the Frenchmen was overthrown, and full 200 vessels were taken, and 30,000 of their soldiers slain. The English annals boast not of a victory more worthy note than this.

Froissart
vol. 4.

In the reign of Richard the Second, there was an engagement between the English, (commanded by the earl of Arundel, and the bishop of Norwich) and the Flemish under the command of John Bucq. The English (says Froissart) had several galleys, the which were well armed with bowmen; these first began the fight, shooting their arrows, yet they did but little damage, for the Flemish stooping down, were enshrouded by the borders of the vessel, and the arrows flew over their heads, while they keeping carefully before the wind, the cross bowmen, who were on their side, (out of the reach of the English arrows) with their quarrels advantageously shot forth, did great execution. Then approached the earl of Arundel, and the bishop of Norwich, with the great ships, strongly opposing the Flemish fleet; but they, spirited up by their admiral, made a courageous resistance. The admiral himself was in a great ship, strongly armed with three cannons, which cast forth darts so long and large, that they caused dreadful hurt and damage wheresoever they fell: but the English getting the victory, took the ship and the admiral; mean while the smaller ships and merchant-men got to the shore, and saved themselves by the shallowness of the water; but all the rest were either taken or destroyed.

Vide Description of the
Plates.

Plate 42 of this vol. represents an engagement between Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and two great French carikes. The earl's ship has his arms quartered on the sail, and on the streamer his badge, the bear and ragged staff: the space between the forecable and cabin at the stern, is filled with English archers; and on the enemy's part, with their cross bowmen; also in the galleries on the tops of the masts, are men appointed to cast down darts and stones upon the enemy below. On the forecable of earl Richard's ship, is an archer aiming at the man who appears in the gallery on the mast of the opposite ship; while the other with a stone in his hands, (in the middle) is transfixing with an arrow: and on the forecable of the front carike, is a man of arms, with his spear and shield, ready to strike at the archers in the earl's vessel. The cannons are pointed over the side of the ship, but do not appear to be of use in the close battle.

At their sea engagements also they used the wild fire, described page 31 of this volume. Thus Harding, speaking of the Spaniards, in the time of Henry the Fifth, says,

Harding's
Chron. ch.
216, fol. 212

Wherefore their galeys, eche day ther gan us fynd,
With ores many, about us they dyd wynd;
With wyld fyre oft assailed us day and night
To brenne our shippes in that they could or might.

They often ornamented their ships with painting and gilding. Thus, says Froissart, speaking of the French fleet, prepared for the invasion of England, in the

the tenth year of Richard the Second, the ships were painted with their arms, and gilt, with banners, penons, and standards made of silk; the masts of their ships were also painted from the top to the bottom, glittering with gold. Nay, says my author, lord Guy of Tremoyll, so decked, garnished, and beautified his ship, that the painting and colours cost him 2000 franks of French money, ^{Grafton, page 364.} which (says Grafton) made more than 222 pounds of the current money of England. King Henry the Fifth, when he went his second expedition into France, was in a ship, the sails whereof were of purple, and embroidered with gold. And fig. 15, plate 4, represents a royal ship; and the author of the MS. ^{Speed's Chron. p. 787.} (that it is copied from) tells us, that the king (Richard the Second) is on board: the sail is white (perhaps silk) richly embroidered with a golden sun; and the various ships belonging to the earl of Warwick, have his arms and badge embroidered on the sails and streamers.

That the reader may have some idea of the fares by water, I will quote the following passage from Lambard's Perambulation of Kent: The inhabitants of ^{Lambard's Peramb. of Kent, page 486.} Gravesend and Mylton, in the time of Richard the Second, agreed (says he) to carry in their boats from London to Gravesend, (provided none else were permitted) a passenger with his truss or farthell, for two-pence, or otherwise making the whole fare or passage worth four shillings, which was agreed and permitted to them.

The extent of commerce, and the improvement in all kinds of navigation in ^{Vide vol. 1, p. 6.} England, are so well known in this present age, that any long comments thereon are entirely useless. I shall only observe, now we have traced out the state of navigation from the rude leather skiffs of the Britons and Saxons, to the more stately navies of the latter ages, we ought not to wonder at the ignorance of our ancestors, but rather express our surprise, that with such indefatigable industry, they supplied the want of our more improved and perfect conveniences. Have we not seen the hardy Briton, and the pirate Saxon, on the rough seas, fearless of the boisterous winds and lowring tempest; and this in open boats patched up with leather only? Of the Anglo-Saxons, we have found one voyaging to the Frozen Ocean; another carefully exploring the wide extended Baltic Sea; and a third undaunted sailing to the Indies. ^{Ibid. p. 22.} All these are now ('tis true) inconsiderable voyages to what have since been, and daily are undertaken; yet turn over the pages of these books, examine well the ships, consider the wretched state of marine affairs, and, to complete the whole, their total ignorance of the compass; and then the surprise will not be that they went no farther, but how they got so far. In short, setting all things in a proper light, and attending well to all the disadvantages they laboured under, our ancestors will appear in a very favourable point of view: we shall admire their assiduity, we shall praise their courage, and find ourselves eternally obliged to them for the vast pains they took to point out the way to all our more modern arts and improvements. ^{Ibid. p. 73.}

Husbandry, &c. of the English.

The plough has undergone but few, and those trifling alterations, even to the present time; in short, the only improvement seems to be the coulter, that precedes the plough share, which has been since added; the very same may be said
of

of the other necessary implements of husbandry, as harrows, rollers, forks, scythes, sickles, rakes, carts and waggons, &c. which differ so little from those we now have in use, that the figures of them were thought entirely unnecessary to be added here.

It is well known that the kings in former time, gave the lands of this kingdom to the lords, to be holden of them in chief; and they again parcelled such lands out to their tenants; for which the lords did homage to the king, and the freemen to their lords; and the villain, (one who held by servile tenure) did fealty in the following manner: when a freeman shall do homage to his lord, (*says the old statute made in the seventeenth year of Edward the Second*) of whom he holdeth in chief, he shall hold his hands together, between the hands of his lord, and shall say thus, *Jeo de viente vostre homme de ceste houre en abaunt, de vie & de membres, & de tache honneur, & say vous porteray, du teneement qe ieo vous cleyme teneer de vous; saube ie soy quy ieo doy nostre seigneur le Roy, comes autres seynages.* *I become your man from this day fourth, for life, and member; and owe you true honour and faith, for the lands that I hold of you; saving the faith that I owe to our sovereign lord the king, and to my other lords.*

MS. in my own possession.
Vide an old book entit. Great Charter, printed by Petit, An. 1542, fol. 141.

When a freeman shall do fealty to his lord, he shall hold his right hand upon a book, and say, *Ceo oye tous moun seigneur R, qe ieo wil, sara feal et leal, et say vous porteray, del teneer qe ieo cleyme teneer de vous; & teneement vous fray les duites, et les custumes, qe seye vous doy, a les termes assignes. si meye eyde deux & ces seyns.* *Hear you this my lord R. that I W. promise to be faithful and true to you, and owe you my fidelity, for the land that I hold of you; and lawfully will do such customs and services as are due to you, at the terms assigned; so help me God, and all the saints.*

When a villian shall do fealty to his lord, he shall hold his right hand upon the book, and say, *Ceo oyes tous moun seigneur R, qe ieo wil, de ceo jour en abaunt vous sayay feal, & leal, et soy vous porteray del teneement qe ieo treugis de vous, en vileinage; & justifiable seray a vous de cors, & de chateaux; si meye eyde deux & ses seyns, &c.* *Hear you this my lord R, that I W. promise from this day forth to be true, and faithful unto you, and owe you my fealty for the lands which I do hold in villianage of you, and will be justifiable in body and goods, so help me God, and all his saints.*

The taxes were levied upon the land holders (for the support of the king and government) at so much for every hide of land which they possessed; * and this tax was not regularly fixed, but raised or lessened according to the wants of the king and government; thus writes the old poet Harding, in the reign of William Rufus.

Harding's Chron. chap. 125.

Great tallage of England, then was raised
In so fer forth, that tilthe of land was layd
Of whiche lured mischiefe, nothing praised
For saute of food, morayn of bestial framed
And death of people, for hunger fore arated.

And

* A hyde of lande (*says Hollingshead*) includeth an hundred acres, and an acre conteyneth fortie perches in length, and four in breadth, the length of a perch conteyneng sixtene foote and an halfe; so that the common acre should conteyne 240 perches; and eight hydes, or 800 acres is a knight's fee, after the best approved writers, and playne demonstration. *Hollingshead's Chronicle*, vol. 2, page 312.

And he after adds,

A kyng moteth not what harmeth husbandry,
Housband to pill, and tax outrageously.

Before the time of Henry the First, the kings of this land used to receive the taxes in kind as they wanted, and not in money, as they did afterwards; "for says Gervasius Tilberienfis, (who flourished in the days of Henry the Second) untill the time of king Henry the First, the kings used not to receive money of their lands, but victuals, for the necessary provision of their house. And towards the payment of the soldiers wages, and such like charges, money was raised out of the cities and castles, in the which husbandry and tillage was not exercised. But at the length, when as the king, being in the partes beyond the seas, needed ready money, towarde the furniture of his warres, and his subjects, the farmers, complained that they were grievously troubled by carriage of victuals into sundry parts of the realme, farre distant from their dwelling houses: then the king directed commissions to certaine discrete persons, who (having regarde of the value of such victuals) should reduce them into reasonable summes of money: the levying of which summes, they appointed to the Sherife, takeing order withall, that he shoulde pay fixe pence over and above every pound waight of money, because they thought that money in time would waxe so much the worse for the wearing."

Lambard's
translation
in his Per-
ambulation
of Kent, p.
224.

As in the former chapters upon this subject, we have seen the method of sowing and producing the corn, in this we will enquire into the prices it bore in the various reigns; as also the reasons of such amazing scarcities as often happened in the kingdom. In the third year of William the First, there was so great a dearth of corn in England, (especially in the counties of Northumberland and those adjoining) that the people were reduced to the most horrid extremities; for, says Stow, all the land betwixt Durham and York, (except the territory of St. John of Beverley) lay waste, untilled, and without inhabitants, for the space of nine years. From this time however, either through the temperance of the seasons, or better attention to husbandry, they seemed to enjoy a tolerable plenty for some considerable time. Nay, in the black book of the Exchequer, we find that in the reign of Henry the First, when they reduced the victuals (for the king's household) to the estimate of money, a measure of wheat to make bread for the service of one hundred men, one day, was valued only at one shilling; the carcase of a fat ox for the same; a fine sheep for four-pence; and the provender for twenty horses at four-pence also. At this rate there must either have been a vast plenty of provision, or a great scarcity of money. Then how dreadfully must that dearth have been felt in the eighth year of king John, when on account of a severe frost the year before, a quarter of wheat sold for a mark of silver, which in the greater part of the reign of Henry the Second, sold only for one shilling, and other things, as beans, peas and oats, in proportion?

Stowe,
page 111.

But in the reign of Henry the Third, about the 43d year, the price was mounted up to fifteen and twenty shillings a quarter; and what was still worse, even at that exorbitant price, not half enough could be got to supply the nation.

Stow's
Chron. pag.
167.

Edward the Second, say the Chronicles, endeavoured to alleviate the grievances of the people, (in the eighth year of his reign) by issuing forth his writs,

Fabian,
vol. 2, p. 30.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
No. 53.
and

and settling the assize for all kinds of provision ; as that a fat ox, stall fed, should not at any time be sold for more than twenty-four shillings ; nor one grafs fed for more than sixteen ; and a fat cow for ten : a swine well fed, of two years growth, for two shillings and sixpence ; a fat sheep for one shilling and two-pence ; a goose for two-pence ; and a hen for three halfpence ; three pigeons for two-pence ; and twenty eggs for one penny: This act was very far from producing the desired effect, for in the ninth year of his reign, there was so great a famine, that a quarter of wheat was sold for one pound eight shillings, which was a monitrous price ; and not only wheat was now dear, but all kinds of other provision as well ; for when the price was so much reduced as it was in the foregoing year, such quantities were then bought up and consumed, that the poor soon felt the dreadful effects of that very act which they so ardently had wished should be made, and it was soon repealed, for ere a few months had passed, there was no provision of any sort to be got at any rate whatever. But in the eleventh year, owing to a plentiful season, wheat then sold for ten-pence a bushel, which before fetched ten shillings ; and a bushel of oats for eight-pence, which the preceding year was worth eight shillings. But soon after it began to grow dear again, and so continued constantly increasing, that (says Caxton) forty years after the death of Edward the Second, a bushel of wheat sold for ten shillings, which in the former reign was worth no more than three-pence. But in the reign of Richard the Second, plenty began again to shine upon them ; for in the third year a bushel of wheat sold for four-pence and sixpence ; a gallon of white wine for sixpence ; and of red for four-pence : and thus continued till the fourteenth year, when a bushel of wheat was worth thirteen-pence : and such plenty was again in the beginning of the 21st year of the same king, that a quarter of barley sold for only one shilling. But again we find the price of corn advancing from this time, for in the second year of Henry the Fourth, a quarter of wheat sold for sixteen shillings ; but a great plenty being brought from Normandy, the distresses of the people were much alleviated : and in the 16th, 17th, and 18th years of Henry the Sixth, the wet and bad weather caused such a scarcity of corn, that wheat sold from half a crown to three shillings and four-pence a bushel ; so that the poor people made them bread of fern and oats.

In the 24th year of the same prince, an act of parliament was passed, permitting the farmer, when wheat sold for six shillings and eight-pence the quarter, and rye for four shillings, and barley for three, to export it without any further licence, except it was to the king's enemy. In the second year of Henry the Seventh, wheat was sold for three shillings the bushel ; but so much reduced was the price in the 25th year of his reign, that a quarter of wheat was worth but forty shillings. From this short and general account of the prices of wheat, we may see the amazing fluctuation thereof. This will naturally lead us to consider the reasons, which in principal are these : First, the vast parcels of land that in different parts of the kingdom lay useless and untilld : and secondly, whenever they had a plentiful harvest, such great quantities of corn were instantly bought up at a low rate, and exported, that if a bad season ensued, the dreadful consequence was, that the nation was soon in a starving condition for the want of all sorts of grain ; and the only remedies attempted, were such as could not afford any further at best, than a temporal relief ; as we have seen in the instance of that assize, made for provision, by Edward the Second.

The

Stow's
Chron. page
218.

Ibid. 219.

Addit. to
Polychron.
chap. 38.
fol. 380.

Stow's
Chron. page
282.
Hollingf.
page 1076.
Stow 300.

Caxton Ad-
dit. to Poly-
chron.
Hollingf.
1263.
Grafton,
592.
Stow 377.

Ibid. 471,
et 481.

The Londoners also did what they could, by establishing a very good law, in the ninth year of Edward the Second; for at that time great quantities of wheat were made into malt, which they forbid for the future, in the precincts of the city, when wheat should be dear; and the king judging that the statute was worthy his observation, issued forth his mandamus, prohibiting in all parts of the kingdom that they should make any malt of wheat from that time forward: but it should seem that this practice was afterwards used, as appears from an old receipt for the making of beer, taken from the ancient Chronicle of London. It runs thus,

To brew beer,
10 quarters of malte,
2 quarters of wheate,
2 quarters of oates,
40 pounde weyght of hoppys,—to make 60 barylls of
songyl beer; the baryl of aill conteynens 32 galones, & the baryl of beer 36 galones.

Stow's
Chron.
218.

Chronicles
of London.

Now let us pass on to some other matters. John, in the first year of his reign, made a law, that a tun of Rochell wine should not be sold for more than twenty shillings; a tun of wine from Anjou for twenty-three shillings; and a tun of French wine for twenty-five shillings, except some that might be of the very best sort, which was allowed to be raised to twenty-six shillings and four-pence, but not for more in any case. By retail, a gallon of Rochell wine was to be sold for four-pence, and a gallon of white wine for sixpence, and no dearer. He also ordained in every city and town where wine was sold, that twelve creditable men should be sworn, to examine into and see that the above statute should not be broken: and if any vintner should be found guilty of selling wine by smaller measures than by this assize were established, he was to be imprisoned, and his goods forfeited to the king. In the 9th year of Edward the Second, things being very scarce, a gallon of small ale was sold for two-pence, of the better sort for three-pence, and of the best for four-pence; but the Londoners ordained, that (in the city) a gallon of the bettermost sort of ale should be sold for three halfpence, and of the small ale for one penny only. In the 16th year of Henry the Sixth, was as great scarcity of all provisions; wine was sold for twelve-pence the gallon; bay salt at fourteen-pence the bushel; and malt at thirteen shillings and four-pence per quarter, which was then held as a great price.

Stow's
Chron. page
165.

Ibid. p. 218.

Holling-
shead,
1263.

In the 25th year of Henry the Seventh, there was so great a quantity of Gascon wine brought to London, that it was sold for forty shillings the tun; and in the same year a bushel of bay salt sold for four-pence. Here we will add, as it were in addition to what has been said in the Norman Era, page 14, that in the assize for bread, according to the statute made in the 51st year of Henry the Third, when a quarter of wheat was sold for twelve-pence; the farthing loaf of *wassel bread* should weigh six pounds sixteen ounces; and the farthing loaf of *cocket bread*, of the same corn and boulding, should weigh more than the *wassel* by two ounces; the same made of corn of less price, should weigh more by five ounces; a symnel of a farthing should weigh less by two ounces than the *wassel*; bread of *trete* should weigh two *wassels*; and bread of *common wheat* should weigh two great *cockets*. According to this plan was settled the prices, regular in proportion, till twelve shillings the quarter was allowed for wheat; and then,

Stowe's
Chron.
page 481.

Vide
Statutes.

See
Boo
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continues P

continues the statute, "a baker of every quarter of wheat, (as it hath ben proved by the kynges bakers) maye gayne four-pence and the bran, and two loves for avantage; for thre sevauntes one penny halfpenny, for two laddes a halfpenny, for salt a halfpenny, for knedyng a halfpenny, for candel one farthing, for woode two-pence, and for the sifting or boultynge the meal one halfpenny".

The same statute extending to brewers also, tells us, "that when a quarter of wheate was sold for three shillings, or three shillings and four-pence, and a quarter of barley at the price of twenty-pence or two shillings, and a quarter of oates at sixteen-pence, then brewers in cities ought and coulede well aforde and sell two galons of ale for one penny, and out of cities they might sell three or four galons for a penny." And by a statute made in the reign of Edward the First, it was enacted, "that the tolle at mylne should be taken accordyng to the custome of the land, and according to the strength of the water course, eyther to the 20th or 24th parte of the corn; and the measure whereby the tolle should be taken, should be agreeable to the kynges measure; and that the tolle should be taken by the rafe (that is struck off even from the measure with a strike) and not by the heap or cantell: and in case that the fermers synde the mylners their necessities, they should take nothing more than their due tolle, on pain of severe punishment." Forefallers also by the same act were made obnoxious to a very severe punishment.

This nation, as we have already seen, was long famous for its fleeces: wool was the staple commodity of the kingdom, and was exported forth to the surrounding nations; but yet it is very extraordinary, that thus possessed of such a valuable treasure, they should not have applied themselves much sooner to the weaving and manufacturing of it within their own dominions. Their richest and best cloths were wove abroad in Flanders, as witnesseth Mathew of Westminster, in these words, *Tua textrix Flandria texuit*, &c. Edward the Third (the Father of his People) was the first who encouraged the manufacturing of wool in England; in the eleventh year of whose reign it was by parliament enacted, that no wool should be carried out of the kingdom but such as was first manufactured at home; and all fullers, weavers, and cloth-workers were encouraged, coming from any nation whatever, and many great and special privileges allowed them: and after, for the farther encouragement of the manufactories, an act was made prohibiting to every one in the kingdom (the king queen and their children excepted) the wearing any cloth but such as should be made at home in the English nation; which acts were afterwards continued by the succeeding kings, granting the privilege to nobles only of wearing foreign cloths. Under these auspicious rays the manufactories still flourished and improved, till they matured to such perfection as we have seen them in these latter ages.

Vide p. 12
of this Vol.

Stow's
Chron. page
233.

Stow's Sum-
marie, page
153.

Dress and Habits of the ENGLISH.

From the simplicity of the last age, we now pass on to the pompous habits in the æra of the English, a subject which we must treat in a general manner, on account of the vast variety of different fashions and alterations.

Camden,

Camden, in his Remains, informs us, that in the reign of Henry the Second, silk was first brought into use; "I mean (says he) *bombacyna*, made by silke wormes, which first came out of Greece into Sicile, and then into other parts of Christendome. For *sericum*, which was a doune kemberd off from the trees among the *Seres*, in the East India, as *bissus* was a plant or kinde of silke grasse as they now call it were unknowne.

Camden's
Remains,
page 232.

There was also (adds he) a costly stuffe at these times here in England, called in Latine *aurifrisium*: what it was named in English I know not, neither doe I imagine it *auriphrigium*, and to signifie embroiderie with golde, as *opera pbrygia* were embroideries. Whatsoever it was, much desired it was by the popes, and highly esteemed in Italie."

In the reign of Edward the First, the general wearing of furs upon their garments began to be used, whereas before these ornaments were confined to the coronation robes of the kings, and creation robes of the nobles:

Edward the Third, in the third year of his reign, when he made his public entry into Amiens, to do homage to Philip de Valois, the French king, for the Dutchie of Aquitain, was habited in a robe of crimson velvet, powdered, with golden leopards, a crown upon his head, and a sword by his side, with spurs of pure gold upon his heels: he had in his retinue many earls and barons, besides 1000 horsemen. Indeed the luxury of apparel in the beginning of his reign, is strongly marked by many satirical rhymes made at that period by the Scots. A stanza, which in derision of the English was by them fastened upon the door of St. Peter's church at Stangate, is yet preserved in our own histories. It runs thus:

Longe beards bezaies
Peynete whoodes witles,
Gay cotes gracelers
Spaketh Englonde thyttelers.

Speed's
Chron.
p. 679.

For att that tyme (says an old Chronicle) the Englishe men were clothee all in cotes, and hodes peynete with letters, and with floures, and semely with longe beards.

MS. Chron.
penes J. Ives
Esq; fol. 38,
B.

About the nineteenth year of the same reign, the king (for the encouragement of military sports) established his round table at Windsor, and great numbers of foreign knights resorting hither, the English took from them such a variety of fashions and new habits, that the old monks with justice cried out shame upon them. Thus says one, The Englishmen hawnted so moche unto the folpe of strawngers, that every yere thei chaunged them in diverse schappes and disgislingges of clothingge: now longe, now large, now wide, now strait, and every day clothingges newe, and desitute and defetie from alle honestie off old array, a gode usage; and a nother tyme to scholte clothes, & so fette waisted, with fulle sleeves, and tapetes of cuzcotes, and hodes over long and large, alle to naggede (jagged) & knet on every side, and alle to flatteredde & also boteredde, that if þu woth thalle seþ, they weren more lyke to tumentours & debeles, in thei clothing, and also in thei schoyng, (shoeing) & other aray, than thei semed to be like menne.—And thette wyminne (women) weren more nyetly arraiedde, & passed the menne in alle maner of arrayes & curious clothing, for thei weredde such strete clothes, that they had long for tacles sewede with ynn thei garments, to hold them forth, for to hede thei (posterior) and then continues the author, thus exclaiming, the whiche disgislingges and pryde, afterwarde brought forth & causedde, many mischietis & myshappes that hapned in the reame (realm) of Englonde.

Dowglass,
monk of
Glastenbury
MS. in the
Harleian
Library,
No. 4690,
fol. 82.

Camden's
Remains,
P. 233.

In the year 1362, the 44th year of the same king Edward the Third (says Camden) "as the book of Worcester reporteth, they began to use cappes of divers coloures, especially red, with costly lynyngs; and in the year 1372, the 47th of the above prince, they first began to wanton it in a new round curtall weede, which they called a cloake, and in Latin *armilauſa*, as only covering the shoulders, and this notwithstanding the king had endeavoured to restrain all these inordinances and expences in clothing; as appears by the law by parliament established in the 36th year of his reign, "Omne ornamentum aureum five argenteum erat damnatum, scilicet in cultellis cingulis monilibus annulis, et cæteris corporum ornamentis, nisi in talibus qui possent per annum expendere decem libras ||, et ut nulli pannis præciosius, aut pellura uterentur, nisi qui possent expendere per annum centum libras." *All ornaments of gold or silver, either on the daggers, girdles, necklaces, rings, or other ornaments for the body, were forbid to all that could not spend ten pounds a year; and farther, that no furre or pretious and costly apparel, should be worn by any but men possessed of 100 pounds a year.*

Walsingham in Vit.
Edwardi
Tert. fol.
173.

Stow's
Chronicle
P. 254.

By way of punishment for the common prostitutes, in the 27th year of this king, a statute was by parliament set forth, forbidding; from that time forward, any known whore (says Stow) should wear any hood, except it were eyed or striped of divers colours, nor furr; but the garments reversed, or turned the wrong side outward, upon pain of forfeiture of the same.

Hollingshead's
Chronicle,
p. 1110.

Ibid. 1015.

Now passing on to the reign of king Richard the Second, we shall lament that the good statutes of the foregoing reign were so badly attended to; the king himself was very sumptuous in his apparel, as may appear from Hollingshead, who affirms that he had (among other gorgeous suits) one coat which he caused to be made for him, of gold and pretious stones, valued at thirty thousand marks; and this example was followed by his subjects: nay Sir John Arundel (as Hollingshead informs us) had apparel so very rich and splendid, that (adds he) it was thought to exceed even that which was wore by the king himself: he had a change of no less than 52 new suits of cloth of gold tissue.

Stow's
Chronicle
P. 295.
See Cam-
den's Re-
mains,
p. 233.

Early in the reign of this prince, began, says Stow, the detestable use of piked shoes*, tied to their knees, with chains of silver, gilt; also women used high attire on their heads, and piked horns, with long training gowns. The commons also (as recorded in the history called the Eulogium, cited by Camden) "were besotted in excess of apparell, in wide surcoates reaching to their loines, some in a garment reaching to their heeles, close before, and strowing out on the sides, so that on the backe they make men seeme women, and this they called by a ridiculous name, *gowne*; their hoods are little, tied under the chin, and buttoned like the womans, but set with gold, silver and pretious stones: their *lirripipes* † reach to their heeles all jagged.---They have another weede of silke which they call a *paltock* ‡; their hose are of two colours, or pied, with more; § which with lachets

|| The continuator of Adam Murimuth's history writes "40 libras," which is most likely, Vide Adami Murimuthensis continuatio in Vit. Edwardi Tertii.

* These shoes are represented worn by the courtiers, in plate 19, of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England: see the account also of that plate p. 15, of the same book.

† These were tippets which went round the neck, and hung down before, Vide MS. in the Harleian Library, No. 219.

‡ A close jacket, like a waistcoat.

§ The truly ridiculous custom of wearing various colours was not confined to the hose alone, for in many antient delineations, we meet with figures habited in garments divided in the middle, strait down

(which they called *berlots*) they tie to their paltocks without any breeches. Their girdles are of gold and silver, some worth 20 marks; their shoes and pattens are snowed and piked more than a finger long, crooking upwards, which they call *crackowes*, resembling the devil's claws, which were fastened to the knees with chaines of gold and silver, &c." Let us also hear what the great father of the English poets *Chaucer* hath said on this subject: Alas! may not a man see as fit our daies the fūnell colliw azaay of clothing, and nainely in too much superfluite, or else in too disordinate frantiness, as to the first,—not only the cost of enbraueyng, the dyspayred endentynge, or banyng, ounnding, playting, wynding, or bending, and semblable waste of clothe in banistrie.—But there is also the costlewe fuyrtinge in ther gownes, so much pounching of chesel to make helter, so much dugging of sheres forche, with the superfluite in length of the foresaide gownes trailing in the dong and in the myre, on hoys and also on foote, as well of man as of woman, that all that trayling is verely as in effect wasted, consumed, tyeed bare, and rotten with dounge. Upon the other side to speake of the horrible disordinate frantyness of clothing, as been these cutted sloppes, or haufselines*, that though their shortnesse cover not the shamfull paytes of menne."—He then continues to inveigh against their *bosen*, partie coloured with *white and red*, and of other colours, as *white and blew*, or *white and blacke*, or *blacke and red*, and so forth: and then continues he, "As to the outrageous azaay of women, God wote that though the visages of some of them seeme ful chaste and debonaire, yet notwithstanding in ther aray or attyre, lifeousness and pride, &c." They had also about that time (says Camden) "a gowne called a *gip* †, a jacket without sleeves, called a *baketon* ‡, a loose jacket like a *tabard*, a short *gabbardin* §, called a *court pie*; a gorget, called a *cheveysail*, for as yet they used no bandes about their neck; a pouche called a *gipser*."

Lond. Edit.
print. 1598
fol. 103. in
parson's tale

Camden's
Remains
234.

But now before we take our leave of this reign, let us hear what Harding has said of the rich habits of the king's train and servants, &c.

Ther was great pride among the officers,
And of al men surpassyng their compceys,
Of riche aray, and muche more costlious
Then was before, or lity, and more pretious;

Harding's
Chron. chap.
193.
fol. 194.

Women and Gromes, in cloth of silke arayd,
Sattyn and Damaske in doublettes and gownes
In cloth of grene, and scarlet for unpayd.
Cut wekke was great bothe in rout and townes
Bothe in mens hoder, and also in their gownes,
Brouder and fuzer, and goldsmith wekke ay newe,
In many a wyse, eche day they did renewe.

And

one side of one colour, and the other side quite different: the reader is referred to the *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*, and in plate 16 he will see John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, portraited in a habit one half white, the other a dark blue: also in plate 39, are different specimens of this laughable fashion. Nay in plate 33, of the same book, there is, at the right hand of the plate, a figure with a boot on one leg, and none on the other. Some of the Officers belonging to the Corporation of Coventry are now

* *Haufselines* or *haufselines*, are now called breeches, but at that time they were only trowlers, and those here mentioned must have been so short, that they tying at the hips, could not reach farther than the middle of the thigh, at most, then their hofe were drawn up strait, and rolled up under them, which hanging loose round about, must have been very indecent when a man stooped to the ground.

† A *gipser*, the jump, if it means this, was a short coat, or cassock.

‡ *Hequeton* was also a cloak,

§ *Gabbardine* or *rochet*, was a gown; the former word also signifies a horseman's coat,

cloathed in this manner,
one side of their habit was
green the other red. R.

And then, continues the poet, all this

— I heard Robert Hele He say
Clerke of the grene cloth. —

This might very well be, for Harding was living in the reign of Henry the Fifth.

Passing on to the reign of king Henry the Fourth, we shall find that the taste of the foregoing reign was yet continued ; and to the former extravagance was added the long pocketting sleeves (as Camden calls them) on which Hoccleve, the disciple of Geoffrey Chaucer, made the following rhimes,

Ibid. 235.

Now hath this land little neede of broomes,
To sweepe away the filth out of the streete,
Sen side sleeves of pennileste grooms,
Will it up like be it dry or wette,

All the twelve figures representing the twelve months, with the signs of the zodiac, were done in the reign of king Henry the Fourth, (see plate 3 of this volume.) Here we find the sleeveless jackets, the hoods buttoned under the chin, and the long sleeves, in the figure of the virgin under the eighth month.

Hollingsf.
p. 1160.

We will now finish this reign with the account of the habit of Henry, prince of Wales, (afterwards king Henry the Fifth) who, when he went to make his peace with his father, was apparelled (says Hollingshead) in a gowne of blewe fatten, full of smal oylet holes, at every hole the needle hanging by a filke threde, with which it was worked ; about his arme he wore an houndes collar sette full of SS of golde, and the tyrrettes likewise being of the same mettall.

The short reign of Henry the Fifth, seems to have been so full of business, and the taxations of the people (to raise money for the support of the foreign wars) were so great, that they had neither leisure nor riches sufficient to establish new fashions, or run into further extravagancies ; I have met with only one note of any consequence concerning the habits of this reign, which is of the king himself, who being in France with his queen (the beautiful Catharine, the French king's daughter) together with his father-in-law, and his queen, kept their feast of pentecost at Paris ; the king of England in a royal court, sat with his queen apparelled in rich and elegant vestures, ornamented with precious stones, and on their heads they wore diadems of gold, richly set with oriental jewels.

Grafton's
Chronicle,
p. 493.

But continuing on to the reign of Henry the Sixth, it seems as if all the fantastical, and ridiculous fashions of the former æras, had been collected together and placed therein : a slight specimen is given on plate 4, of this vol. where all the figures (7 and 8 excepted) are from delineations then made, as are those also at the bottom of the third plate, under the months ; and several head dresses exhibited in the sixth plate, all which are more particularly noted, in the description of the plates.

Stow's
Chron., page
424.

This prince himself (according to Stow) usually wore a cap, or hood, of red high

high cap of estate, called *abrotket*, or *abrotket*, was garnished with two rich crowns. In the 10th year of Edward the fourth, he was caused by the earl of Warwick, (who then espoused his cause) to ride about the city of London, apparelled in a gown of blue velvet.

Grafton,
page 661.
Hollingf.
1314.
Grafton,
702.

It would be an endless undertaking to describe particularly the dress of this and the following reigns, or to number up the great variety of different figures; many of which (as well kings and nobles, as commoners) are already published in the regal and ecclesiastical antiquities of England: and for the dress of the latter reigns, as Edward the Fourth, Richard the Third, and Henry the Seventh, the reader is referred to the plates in this vol. beginning from the seventh, and continuing on to the last but one; which are all so well and accurately done, by the faithful antiquary John Rous, that they need no further explanation than what he himself has given, and is printed in the description of the plates.

I have only to add, that all the above-mentioned enormities, especially the long pointed shoes (which fashion in the time of Edward the Fourth so universally prevailed, that those whose finances would not allow them chains of gold and silver, had filken strings, stretched from the knee to the long point of the shoe) were forbid by the parliament in the third year of Edward the Fourth; when it was enacted, that no man or woman under the estate of a lord, (or lords children) should wear any cloth of gold tissue, apparel embroidered with gold, or have any furs or fables upon their garments, and that no yeoman, or person under that degree, should in their cloathing have any bolsters of wool, cotton, or other stuff; or in their jackets any thing, save the lining equal to the outside; and that no person should wear a gown, a jacket, or a cloak, but what was of such a length, that when the same man stood upright, it should hide his hinder parts; and further it was enacted, that no men should wear shoes, or boots, with pikes exceeding two inches in length: it was also strictly forbid (under pain of a grievous fine) that any taylor should stuff, or bolster a garment, to make it shorter than the act limited: and also to all shoemakers that they should not make any shoes or boots above the proportioned size; but even all the above regulations, seem not to have been sufficient entirely to abolish these foolish fashions, for in the fifth year of the same king, it was proclaimed throughout England, that the points of shoes or boots, should not exceed two inches, upon pain of cursing by the clergy, besides the forfeiture of twenty shillings.

Ibid. p. 419.

I will now conclude this subject, and think enough has been said thereon; for it is needless to attempt any further particular description of the latter part of this English era; for I may with Dr. Bourd, give a man a pair of sheers, and a piece of cloth, and defy him to cut a garment (tho' as whimsical and ridiculous as the most romantic genius could invent) but that in these latter ages, some authentic figure may be found, in habit full as strange and monstrous: but we must not think that these follies were confined to the English nation only; Oh no! our sprightly neighbours the French, were to the full as ingenious in their attire, as we could possibly be: let but the curious reader cast his eye upon the long series of plates given in father Montfaucon's *Monarchie Francois*, and he will soon be convinced of the truth of this assertion: and other surrounding nations caught the infection, as may be proved, by examination of that valuable old chronicle, written by a German, whose name was Hartman, and printed at Nuremberg in

See Camden's
Remains,
P. 17.

the

the year of our Lord 1493; almost every page of which curious book, is enriched with a variety of excellent wood cuts, which represent the multiplicity of dresses that were at that time used in Germany.

Domestic Affairs, &c.

Descrip.
Brit. vol. 1,
page 856.

We have already seen the homely beds of the Saxons, and those more improved of the Danes, and we find them still improving in the Norman Æra, see fig. 2, plate 33 & plate 63, both in the first vol. Hollingshead tells us, that in the memory of men living in his days,* was made a great amendment in lodging, for (says he) "our fathers & we our selves, have lyen full oft upon straw pallettes, covered only with a sheete, under coverlettes made of dogswain or hop-harlots (I use, says he, the very words of the old men, from whom I received the accounts) and a good round logge under their heades, insteade of a boulster. If it were so that our fathers or the good man of the house had a matteres or flock bed, and thereto a sacke of chafe to rest hys heade upon, he thought himself to be as well lodged as the lorde of the towne, so well were they contented. Pillowes sayde they were thought meete only for women in childe bed. As for servants, if they had any sheete above them, it was well, for seldome had they any under their bodies, to keepe them from the pricking strawes, that ranne oft thorow the canvas, and raced their hardened hides." This was only speaking of the middling sort, see plates 7, 50, and 58 of this vol. which are beds belonging to people of the first distinction:—yet, if the reader will look back to plate 35 of the first volume, he will see that the Monk's palet was hard enough, and the covering very slight. I have not been able to trace out the first introduction of the luxurious feather beds, but I find them mentioned in an old chronicle, as early as the reign of Richard the Second; for speaking of the death of the duke of Gloucester, uncle to the king, we are told that he was smothered with "a *feder bedde*." In an old poem, entitled the Squire of Low Degree (which Mr. Wharton takes to be as ancient as the reign of Edward the First) is this description of the bed and furniture of a princefs.

MS. in Bib.
Harl. insig.
4690, fol.
97.

Vide Whar-
ton, on En-
glish Poetry

Your blankettes shal be of fustiane,
Your sheetes shal be of cloths of rayne,
Your head sheete shalt be of pery pyght,
Wylth dyamonds set & rubys byght;
When you are layd in bed so softe,
A rage of golde shal hange alofte,
Wylth longe peper sayze brening,
And clobes that be swete smellyng.

In all the delineations of the English Æra (that I have seen) the figures represented in bed are pictured quite naked, see even the queen, plate 50, the dutcheffs, plate 7, and the duke, who is dying, plate 58, all in this vol. the same also seems to be confirmed by the accounts of the historians; and this may appear still more strange,

* This chronicle of Hollingshead was published in 2 vols. with wood cuts, in the year 1577, the author himself then living.

strange, when on the examination of the Saxon, Danish, and Norman Æras, we find the figures in bed with close garments, like shirts; see vol. 1, plates 13, 27, 33, and 63. In plates 7, and 50, of this volume, we see that the infant (immediately on its birth) is wrapped up in swaddling clothes, from the head to the foot; which unnatural custom continued to be practised, even till the beginning of this last century.

For household furniture, says Hollinghead, in our own days, old men may remember great improvements, as the exchange of treene (wooden) platters for pewter, and wooden spoones for silver or tin. For so common were all sorts of treene vessels in old time, that a man should hardly find four peces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a salte) in a goode farmers house, and yet for all this frugalitie (if it may be so justly called) they were scarce able to lyve and paye their rentes, at their dayes, without selling of a cow, or a horse, or more, although they payde but foure pounds at the uttermost by the yere; and says this author, the reason was owing to too much attention to the alehouse, and too little to work; for, continues he, altho' at present (that was in the author's life-time) the foure pounds be improved to forty or fiftye, yet will the farmer thinke his gaines very small toward the middest of his terme, if he have not sixe or seven yeres rent lying by him, therewith to purchase a newe lease, beside a faire garnishe of pewter on his cowborde, three or foure feather beddes, so many coverlettes and carpettes of tapisry, a silver salt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neast) and a dusen of spoones, to furnishe up the sute."

Descrip.
Brit. vol. 1.
fol. 856.

We may justly wonder, what has become of the industry of the English ladies; we hear no more of their rich embroiderings, and curious needlework. Is all the domestic simplicity of the former ages entirely banished? why no! some few, tho' very rare examples, are even in these latter times to be produced; Queen Elizabeth employed her leisure hours (before she came to the crown) in writing holy prayers, and copying various religious discourses from the sacred writings: her grace the dutchess dowager of Portland, has in her cabinet a very curious specimen; another is preserved in the British Museum, which has the covers curiously wrought, and embroidered with gold and silver thread; said also to be the work of her own hand. I remember some time ago, being in a company viewing the Museum, and a great number of ladies there present, the gentleman who attended, took the book and shewed it to them, saying, "Is it not much to be lamented, that the ladies of the present age, will not afford a little of so much lost time, upon such pious and laudable amusements, seeking to improve their minds with useful knowledge? and then (adds he, smiling) perhaps so many good husbands would not be spoiled, and those that are bad, would stand some chance of being reclaimed, by the good examples of their religious consorts."

Carriages for Pleasure.

We have already seen the Saxon Cpet or Chariot; the Normans used a horse barrow, or horse litter; Malmesbury speaking of the death of William Rufus, tells us that his dead body was placed upon a "*rbeda caballaria*," a kind of horse chariot; or as Fabian translates it horse litter: Mathew of Westminster

N.

informs

informs us, that John in his last sickness, was conveyed from the abbey of Swinhead, in "*lectica equestri*;" which is evidently the horse litter: and these being continued down in the succeeding reigns, were the only carriages for persons of distinction: thus says Froissart (speaking of the young Isabel, the second wife

Froissart, MS. vol. 4. "En mist la jeune royne d'angleterre en une litiere, moult rich, qui estoit orbonee pour elle," that is, *the young queen of England was put into a litter, extremely grand and rich, which was appointed for her.* And by the little book, *Orbis sensualis Pictus*, it appears that they were in common use, in the seventeenth century, even long after the invention of coaches.

Coaches (according to Stow) were not used till the year 1555,* when (says he) "Walter Ripon made a coach for the earl of Rutland, which was the first that ever was made in England; and in the year 1564, the same Walter made the first hollow turning coach, with pillars and arches for her majestie (queen Mary) being then her servant; and in the year 1584, he made a chariot throane, with foure pillars behind, to beare a canopie with a crowne imperiall on the toppe, and before, two lower pillars, whereon stood a lion and a dragon, the supporters of the armes of England."--It was a long time after the first invention of coaches, before the coach box was added, for says the little book above quoted; "the coachman joineth a horse first to match a saddle horse, to the coach tree, then he sitteth upon the saddle, and when there was four horses, he drove those which went before him, guiding them with a rein. Great persons were carried in a coach, or hanging waggon, with six horses, and two coachmen (we should call them postillions) others rode in chariots drawn by two horses only."

Stow's Sum-
marie of the
English
Chron.

Sports and Pastimes.

The sports, or pastimes of the first rank, and the most noble, were the tournaments: not that the passion of hunting, hawking, and other champaigne amusements was abated; we find them still pursuing these antient sports, wit-
ness the following verses from an old ballad.

In summer time, when leaves grow greene
And blossoms bedecke the tree,
King Edward would a hunting ryde,
Some pastime for to see.

With hawkes and hounde he made him bowne,
With horne & eke with bowe;
To Drayton Bassett he tooke his waye
With all his lordes a rowe.

Reliques of
antient poe-
try, vol. 2,
page 76.

Carta de fo-
resta, cap. xi. In former times these sports were confined to the kings and nobles only; but in the forest charter (signed by John, and confirmed by his son Henry the Third)

* Caxton in his additions to the Polychronicon, tells us, that "a great company of lords and ladies, with newe charres and palfreyes, went over see to attend the lady Margaret, who was afterwards married to king Henry the Sixth; but what sort of carriages those charres were, must be left to the judgment of the reader. See Caxton's additions at the end of the Polychronicon, published by him, chap. 22, fol. 417.

the privilege was granted, that every freeman might have in his own woods, aviaries of hawks, sparrow hawks, falcons, eagles, and herons, and had a right to all the money that he might find upon his own premises; and also, that no man should from that time forward, forfeit either his life or limbs for killing the king's deer; but if any man should be convicted, or taken in the fact of stealing venison belonging to the king, he should be subject to a heavy fine, and in default of payment, to be imprisoned for a year and a day; and after that time was expired, he should either find surety for his good behaviour, or be banished the land.

Ibid. cap.
14.

Of Tournaments, &c.

These sports were entirely managed by their own laws, and at the first institution, the combatants often proceeded from sport to earnest, slaying and maiming each other downright; they were (says Camden) first instituted in the year 934, though, continues he, they made not their appearance in England till the reign of king Stephen, as Lambard has thus noted, "this manner of exercise being then used" (says he) "not at the tilt, as I think, but at randome, and in the open field, was accounted so dangerous to persons having to do therein, that sundry popes had forbidden it by decree;" and "those that were slain (according to Camden) were by the church canons denied christian burial:"* The kings of this realm (continues Lambard) before king Stephen, would not suffer it to be frequented within their land; so that, such as for exercise in that feat in armes, were driven to passe over the seas, and to performe it in some indifferent place in a foreigne countrie. But afterwarde, king Stephen in his time permitted it; and then after him, king Richard the First not only allowed it, but also encouraged his nobilitie to use it; and so by litle and litle, the danger being sufficiently provided for,† and the men waxing expert, it grew in time of the kings that followed (especially in the reigne of Edward the Third) to a most pleasaunt, usual and familiar pastime.

Camden's
Brit. in Herefordshire.

Lambard's
perambulation of Kent
fol. 448.
Camden ut
supra.

The

* And Henry the Third, by the advice of parliament enacted, that all who (without leave) should keep a tournament, should forfeit their estates, and their children to be disinherited.

† The danger was not so well provided against, as Lambard affirms, witness the many accounts we have in our histories, of the several lords and nobles that were killed and hurt at these sports; among many other noble persons, we read of Henry the Second, the French king, who in the year 1158, was slain at a tournament. And that they should be often hurt, must follow of consequence; for imagining two strong men on spirited horses, running against each other, their horses full speed; the least was the throwing one or other out of their saddles upon the ground, thus says Stow, at a jousting held on London Bridge, A. D. 1395, between David earl of Crawford and lord Wells, the latter was at the third course, cast from his saddle to the ground, and much hurt; and Caxton tells us, that in the 17th year of Richard the Second, "The erle of Moray (a Scotch lord) chalenged the erle Marshal of England, to joust with hym on horsback, with sharpe speeres, and soo they roode together certayne courses, but not the full challenge, for the Scottyshe erle was rasse bothe hors & man, & two of hys rybbes broken with the same falle, & soo boone home into his inn, & anon after was carped homeward in a litter," and at Morke he dyed. Addit. to Polychronicon, chap. 7. fol. 399.

The old poet Robert of Glocester giving us a description of William Rufus, son to the Conqueror, writes thus,

Robert of
Glocester,
in Vit. Wil-
liel. Secun.

Stalwaide he was, & hardy, & god knygt, thorn al thyng
In batayle, & in tornemmes er than he were kyng.

Which may lead one to think, that as Rufus was so famous in these sports, he would hardly have discouraged them among his subjects.

Geofry
Mon-
mouth.

These sports took rise from the martial exercises of the ancients. Our historians inform us, that the noble British king Arthur, loved and encouraged feats of arms, or warlike games*, and made a round table for his knights, who in those troublesome times were to wander about in search of adventures; to protect and rescue the innocent from oppression, and to be in particular as guards and servants to ladies in distress, or danger: --- In imitation of this round table of king Arthur, says Harding, in the seventh year of Edward the First,

Harding's
Chronicle,
chap 155,
fol. 161.

And in the yere a thousand was ful then
Two hundred also sixty and nyntene,
When Sir Roger Mortimer so began
At Belyngworth, the round table as was sene,
Of a thousand knyghts for dreipline,
Of young menne, after he could devise
Of Turnementes, and justes to exercise.

A Thousand Ladies, excellng in beautee
He had also there, in Centes high above
The justes, that thei might well and cleyely see
Who justed beste, there for thei Lady Love
For whose beaute, it shold the knyghtes move
In armes so che other to revie
To get a fame in play of Chivalry.

This institution has in it all the romantic fire of knight errantry, the ladies were placed so that they might be spectators, and the young knights (arrayed no doubt in the colours of their favourite damsels) performed the best they could, in honour of their "Lady Love," to proclaim her beauty and her virtue. This round table, for the encouragement of arms and valour, was renewed at Windsor with great splendour, by king Edward the Third, in the eighteenth year of his reign; and such was the number of foreign knights, who resorted thither

* All these warlike games, as those of the round table, and tilt or tournaments, are by historians too often confounded together; but they were different games, as appears from a passage in that celebrated historian, Mathew Paris; who speaking of these sports in the life of Henry the Third, writes thus; non in *hastiludis* illo, quod vulgariter *sorneamentum* dicitur; sed potius in illo ludo militari, qui *mensa rotunda* dicitur, &c. not in the tilts which we commonly call *tournameys*, but rather in that military game, called the *round table*: the first was the tilting or running at each other with lances, the second likely was the same with that ancient sport, called barriers, which comes from the old French *barres*, or *jeu de barres*, a martial sport (says the Glossography) of men armed, and fighting together with short swords, within certain limits or lists, whereby they were severed from the spectators. See also Dr. Watts, in his Glossary to Mat. Paris, sub *tournament*; and this fighting without lances, distinguished the barriers, or round table knights, from the tilters.

thither to shew their skill, and gain themselves honour and renown, that Philip Valois, king of France, jealous of the glory of our monarch, made also a round table in his own kingdom,

There was a royal jousts holden by king Richard the Second at Smithfield, at which (says Caxton) the king attended, and all "of his hous were of one sute their cotys, their armys, their myldes, & their tappons were embroydred all with whyte hartys (harts) with crowmes of gold about their necks, & theynes of gold hanging thereon; to which hartys (harts) were the kings legercy, that he gaf to lordes, ladyes, knyghtes, & squyers, to know his household peple from other; then four and twenty ladyes comynge to the joustys, ladde four and twenty lordes with cheynes of gold, and alle in the same sute of hertes as is afore sayd, from the Tour on horsbak thugh the cyte of London into Smythfeld."

Addit. to
Polychroni-
con, c. 6.
fol. 397.

At these tournaments, tilts, jousts, or barriers, the usual method was for the knights to challenge all comers to perform so many courses with the lance, or so many blows with the sword, or the like. The following are specimens collected from an old MS. "of Certaine Triumphes," in the Harleian Library.

At the marriage of Richard duke of York, (son to Edward the Fourth) with Anne Mowbray, daughter to the duke of Norfolk, six gentlemen challenged all commers at the

MS. in Bib.
Harl. infig.
No. 69.

Joust Roiall, with *helme* and *shield*, in maner accustomed.

Secondly, To runne in *Osting barneis* alonge a tilte.

And thirdly, To strike certaine strokes with swardes and guise of *torney*.

In the reign of Henry the Seventh, *certaine gentlemen*, who stiled themselves the servants of *Ladie Maie*, in honour of that month, gave a challenge to be performed at *Greenwicke*; the articles run thus:

Imprimis, The fourteenth daie of Maie shalle be redye in the field certaine gentlemen, pertheyning to the Ladye Maie, armed for the *tilt*, in *barneis* therunto accustomed; and there to kepe the *felde* (in such place as it shall please the kynge to appoint) from 2 of the clocke, till 5 at the afternoone, to run with every commer 8 courses; and thus the answerers all answered & served, that than if there be any that desireth *for their Ladyes sake* other 4 courses, it shall be granted, so the hower be not past, if it be then at the queenes pleasure.

The second day, to shoot *standart arrowe* and *flighte*, with all commers; he that shootes the *standart* furthest to have a prise, and so in like case of the *arrow* of the *flight*.

The third day, with *swordes rebated*, (without points or edges) to strike with every commer 8 strokes in waye of pleasure; and four strokes more for any of the commers *mystrys sake*, under the above restrictions, (and the queene's pleasure.)

The fourth day, to *wrestle* all manner of ways, at the pleasure of the commers.

The fifth day, armed for to fighte on foote, with *speares* in their hands *rebated*, (that is blunted) and their swordes by their sides for the battle; and there with speare and sword to defend their barriers; that is to say, with speares 8 strokes, whereof two with foyne, (perhaps thrusts) and 6 with strokes; and that done, to drawe their swordes and strike 8 strokes every man, to his best advantage, with gripe or otherwise; and four strokes *for a lady*, under the above restrictions.

The sixth day, to *casse the barre* on foote, and with the arme both heave and light.

At these *tournois* the challenger doth engage to come in *barneis* for the tilt, without *targe* or *brockett*, *woolant peece* over the head, *rondall* over the *garde*, rest of advantage, fraude, deceit, or other malengine.

And some time after four gentlemen challenged all comers at Greenwich:

To the feate called the *barriers*, with the *casting speare*, and the *targatt*, and the *bastarde sworde*.

And one cast with the *speare* hedded with the *morn*, and 17 strokes with the *sworde*, point and edge rebated; without close or griping one another with handes, upon paine of such punishment as the judges for the tyme being should thinke requisite.

The tilts, we find, were performed with long tilting spears, on horseback; and when their lances were broken, they often took to their swords as well as axes; see the method of challenge in the description of the plates in the life of Earl Warwick, and the manner of performing, plates 35, 36, & 37, &c.

Theatrical Amusements.

It will be impossible to ascertain the date when these amusements were first introduced into England: we find them mentioned very early in the Norman ara by Stephanides, or Fitz-Stephen, as we have already seen, page 22 of this volume. His words are, *Londonia pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis fœnicis, ludos habet sanctiores, repræsentationes miraculorum quæ sancti confessorum operati sunt, seu repræsentationes passionum, quibus claruit constantia martyrum*. And as these representations are by no means mentioned as new or uncommon, we may justly conclude them to be of a date still more ancient. This author wrote in the reign of Henry the Second, and died in the reign of king Richard the First, An. Dom. 1191; but he has not left any account of their theatres, or method of performing; nor whether there were at that time players who made it their business, as in the present age.

In the 6th year of the reign of Edward the Third, it was ordained by parliament, that a company of men, called vagrants, who made masquerades through the whole city, should be whipped out of London, because they represented scandalous things in little alehouses, and other places where the populace assembled. These (says Doddsley, in the Preface to his curious Collection of Antient Plays) were in all probability of that species called *mummers**, who used to stroll about the country, dressed in an antick manner, dancing, mimicking, and shewing postures, and as these mummers always went masked and disguised, they too frequently committed violent outrages, and were guilty of many lewd disorders, which afterwards so much increased, that in the third year of Henry the Eighth, an act was made against mummers, in which the penalty for selling visors, or keeping them in any house, was twenty shillings each visor. However, (says my author) bad as these mummers may have been, they seem to be the true original comedians of England, and their excellence altogether consisted, as that of their successors does in part still, in mimicry and humour.

These mummings were also the common holiday amusements among the young people, both in town and country. In the year 1377, (says Stow) the citizens of London, at the feast of Christmas, made a mumming, to please the young prince Richard, son to Edward the Black Prince, (afterwards Richard the Second) in the following manner: "On the Sunday before *Candlemas*, in the night

* A word signifying one who masks and disguises himself to play the fool without speaking. Hence, perhaps, comes our country word *mum*; hold your tongue; say nothing. Doddsley's Preface, page 8.

night, one hundred and thirty citizens, disguised and well horsed, in a *mummary*, with sound of trumpets, sackbuts, cornets, shalmes, and other minstrels, and innumerable torch-lights of wax, rode from *Newgate* thorow *Cheap*, over the bridge through *Southwarke*, and so to *Kennington*, besides *Lambeth*, where the young prince remained with his mother, and the duke of *Lancaster* his uncle, the earles of *Cambridge*, *Hereford*, *Warwicke*, and *Suffolke*, with divers other lords. In the first ranke did ride 48, in the likenesse and habit of esquires, two and two together, clothed in red coats, and gownes of say or fendall, with comely visors on their faces: After them came riding 48 knights, in the same livery of colour and stuffe; then followed one richly arrayed, like an emperour; and after him at some distance, one stately tyred like a pope, who was followed by 24 cardinals; and after them eight or ten with blacke vizors, not amiable, as if they had been legates from some foraigne princes. These maskers, after they had entered the mannor of *Kennington*, alighted from their horses, and entred the hall on foote, which done, the prince, his mother, and the lords, came out of the chamber into the hall, whom the mummers did salute, shewing by a paire of dice on the table, their desire to play with the young prince, which they so handled, that the prince did alwaies winne when he cast at them. Then the mummers set to the prince three jewels, one after another, which were a bowle of gold, a cup of gold, and a ring of gold, which the prince wanne at three casts. Then they set to the prince's mother, the duke, the earles, and other lords, to every one a ring of gold, which they did also winne. After which they were feasted, and the musicke sounded, the prince and lords danced on the one part with the mummers, who did also dance; which jollity being ended, they were againe made to drinke, and then departed in order as they came.

The like was to *Henry* the Fourth, in the second of his reign, he then keeping his *Christmas* at *Eltham*, twelve aldermen of *London*, and their sonnes, rode in a mumming, and had great thanks."

But to return to the stage, *Carew*, in his Survey of Cornwall, (which was written in the reign of Elizabeth) speaking of the diversions of the people, says thus,—“The Guary-Miracle (in English a *Miracle Play*,) is a kind of interlude, compiled in Cornish, out of some scripture History. For representing it they raise an amphitheatre in some open field, having the diameter of this inclosed plain, some 40 or 50 foot. The country people flock from all sides, many miles off, to see and hear it; for they have therein devils and devices to delight as well the eye as the ear.” But this author has not told us of what date these interludes were supposed to be; tho’ without doubt they were very ancient, for holy histories had long been the only subject of the drama, all over Europe; but these (says Doddsley) were represented in so stupid and ridiculous a manner, that the stories of the *New Testament* in particular, were thought to encourage libertinism and infidelity.*

Carew's
Survey of
Cornwall

Vide Dodds-
ley's preface
to the col-
lect. of old
plays.

The year 1378 (continues the same author) is the earliest date I can find, in which express mention is made of the representation of these mysteries, or holy plays in England. In this year the scholars of Paul's school presented a petition to king Richard the Second, praying his Majesty to prohibit some unexpert people

* They stuck not (in these mysteries) at personating the most holy and sacred characters: what will the reader say, when he hears that in a mystery called *God's Promises*, the principal character is Pater Cælestis, the Heavenly Father. Vol. 1. of Doddsley's collection of old plays.

Stow's
Survey, p.
11.

Doddsley's
preface.

ple from presenting the History of the Old Testament, to the great prejudice of the said clergy, who had been at great expence, in order to represent it publicly at Christmas." And, says Stow, in the year 1390, the fourteenth of Richard the Second, I read, that the parish clerks of *London*, on the 18th of *July*, plaid enterludes at *Skinner's Well*, neere unto *Clerk's Well*, which play continued three days together, the king, queene, and nobles being present. Also in the yeere 1409, the tenth of *Henry* the Fourth, they played a play at the *Skinner's Well*, which lasted eight dayes, and was of matter from the creation of the world: there were to see the same, the most part of the nobles and gentiles in England." How long these holy misteries of divinity continued to be exhibited amongst us cannot exactly be determined: but that period (says Doddsley) might be called the dead sleep of the muses; and when this was over, they did not presently awake, but in a kind of morning dream produced the moralities that followed: however these jumbled ideas had some shadow of meaning. The mysteries only represented in a senseless manner, some miraculous history from the Old and New Testament: but in these moralities something of design appeared, a fable and a moral, with something also of poetry: the virtues, vices, and other affections of the mind being frequently personified. † "Then (continues the same author) the muse might now be said to be just awake, when she began to trifle in the old interludes, and aimed at something like wit and humour: Gammer Gurton's Needle (which is generally called our first comedy, and not undeservedly) appeared soon after the interludes: it is indeed altogether of a comic cast, and wants not humour, tho' of a low and sordid kind. ‡

Thus the stage continued still improving, and under Shakespear, Johnson, and other famous poets, has at last arrived to that perfection, in which we find it at this present period.

Many plays were written by masters of schools, to be performed by the youths; the same were made and played at the universities by the students of the several colleges: of which last sort are the curious performances of one Thomas Goff, of Christ-Church, Oxford, (who was in his day esteemed an excellent poet) as a specimen of the stile, as well as of the ingenuity of the author, we give the following speech of *Amureth*, or the *Courageous Turk*; who coming upon the stage, and seeing "an appearance of the heavens being on fire, comets, and blazing stars," thus makes his address to the heavens..

Amureth the
First, act 5,
scene 3.

How now (ye Heavens) grow you
So proud, that you must needs put on curl'd locks;
And cloth yourselves in periwigs of fire?

At:

† As for example, in an old morality, entitled, *All for Money*, the persons of the drama are: Theology, Science, Art, Money, Adulation, Godly Admonition, Mischievous Help, Pleasure, Preft for Pleasure, Sin, Swift to Sin, Virtue, Humility, Charity, All for Money, Damnation, Satan, Pride, Gluttony, Learning with Money, Learning without Money, Money without Learning, Neither Learning nor Money, Moneyless, Moneyless and Friendless, Nychol, Gregory Graceless, Mother Crook, Judas, Dives, and William with the two Wives. Doddsley's Preface. See also the characters represented in the Triumphal Entry of Henry the Sixth into London, page 51, et seq. of this vol.

‡ This comedy is given in Doddsley's curious collection of old plays, printed from an edition dated 1661, which informs us that it was written by Mr. S—, Master of arts, and played at Cambridge about 100 years before. Vol. 1. of Doddsley's collection.

At least our readers will allow the thought of the Heavens cloathing themselves with *perruigs of fire*, is uncommonly great; but how great must their surprize be, when they are informed that the whole play abounds with passages equal in excellency and novelty to the above specimen: and in another play, entitled, *The Raging Turk, or Bajazet the Second*; the hero Bajazet is introduced with this speech,

Am I not emperor? he that breaths a no,
 Damns in that negative syllable his soul,
 Durst any god gainsay it, he should feel
 The strength of fiercest gyants in my armes,
 Mine angers at the highest, and I could shake
 The firm foundation of the earthly globe:
 Could I but graspe the poles in these two hands,
 I'd pluck the world asunder, &c.

Bajazet the
 Second, act
 1, scene 2.

And this character of a great hero is completed by declaring that he will scale Heaven, and would when he had

————— Got beyond the utmost sphere,
 Besiege the concave of this universe,
 And hunger-starve the gods till they confests'd
 What furies did oppress (his) sleeping soul.

Ibid, act 5,
 scene 9.

These plays went through two editions, the last was printed in the year 1656 at London.

And at this period not only in comedies, but in the deepest tragedies, a fool was absolutely necessary; who with his buffoonery might divert the audience, which motley mixture, to the honour of the good sense of the present age, is entirely exploded.

We will now conclude this subject, with an account of the antient players from Stow; who informs us "that players in former times, were retainers to Stow's Sure noblemen, and none had the privilege to act plays but such; so in the time of vey. Queen Elizabeth, many of the nobility had servants and retainers, who were players, and went about getting their livelihood that way."

And in another place speaking of the stage, he says, "This was once a recreation, and used therefore now and then occasionally, but afterwards by abuse became a trade and calling, and so remains to this day."

"In those former days ingenious tradesmen, and gentlemens servants, would sometimes gather a company of themselves, and learn interludes, to expose vice, or to represent the noble actions of our ancestors. These they played at festivals in private houses, at weddings or other entertainments; but in process of time it became an occupation."

Here we may add the Posture Master, and the figure balancing a spear, pl. 6, fig. 17 and 18; the first we see standing upon the shoulders of a man (who is playing the bagpipes) while he turns and winds himself about to the music: the second with his right hand holds up his left foot, while on his nose is placed the spear: even in their sports is some display of martial genius, (at present the straw, a proper emblem

emblem of lightness, is adopted.) The above figures are from a curious MS. in the possession of John Ives, Esq; who communicated to me these, and several other curious matters: the MS. is evidently by the same hand, and habit of the figures as antient as the time of Edward the Third.

Fairs or Wakes.

Wakes first took their rise from the meeting of the people at the dedication of churches; which ceremony was performed on the saints day, in whose honour the church was built; on the preceeding evening came the religious people to watch and pray all the night; and this watching or waking, was annually kept up on the eves of the saints days. The first intention of this watching was good and holy, but by degrees greater numbers attending, less devotion and reverence was observed; till at length from hawkers and pedlars coming thither to sell their petty wares, the merchants came and set up stalls and booths in the church yards; and not only those (says Spelman) who lived in the parish to which the church belonged, resorted thither, but others from all the neighbouring towns and villages; and the greater the reputation of the saint, the greater were the numbers that flocked together on this occasion. Dugdale in his Warwickshire, gives us the following quotation from an old MS. Legend, of St. John the Baptist, *and ye shall understand and know how the evyns were first found in old time. In the beginning of boli churche, it was so that the pepull cam to the chirche with candellys brennyng, and wold wake, and come with light toward to the chirche in their devotions, and astir they fell to lecherie and songs, daunces, harping, piping, and also to glotony and sinne, and so turned the bolinesse to cursydness: wherefore boly faders ordered the pepull to leve that waking, and to fast the evyn. But hit is calyd vigilia that is waking in Englishe, and it is called evyn, for at evyn they were wont to come to chirche.* The unseeminglyness of these riotous wakeings, becoming at length offensive to the religious people, they were suppressed, and the people meeting in the day, regular fairs were kept annually on the saints day: the direct time of the prohibition of these nocturnal visits to the church, is not known, but (says Dugdale) I do conclude it to have been very antient:

The dedication of churches was coeval with Christianity, and annually kept upon saints days; but it often happened that those days fell out in the time of harvest, which made it very inconvenient; therefore in such case, the wake was ordered to be kept on the following Sunday: but this keeping the fairs on Sundays, was justly found fault with by the clergy. The Abbot of Ely, in John's reign, preached much against such prophanation of the sabbath; but this irreligious custom was not entirely abolished till the reign of king Henry the Sixth.

The Commoner Sports,

At the great houses the Christmas was held with much festivity; and there was appointed one, who was stiled the *Lord of the Misrule*, he was always to be

Spelman's
Glossary.

Dugdale's
Warwick.
fol. 514.
Vide Durandus
Rationali
Dionorum.

Stow's
Survey of
London,
p. 97.

be the foremost in contriving of mirth and delight, for the pastimes of the surrounding guests, while the loin of beef, and other large joints, with huge puddings, smoked upon the table.

Not only the houses and churches were decked with green boughs, as holly, ivy, &c. but standards also richly dressed up with the same, were set up in the streets, and they danced round them.

At Easter also were great shews made at the fetching in (says Stow) of a twisted tree (or *with* as they termed) from the woods into the king's house, ^{Ibid} and the like into every man's house of worship and honour.

"At other holydays, the youths used after the evening prayer, to exercise at ^{Ibid. p. 78.} their masters doors their *walters* and *bucklers*: and the maidens, one of them playing on a timbrell, in the sight of their masters and dames, to dance for garlands, hanged athwart the street."

The mayings are in some sort yet kept up by the milk maids at London, who go about the streets with their garlands and music, dancing: but this tracing is a very imperfect shadow of the original sports, for May poles were set up in the streets, with various martial shews, moris dancing, and other devices, with which and revelling and good cheer, the day was passed away, at night they rejoiced, and lighted up their bonfires: at London (says Stow) they had besides *stage plays* and the like diversions in the streets.

The bull and bear baitings were pastimes much esteemed throughout the whole of this *Æra*; at London these sports were set forth in the bear gardens, where scaffolds were erected for the spectators to sit in safety and behold them; with other games of strength, as fighting with the fists, wrestling, &c.

The genteeler sports were bowls and tennis, both which are games of a long standing.

The Sports of Children.

Their amusements were much the same with those at present played over by the young lads of this age, as trundling hoops, blindman's buff, playing with tops, shooting with bows at marks, and swimming on bladders; and of the still younger sort, playing with whirligigs and paper windmills, all which are found in an old missal, in the possession of John Ives, Esq.

Musical Instruments:

These differ not much from those we have already seen; in plate 6 are exhibited many various instruments; fig. xxvii is an organ, with two rows of pipes, which the woman plays with one hand, while she blows a horn that she holds in the other, which might serve perhaps by way of base. The several other pieces of musick need no description. In the 45th page of this volume, I have taken notice that Stow places drums among the warlike instruments of musick, as early as the reigns of Henry the Fourth and Fifth; but by figures 21 and 23 of this plate, we may see they are much earlier, as these figures are taken from

from the *Liber Regalis*, at Westminster Abbey, which was written at the coronation of Richard the Second; also by figure 22, we see that the playing on two flutes was yet practised.

Banquets of the ENGLISH.

Hellingf-
head, page
969.

The excess in banquetting in king Edward the Third's time was so great, that he was obliged in the seventeenth year of his reign to establish certain rules, forbidding any common man to have dainty dishes at his table, or costly drink.

Stow's
Chron.
page 267.

That the reader may have some idea of the profuseness of the time, let us hear what Stow has said; "At the marriage of Lionel duke of Clarence (the third son of Edward the Third) with Violentis, the daughter of Galeasius the Second, duke of Millan; there was a rich feast, in which above thirty courses were served at the table, and the fragments that remained were more than sufficient to have served 1000 people." This must have been a very astonishing banquet indeed, for in common the most splendid feast consisted only of three courses, or six at farthest, as we shall see hereafter.

Survey of
London, p.
521.

The same author (Stow) informs us, that when the great hall of Westminster was finished, in the year 1399, the king (Richard the Second) kept his Christmas there, with daily joustings and running at the tilt; and such numbers came, that every day there were slain twenty-six, or twenty-eight oxen, and three hundred sheep, besides fowls without number.

And the old poet Harding, speaking of this king's household, says thus,

Harding's
Chronicle,
chap. 193.
fol. 194.

Truely I heard Robert Bzellese say
Clerke of the grene cloth, that to the houshold
Came every day, for the most part alway
Ten thousand folke, by his messes told
That followed the house, ay as they would
And in the kitchen thre hundredeth seyntours
And in eache office many occupiers.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
marked No.
279.

The feast made in honour of the nuptials of king Henry the Fourth, with the lady *Jane of Navar*, widow of *John de Montford* duke of Britain, in the year 1403, consisted of six courses; the first three were of flesh and fowls, the last three chiefly of fish: in order as follows.

First Course.

Fplettes in galentyne: (made of pork stewed in broth with bread)—*Ayaund ryall*:—*Grofs chare*: (or flesh, as beef or mutton)—*Signettys*:—*Capoun of haut grece*: (fat capons)—*Fesauttys*:—*Chewetys*:—*A fotelete*: (or device, was figures made with jellies and confectionary, to be set in the middle of the table for shew, thence called a fotelete, or subtilty)

The Second Course.

Genyson with fermente : (*surmenty, or frumenty, was made of wheat and milk*)—Gelye :—Porcellys :—Conyng :—Bittore : (*perhaps bittern a water fowl*)—Pulcyng farce :—Pertyche : (*partridges*)—Leche fryez : (*fried*)—Brawne bruse : (*boiled*)—A fotele.

The Third Course.

Creme de almaundys : (*this was made with almonds, stamped and done up with milk*)—Peyrs (*pears*) in Gyppre :—Genyson roasted :—Ryde :—Woodcocke :—Plover :—Rabettys :—Quaplys :—Snyrys : (*perhaps snipes*)—feldfare :—Crustade :—Sturgeon :—Frettoure :—A fotele.

The Order of the three Courses of Fish.

The First Course.

Upaund ryall :—Sew lumbarde :—Salty fysh :—Lampreys powdered :—Pyke :—Breme :—Samoun rotyd :—Crustade Lumbarde : (*made of cream, eggs, perche, dates, &c. baked.*)—A fotele.

The Second Course.

Purpays en furmente :—Gely :—Breme :—Samoun :—Congre :—Gur-narde :—Plays : (*plais*)—Lampreys in past :—Leche fryez :—Panteryle coronys, for a fotele—(*I should fancy this means panthers with crowns upon their heads, made of some confectionary, for a device or subtilty.*)

The Third Course.

Creme of almaunds :—Peyrs in Gyppre :—Tenche embrace :—Troutez :—Floundrys fryd :—Perchys :—Lamprey roasted :—Lochys & colys :—Sturgeon :—Crabbe & creveys :—Gralpeys :—Egle coronys : (*an eagle crowned*) in fotele.

The feast made at the coronation of Catherine, the queen, and Henry the Vth. the 24th of February 1419, consisted of three courses, in order as follows, word for word from Fabian.

First Course.

Brawne & mustard :—Ellys in burneur :—Fruement with baltien :—Pyke in erbage :—Lamprey powdered :—Crougt :—Coblyn :—Plays fryed :—Mayleng fryed :—Crabys :—Leche Lumbarde flouryshed (*made of dates wine and sugar, or else with yolks of eggs, with honey and milk.*)—Tartys :—And a co-tytze called a Pelleycane sptyng on hyr nest, with hyr byrdes, and an image

of Saynte Katherpyne holdyng a boke, and dysputyng with the doctours, holdyng a reason in her ryght hande, saynge "Madame le Royne," (*Madam the Queen*) and the Weltycan as an answer "Ce est la signe, et du Roy, pur tenir joy, et a tout sa gent elle mete sa entent," (*It is the King's desire that all his people should be joyful, and thus he make, his intentions publick.*)

The Second Courfe.

Sely coloured wyth columbyne floures : — Whyte potage, or creme of almandes : — Creme of the see : — Counger : — Solys : (*soles*) — Cheven : — Warhyll wyth roche : — Frefshe samon : — Halbut : — Garnarde : — Rochet broyled : — Smelts fryed : — Credys or lobster : — Leche damask, with the Kynges worde or proverb flourished, "Une sans plus," (*one alone*) — Lamprey frefshe baken : — Flampeyne flourished wyth a scotchone royal and there in three croynes of gold plantyd wyth floure de lyce and floures of enamyll wrought of confectiouns : — and a sotpytpe named a Panter (*panther*) wyth an image of Saynte Katherine with a whele in her hande, and a rolle wyth a reason in her other hande sayeng, "La Royne ma fille in ceste ile per bon reson aves renount," *The Queen my daughter, shall in this island meet with deserved fame.*

The Third Courfe.

Dates in compos : — Creme molle : — Carp de ore : (*that is fried in oil, with onions, and white bread crumbled.*) — Turbut : — Tenche : — Perche with goion : — Frefshe surgeon wyth welkes : — Porperies roiled : — Dennes fryed : — Credys de came douce : — Dranys : — Eys roiled wyth lamprey : — A leche called the whyte leche flourished wyth hawthorne lewys and red hamps : — A march payne garnyshed wyth dyvers figurs of angellys, amonge the whych was set an image of Saint Katherine holdyng this reason, "Il est escrit par voir et eit, per mariage pur, cest guerre ne dure," *It is written, as may be heard and seen, that holy marriage shall put an end to this war.* — and lastly a sotpytpe named a Tyger, lokyng in a myrrour, and a man syttyng on horsebacke ciene armed holdyng in hys armes a tyger whelp with this reason, "Par force sanz reson je ay pryse cest beste," *by strength, not cunning, I have taken this beast* : and wyth his one hande makynge a countenaunce of throwyng of myrrours at the great tigre the whych held thys reason, "Gile de Mirrouir ma fete distour," *deceived by the mirrouir, I have suffered this.*

And the same author (Fabian) thus describes the coronation feast of king Henry the Sixth, the 6th day of November 1429.

Fyrste Courfe.

Fument with Uenison : — Wyand royall plantyd with lokynges of gold : — Boyes hedes in castelles of golde enaymed : — Wese with motten boyled : — Capon stewyd : — Sygnet roiled : — Heyron roiled : — Great pyke, or lucc : — A rede leche with lyons coruyn (cut) theerein : — Custard royall, with a leopard

of gold *sympyn* therein, and holding a flour de lyce:—Fyrtour sunne facen wyth a flour de lyce therein:—A *soptyte* of Saint Edward and Saynt Louys armyd, and uppon eyther his cote armoure, holdynge betwene them a figure lyke unto King Henry standynge also in hys cote armoure, and a *scrypiture* passynge from theyn both, sayeng, “ Behold two parhight Kynges under one Cote Armoure;” and under the secte of the sayde Sayntes was wryten this balade;

Holy Sayntes, Edward and Saynt Lowice
 Conserve this braunche born of your blessed blode
 Lyve amonge Cristen moste soveraygne of price
 Enheritour of the flour de lyce so gode
 This Sixth Henry, to reygne and to be wyfe,
 God graunt he may be to your mode
 And that he may resemble your knightehode and virtue,
 Pray ye hertely unto Our Lord Jesu.

The Seconde Course.

Stand blank bayed wyth gold:—Gely party wryten and noted with “Te Deum laudamus:”—Pygge endored:—Crane rosted:—Wyttore:—Cownys:—Chekyns:—Partyphe:—Pecock enhakyl: (*this I take to be the peacock brought to the table, with the feathers of the tail set up as though extended.*)—Great hyeme:—A white leche planted wyth a red antelop, with a crowne aboute his necke with a chayne of golde:—Flampayne powdered wyth leopaydes and flour de lyce of golde:—A *soptyte*, an emperour and a kynge arrayed in mantelles of garters, whych figured Sigismunde the emperour and Henry the Fifth and a figure lyke unto King Henry the Sixth kneeling to fore (*before*) them wyth this balade takkyd by hym:

Agayne miscreauntes the Emperour Sigismunde
 Hath shewed hys nyght which is imperiall;
 And Henry the Fifth a noble knight was founde
 For Christes cause in actes marciall,
 Cheryshed the church, to Iollers gave a fall
 Gyvyng example to Kynges that succede,
 And to theyr braunche here in especial
 Whyhe he doth reygne to love God and drede.

The Third Course.

Dunpes in compass:—Blaund fine powdered with quarter foyles gilt:—Nensyon:—Egrettes:—Cusheins:—Cok and partyphe:—Plover:—Quaples:—Snytes:—Great hydes:—Larkys:—Capre:—Crabbe:—Lech of thre colours:—A bake meat lyke a *bylde* (*shield*) quartered red and whyte, set wyth losenges gilt and floures of bozage:—A fyrtour clyped:—A *soptyte* of our Lady *sytyng* wyth her chyld in her lappe, and she holding a crowne in her hande. Saint George and Saynt Denys kneelynge on either syde,

syde, presentyng to her Kyng Henryes figure, bezyng in hande thys balade as followeth:

O blessed lady Christes mother dere,
 And thou Saynt George that called art her knight,
 Holy Saint Denys O marter moſte entere;
 The Sixt Henry here present in your syght;
 Shedeth of your Grace on hym your heavenly lighte:
 His tender youth with vertue doth avaunce,
 Borne by diſcent, and by title of right,
 Juſtly to reygne in Englande & in France, &c.

Holling-
 ſhead,
 Deſcrip.
 Brit. 94.

Having ſeen the kingly banquets, let us now ſee what tables were kept in general by the lords and grandees of the realm.

Richard Nevil, earl of Warwick, (ſays Fabian) kept ſuch a houſe, that there were often ſix oxen eaten for a breakfast. And, ſays Hollingſhead, "In number of diſhes and change of meate, the nobilitie of Englande do moſt excede, ſith there is no daye in maner that paſſeth over their heades, wherein they have not onely beefe, mutton, veale, lambe, kidde, pork, conie, capon, pigge, or ſo many of theſe as the ſeaſon yieldeth: but alſo ſome portion of the redde or fallow deere, beſide great varietie of fiſhe and wilde fowle, and thereto ſundry other delicacies, wherein the ſweet hand of the portingale is not wanting.

The chief part lykewyſe of their dayly proviſion is brought in before them, and placed on their tables, whereof when they have taken what it pleaſeth them, the reſt is reſerved, and afterward ſent downe to their ſerving men and waiters, who fed thereon in lyke ſort with convenient moderation, their reverſion alſo being beſtowed upon the poore, which lye ready at their gates in great numbers to receyve the ſame. This is ſpoken of the chiefe tables whereat the nobleman, his ladie and gueſtes are accuſtomed to ſit; beſide which they have a certayne ordinarie allowaunce dayly appointed for their halles, where the chiefe officers and houſholde ſervaunts, (for all are not permitted to wayte upon their maiſter) and with them ſuch inferiour gueſtes do feede as are not of calling to aſſociate with the noble man himſelf: ſo that beſides thoſe afore mencioned, which are called to the principall table, there are commonly fourte or threſcore perſons fed in thoſe halles, to the great reliefe of ſtrangers, as oft be partakers thereof. As for drinke, it is not uſually ſet on the table in pottes or cruſes, but each one calleth for a cup of ſuch as he liſteth to have, or as neceſſitie urgeth him: ſo that when he hath taſted of it, he delivereth the cuppe againe to ſome one of the ſtanders by, who making it cleane, reſtoreth it to the cubborne, from whence he fetched the ſame: By this occaſion much ydle tipling is furthermore cut off, &c."

"Nevertheless, in any other than noblemens halles, this order is not uſed, neyther in any man's houſe commonly under the degree of a knight or ſquire of great revenues. The gentlemen and merchants keepe much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himſelfe with foure, or five or ſixe diſhes, when they have but ſmall reſorte, or peradventure with one, or two, or three at moſt, when they have no ſtrangers to accompanie them at their owne table. And after, he adds, when the merchant makes a feaſt, he will ſeldome regarde any thing

thing that the butcher usually killeth, but reject the same as not worthie to come in place. In such cases also geliffes, conserves, suckettes, codinaes, marmilates, marchepaine, sugred bread, ginger breade, florentines, wild fowle, venisons of all sortes. And after speaking of the liquors, he tells us, that there were wines of all sorts to be had in England; nevertheless, (adds he) ale and beere beare the greatest brunt in drincking, which are of so many sortes and ages as it pleaseth the brewer to make them. The bere that is used at noblemen's tables, is commonly of a yeare olde, (or peradventure of two yeeres tunning or more, but this is not general) it is also brued in Marche, and is therefore called Marche bere, but for the household it is usually not under a monethes age, each one coveting to have the same stale as he might, so that was not soure, and the breade new as possible, so that be not hote."

He after adds, "The artificer and husbandman make greatest account of such meate as they maye soonest come by and have it quicklyest readie: their foode also consisteth principally in beefe and such meate as the butcher selleth, that is to say mutton, veal, lamb, pork, &c."

The marriages, christenings, and other appertaining ceremonies, were throughout the whole of this *Æra*, exactly the same with those at present used, and therefore do not require any explanation here: we will then pass on to their

B U R I A L S.

When a man lay upon his death bed, the priest was sent for, and he was confessed, and received absolution; and that done, the priest administered the holy sacrament, with the extreme unction. In his last moments he was attended by his dearest friends, and when he had breathed his last, his eyes were closed by his nearest relations. Thus Mathew Paris speaks of Offa the First, "He piously having closed his father's eyes, and with great lamentation mourned his loss." This done, a linen cloth was put over the face of the deceased. Thus we are told, that Henry the Fourth, in his last illness, seeming to be dead, his chamberlain covered his face with a linen cloth.

Mat. Paris,
in Vit. Offa
prim.
Holling-
shed's
Chron. page
1162.

Then the relations withdrew, and the body was washed, anointed, and laid out, and afterwards wrapped up in linen cloths.

Mathew Paris informs us, that Henry, the eldest son of our king Henry the Second, (who was crowned in his father's life time) died in the 30th year of his (Henry the Second's) reign, and his dead body was wrapped in those very linen clothes that at his coronation were imbrued with the holy oil: and the body thus wrapped up, was conveyed to the place of burial.

Stow's
Chron. 127.

Kings and other great personages were embalmed, the method of doing which was as follows: The brain was taken out of the head, and the body was opened and the bowels also taken out, which, together with the brain, were carefully buried, and then the vacuities were filled up with some kind of preparations, for the preservation of the corps. Henry the First, (says Trevisa) "being dede his bowels were brayne oute of his body, & his brayne taken oute of his heere, and the body salted with moch salt, and for to avoide the stench that had infected many men, it was at last closed in a boole shynn."

Polychron.
lib. 7. cap.
17.

Ibid., lib. 7,
cap. 3^o, fol.
37^o.

Dunstable
Chronicle,
fol. 163.
MS. in Bib.
Harl.

Also the dead body of Richard the First had the bowels and heart taken out, when these verses were made thereon: *Mystra Carleolum corpus fons servat Ebardy, et per Rothmagum magnæ Ritarde tuum, in terra dividitur unius, quia plus fuit uno, non super est uno gratia tanto viro.* That is, Oh mighty Richard, thy bowels are buried at *Carlisle*, thy body at *Pontefract*, and thy heart at *Rioan*; thus in the earth art thou divided, who in thy life time wert more than one; for in one man the equal is not to be found. And, says the Dunstable Chronicle, “whenne kyng Henry wyfte and knewe truly that he (King Richard the Second) was dede, he lette seve hym in the best maner, and closed him in a feyre chest, with divers spices and baumes & closed him in a linnen clothe save his visage, and that was left open that men myght see & knowe his personne.” By some authors it is said that antiently (particularly in the reigns of Henry the Fourth) they used a sort of pickle; but this seems only to confirm what the Polychronicon asserts of Henry the First, that the body was salted with much salt, which salt through the dampness of the stone coffin, and place where the body was deposited, might melt and become a kind of brine.

After this ceremony of embalming, salting, or the like, the dead body of a king was royally habited, with all his ensigns of regality; and thus laid a certain time in state, with tapers burning on either side, and the attendants sitting round in close mourning, with black hoods over their heads: see the manner thereof plate 6, fig. 19, this representation is copied from the old missal called the *Liber Regalis*, (written as is supposed for the coronation of Richard the Second) this figure it is likely may be intended for king Henry the Third, who enlarged and rebuilt great part of the abbey: it is placed as a frontispiece to the funeral ceremonies, as performed at the enterments of the kings, who were there buried. And in this manner the kings (meaning in the Norman æra) were carried to the place of burial, for says Mathew Paris, speaking of King Henry the Second, “In the morning he was carried forth to be buried, habited in his royal robes, with his face uncovered, and a golden crown upon his head, gloves upon his hands, shoes wrought with gold upon his feet, and spurs; having a scepter in his hand, a large ring upon his finger, and his sword was girt round him.” In the English æra the king’s body was fast closed up in lead, and an image made like him, royally habited, was laid upon the coffin: thus (says Caxton) the bodye of kyng Henre the fiftie was embawed, cered, and closed in lead, and layde in ryal chare, & an ymage like unto hym, (artificially moulded, as Stow informs us, with boiled hides,* and the countenance painted according to the life) upon the head of this image was put an imperial diadem of gold, set with pretious stones; the body was clothed in a purple robe, furred with ermine; in its right hand was placed a scepter royal, and a globe of gold in the left.

Addit. to
Polychroni-
con, lib. 8,
cap. 15.
Stow’s
Chron.
Speed, 8c8.

The archbishops, bishops, and abbots, with other principals of the clergy, were buried in their *pontificalibus*; thus says Mathew Paris, “they prepared the body of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, for the burial clothing him in his robes, (according to the method of interring a prelate) with his face uncovered, and a mitre put upon his head, with gloves upon his hands, a ring on his finger,

* The head of this image must have been wood; for in the abbey of Westminster (where he was buried) there are the heads of several images yet preserved of kings there buried, one of which it is said belonged to the image mentioned here, of Henry the Fifth: these figures are now so dismally decayed, and the garments wherewith they were dressed up, so shattered and torn, that they are ludicrously called the Ragged Regiment.

finger, and all the other ornaments belonging to his office." See plate 33, fig. 4, of the first volume, which represents the entombing of a bishop; the original is drawn by the hand of Mathew Paris.

The bodies of other great men, were also nobly habited according to their rank. King Richard the Second, (says Grafton) caused the dead body of Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, to be arraigned in princely garments, garnished with a chain of gold, and rich rings put upon his fingers, with his face uncovered. Grafton, 377.
Hollingsf. 1087.

The bodies of the kings and noblemen were carried on biers, upon mens shoulders, with great pomp; or else, if the way was long, they were put upon royal chars or hearfes.

In all the plates of the Saxon and Norman æras, which represent interments, we do not meet with any of the bodies enclosed in lead; neither in the histories do we find any authentic account that this custom was practised by them, as it was afterwards in the English æra: for in former times we may find, that the bodies of kings and other great men, were laid (as we have already seen) upon the bier, habited according to their dignity, and carried to the grave with their faces bared.

In the English æra this custom was suppressed, and the bodies close done up for the most part in lead; and an image dressed up (in like manner as the real body was formerly) borne before them.

Stow indeed tells us, that at the suppression of Feverham abbey in Kent, the remains of king Stephen's corps were infamously cast into the river, for the sake of the lead, wherein they were inclosed: but this might be only a lining to the stone chest, or coffin, in which he was laid: for the body was not put into these great wooden chests, or stone coffins, till the time of the interment: thus Stow speaking of the burial of the Conqueror, says, "Now mafs being ended, the masons had prepared the stone chest, or coffin, in the earth, while the body yet remained on the bier, in order as it had been brought forth."

Geofry Magneville, or Mandeville, in the reign of Henry the First, dying under the curse of excommunication, might not be buried; therefore some of the Knights Templars inclosed him in a pipe of lead, (says Camden) and hung him upon a tree in an orchard, at the old temple; Weever instead of a pipe of lead, has it a leaded coffin: but be it as it will, this singular circumstance can by no means prove the wrapping of bodies up in lead, as was afterwards practised in the Æra of the English, as we may see from the following instances: Edward the Black Prince being dead, his body was (says Froissart) embasine et mis en ung baiffeau de plonq. *Embalmed, and put in a vessel of lead*: and Richard the Second, when dead, his corps, as Harding informs us, was tapped in lide, and so also was the corps of Henry the Fifth, as we have seen already. Camden's Brit. in Essex, fol. 353.
Weever's Funeral Monuments.
Harding's Chron. cap. 200, fol. 199

Funeral Processions.

King Edward the First, when his beloved Queen Eleanor was dead, caused her corps to be brought from Herdeby in Lincolnshire, to London, in solemn procession; Walsingh. in Vit. Ed.

procession ; and at every place where the body was rested on the way to Westminster, he caused a beautiful cross to be erected.*

Froissart,
vol. 2.

The body of Edward the Third, was carried in great procession (says Froissart) upon an open hearse, through the city of London to Westminster, through crowds of people, who with tears and lamentations bewailed their loss. The corps was followed by his children, together with the nobles and prelates in a great company.

Addit. to
the Poly-
chron. fol.
401, cap. 9.
lib. 8.

The funeral procession of Richard the Second, is thus described by Caxton : " The twelfth daye of Marche was the bodye of the noble Kyng Richard broughte thugh London to Pawles ;" where, says Harding,

— His masse was done and dirige
In heys royal ; fencely to royalle
The Kyng and Loydes, clothes of golde there offere
Some eight, some nine, upon his heys were profferde.

Harding's
Chron.
chap. 200,
fol. 199.

Caxton ut
Supra.

Hollingsf.
Chr. n.
fol. 1130.

Addit. ad
Polychron.
lib. 8, cap.
13, fol. 406.

And, continues Caxton, The body of this Kyng was leyd on a charpotte coveryd with black, and foure banners, wherof threyn were of the armes of Saynt George & threyn of the armes of Saynt Edward, and there were an hundred men clothed in black, eche beynge a torch, and the cyte of London hadde thyrty men in white, eche beynge also a torch. His corps was embalmed and seared, and covered entirely with lead (the visage excepted) wherby was leyd open, that every man might see and knowe he was dede. And from thence the dead body was carried to Langley, where it was first buried ; but afterwards, continues the same author, Henry the Fifth in the first yere of his Reggne, anone after he was crowned whiche was the nyntyth day of Apryll, he sente to the freres at Langley where the body of Kyng Richard the Second was buried ; and lette the body be take out of thety ageyne, and did do bringe it to Westminster in a ryal chaire, covered with black velvet, and banners of diverse armes about, and alle the hostes in the chaire were covered with blac, and beten with diverse armes, and many a torch beynning, † by the chaire till they cam to Westminster, and there he lette make a ryal tement, and buryed hym by Quene Anne his wyf, as his desyre was, about whose sepulchre ther stonde foure grette tapers continually burninge, and one day in the weke perpetually he hath a dirige, with nyne lessons, and on the moyn a masse, both by notte, solemnly, on whiche daye is gyben also weekly in pens to poure peple, enlethen schollpynges, and eight pens ; all ordeyned by this Kyng upon grette payne ; and on the day of his annyversary is preyed gyben twenty pound, in pens to pour peple.

Stow's
Chron.
p. 362.
Caxton.
Hollingsf.
p. 1218.
Speed 808.

King Henry the Fifth died at *Boys de Vyncent* near *Paris*, then his body being first embalmed, and wrapped in fear-cloths, was closed in lead, and laid upon a royal char or hearse ; and on the corps there was laid an image, made to represent the dead king, richly habited : the char was covered with red velvet, embroidered with gold, and drawn by four horses, whose caparisons were richly worked with gold, and imboss'd with the royal arms ; first, the arms of England alone ; secondly, the English arms, quartered with those of France ; thirdly, the French arms alone ; and lastly, the ancient arms of St. Edmund. Over the

* She hath (says Fabian, who wrote in the reign of Henry the Seventh) 2 were tapers burning upon her tombe (at Westminster-Abbey) bothe daye & nyghte, whiche so bathe contemporarye the day of her burpunge to this present daye.—Fabian's Chron. vol. 2, fol. 61.

† The burning of torches was very honourable, and the number was proportioned to the quality or riches of the deceased ; and to have a great many was a special mark of esteem in the person who made the funeral to the departed person. Thus, says Froissart, Richard the Second, in token of his great love for Anne his first wife caused so many torches and tapers to be lighted up, that the like was never seen before. Froissart, vol. 4.

the char was borne a rich canopy by four noblemen. Thus was the body brought in solemn procession, both by land and sea, to England, accompanied by James king of Scotland, and a numerous company of noblemen both of England and of France. The char was surrounded with a great number of men clothed in white, bearing torches in their hands; and then followed the late king's household servants, all in black, and after them the princes, lords, and estates, every one in mourning garments; and last of all the queen, with her retinue, came after the corps at the distance of two miles. In every toytone (says Caxton) that he passed by the way he hadde solempnly his dirige atte even, & masse on the morn, and moche almshouse was given to poure people, & the seventhe daye of November after, the corps was brought thyngh London with grete reverence & solempnyte unto the monastere of Westmynster, where as he now resteth, where he is dayly remembred & praid for, & every day thye masses perpetually songen in a fayr chapel ober his sepulchre. (We are to remember that Caxton printed his Polychronicon in the beginning of the reign of Henry the Seventh, long before the Reformation, so that at this time the masses yet continued to be sung, as well as the tapers burning; that he tells us were in his time to be seen round the tomb of king Richard the Second.)

Addit. to the Polychron. by Caxton, lib. 8, cap. 15, fol. 411.

In this manner the nobles and persons of condition, had their funerals performed, with grand procession and like solemnities, according to their rank and circumstances. Sir Robert Knolles (in the eight year of Henry IV.) died at his manor in Norfolk, and his dead body was brought in a litter to London, with great pomp and much torch light, and it was buried in the White Friars Church, Fleet-Street, by the side of his lady Constance, "where was done for him a solemne obsequie, with a great feast and lyberall dole to the poore." This custom of giving a *funeral feast* to the chief mourners, was universally practised all over the kingdom, as well as giving alms to the poor, in proportion to the quality and finances of the deceased.

Hollingsh. Chron. p. 1152.

Coffins, Tombs, &c.

The bodies of the common people most likely, not only in the Norman, but also in the English æra, were only wrapped in cloth, and so put into the earth. In this manner (says Mathew Paris) were the monks of St. Albans buried; but, adds he, at this present time (that is in his life time, during the reign of Henry the Third) they are all decently buried in coffins of stone.

Mat. Paris.

Stone coffins continued long in general use; the form and ornaments are seen in plates 40, 45, & 66, &c. in the first volume: afterwards, especially in the reigns of Henry the Fifth and Sixth, these stone coffins were made with necks, distinguishing the heads and shoulders.

Large wooden chests or tombs were also in use almost from the time of the Conquest. King Richard the Second, as a special mark of love to the duke of Ireland, caused his corps to be enclosed in a coffin of cypress; but this was an uncommon case.

Of the large wooden chests I have myself seen several very ancient; and the covers to these chests are often elegantly carved with the effigy of the person therein buried. At Little Baddow in the county of Essex, in the parish church, are the figures of two women carved on the covering of the chests (that are placed

placed in niches of the church wall) wherein they were buried, which through age are both so much decayed, that the bones and remains of the bodies are to be seen therein under the covers:

At other times the grave was dug down in the church, and a flat stone, with plates of brass (containing the name and epitaph of the person there buried) laid over; and sometimes besides there was added the effigy also engraved on the brass: and these are of very ancient date.

Altar tombs, either with or without figures, crosses, or the like ornaments, are as old as the time of the Saxons.

It was a constant practice to make a solemn dirge and mourning for princes of foreign courts when they deceased. Thus Caxton tells us, that "in the firstreenth year of Kyngge Harry (the Sixth) beyde Sygysmund, Emperour of Almayne (Germany) & Kyngst of the garter, whose tement the Kyngge kept at Paulys in London rchally, where was made a ryal heise, and the Kyngge in his estate clad in blete was at even at dirige, and on the morne at masse." And in like manner the compliment was returned by the foreign courts, when any king or prince of England died.

Addit. to
the Poly-
chron. lib.
8, fol. 413
cap. 21.

R E L I G I O N.

The Roman Catholic religion universally prevailed, notwithstanding the several efforts of some of our kings, to shake off the power and supremacy of the Pope; for such was the superstition of the people, and the dread of his thundering *anathema*, that it was never compleatly mastered, till the reign of Henry the Eighth.

Blindness and superstition always marked out this religion; for unless the wileful priests could keep the people in profound ignorance, how could they expect to force such horrid impositions upon their reason, as the long train of miracles, and other religious juggles? it is true indeed (to give every one their due) that they did all they could to discourage vice, in any but themselves; for they painted the pains of Hell in the most horrid manner: these are put forth in a book called, *The Shepherd's Calender*, and given in a monkish tale, as seen by Lazarus, while he lay in the tomb, and by him related when raised to life again by our blessed Saviour: it runs thus,

"Here followeth the pains of hell comminatories of sinnes, to punish the sins, as Lazarus recounted after that he was risen, as he had seen in the parts infernal, as it appeareth by these figures ensuing one another.

First, said Lazarus, *I have seen in hell wheels right high, set on an hill, the which was to look on in maner of mills, incessantly turning about by great impetuosity, roaring and whirling as it were thunder. And the wheles were fixed full of hookes and cramp irons of yron and steel, and on them were hanged and turned the proud men and women for their pride, with their prince, captain, and masier Lucifer.*

Secondly, said Lazarus, *I have seen in hell a floud frozen as ice, wherein the envious men and women were plunged unto the navel, and then suddenly came over them a right cold and great wind, that greeved and pained them right sore, and when they would ewite and eschewe the wonderfull blasts of the wind, they plunged into the water with great shouts and crys lamentable to hear.*

Thirdly,

Shepherd's
Calender.

Thirdly, said Lazarus, I have seen in hell a great cave tenebrous and obscure, full of tables like butchers stalls or great butchery, whereas irefull men and women were thorow pierced with trenching knives, and sharpe glaives, and with long spears pierced their bodys, wherewith the most horrible and fearful butchers bewed and betrenched them with their glaives and knives, impitiously without ceasing.

Fourthly, said Lazarus, I have seen in hell an horrible hall dark and tenebrous, wherein was a great multitude of serpents big and small, whereas slobful men and women were tormented with bitings and stings of venomous worms, the which pierced them thorow in divers partes of their bodies, wounding them to the heart with unextinguished pain.

Fifthly, said Lazarus, I have seen in the infernall partes a great number of wide cauldrons, and kettles, full of boiling lead and oyle, with other hot metals molten, in the which were plunged and dipped the covetous men and women, for to fulfill and replenish them of their insatiate covetise.

The sixth pain, said Lazarus, that I have seen (in hell is in a vale) a floud foul and sinking at the brim, in which was a table with towels right dishonestly, whereas gluttons besed with toades and other venomous beasts, and bad to drink of the water of the said floud.

The seventh pain, said Lazarus, I have seen a field full of deepe wells replenished with fire and sulphur, whereout issued smoak thicke and contagious, wherein all lecherous persons were tormented incessantly with devils.

Thus endeth the seven deadly sins, figured each by itself, like as Lazarus had seen in the parts infernall."

And to every one of the above punishments, is prefixed a wood cut rudely done, representing the torments, as they are there described, with a long commentation on each particular vice.

On the other hand they painted Heaven, and the new Jerusalem as a holy place, a golden city paved with diamonds; where continual joys and boundless happiness reigned for ever.

Many of their religious allegories and fables are replete with excellent morals; in the above quoted book, is "The man in the ship, that sheweth the unsteadiness of the world:" first we are presented with a rude wood cut, representing a man on ship board at the helm, steering the ship; behind is the Devil pushing it onwards, and striving to sink it; the man seems to be earnestly, and humbly addressing himself to Christ, who appears above in the clouds, as ready to protect him. Then follows this poem.

God guide me right, that once I might
Come to the port of peace,
Wine exchange make, & return take,
That mine enemies may cease.
One me followed, would me have swallowed,
In the gulph dangerous,
With worldly glasse, he doth me tosse
Among the waves perillous.

On rases hollow, some do me follow,
 Enemies me to take,
 A great number, do smite me under,
 I fear I can't escape.
 They send with woe, the world also,
 My flesh too doth me trouble,
 In wake & sleep, they with me keep,
 My sorrows making double.
 They bid me not spare, but buy their ware,
 As worldly vanity ;
 They say hope among, us for to live long,
 Thus do they cumber me.
 The world doth smile, me to beguile,
 & so doth the other two,
 Now must I seek, some me to keep,
 & save me from my foe ;
 I have found one, ev'n God alone,
 I need none other aid.
 He by his might, put them to flight,
 & made them all afraid.
 He spake to me, full courteously,
 & profered me full fair,
 If I do well, with him to dwell,
 In heaven to be his heir.

Though nothing can be said in praise of the poetry, any further than its good intention, yet the pertinent and substantial remarks which follow in prose, may well be thought worthy our notice. It runs thus :

The mortall man living in this World, is well compar'd to a ship on the sea, or on a perillous river, bearing rich marchandise, which if it come to the port where the marchant desireth, he shall be happy & rich. The ship, as soon as it is enter'd into the sea, unto the end of her voyage night & day is in perill to be drowned or taken with enemies, for in the sea be perills without number. Such is the body of man living in this World, the marchandise that he beareth is his soul, his vertues and good works, the port or haven is death & paradise for the good, to the which he that arriveth shall be soberaignly rich ; the sea is the World full of sinnes : for he that passeth it is in perill to lose both body & soul, & be drowned in the sea of destruction, from which God keep us. Amen.

We (in this more improved age) are too apt to cast many valuable things aside, because they are written in a low and homely stile ; we think that such plainness can never be accompanied with any thing elegant, or worth our trouble to examine into. But most certainly this is a very mistaken notion, for many of the old books contain both various and valuable treasures, that will amply reward the curious mind for the pains and trouble taken to search them over. We must (or at least we ought) to recollect that the people in general, in

former

former times were very ignorant and unlearned, and their notions of course were narrow and confined; therefore it was absolutely necessary to reduce the scheme of religion to their understanding, as Milton has personated and given bodies to his angels, that their wars and the heavenly commotions might be adapted to our corporeal ideas: for says Raphael,

High matter thou injoinst me, O prime of men,
Sad task and hard; for how shall I relate
To human sense th' invisible exploits
Of warring spirits? how without remorse
The ruin of so many glorious once
And perfect while they stood? how last unfold
The secrets of another world, perhaps
Not lawful to reveal? Yet for thy good
This is dispens'd; and what surmounts the reach
Of human sense, I shall deliver so,
By likening spiritual to corporeal form
As may express them best:—

Parad. Lost,
Book V.
line 359, et
infra.

and in the same manner, antiently, they made the tortures of hell, and adapted them to the capacities of their readers.—They also found that avarice was a prevailing passion, (though few men could ever be brought to acknowledge it in themselves) therefore a heaven was described agreeable to the most sanguine desires of the people in general. They were taught to believe that the streets of Paradise were paved with diamonds and precious stones, with great abundance of every valuable treasure, joined with perfect happiness and lasting felicity.—All these religious lessons might, perhaps, have lost great part of their effect, had not the things to come been compared and likened to those that they at the present time possessed and approved of; and indeed it is most likely that the assurance of such a heaven, (according to the present ideas of the world in general) would even now make a great many Profelytes; for money seems no whit to have lost ground in the affections of the people. Attending properly to these considerations, we may easily winnow the chaff from the grain, and by taking only a little trouble to compare the writings with the genius of the people, reap a very fruitful harvest.

The reliques of saints were with great reverence and devotion treasured up as sacred and holy. It would be impossible to enumerate the many wonderful and extraordinary miracles performed by these reliques in almost every age.—William Duke of Normandy, when he had prepared all things necessary for his invasion of England, was yet detained some time (says the Polychronicon) by contrary winds: then he made bränge out seyn Walterys boely bodyr, and sette hym there oute for to have wynde, and anon lykyn wynde (a fair wind) spyled the selles.—Had the unhappy Grecian chief but been possessed of such a relique, his daughter *Iphigenia* had never been sacrificed to the inexorable deities; this equalled the bags of wind possessed by *Ulysses*, and given him by the blustering *Aeolus*, or the knotted cords sold to the sailors in the days of yore by the Lapland forcerers.

Polychroni-
con, Lib. 6.
Cap. 29.
Edit. Cax-
ton, fol.

327.

We find many zealously religious, quitting the highest posts of honour to follow a secluse and holy life. Such pleasures they thought were enjoyed by the pious monks and hermits. Henry the Second, and his queen, being crowned at a festival, took off their crowns, and offered them upon the high altar, forbearing to wear them afterwards. In expiation for the murder of Thomas Becket, the same king walked bare-footed to the tomb of that proud prelate, and there was scourged with rods by the attendant monks. The same zeal hurried the princes of Europe to impoverish their subjects with grievous taxations, to support the Holy Wars.

Of all the sects which sprung up, and the opposers of Popery, John Wickliff, our own countryman, (who flourished during the reign of Richard the Second) deservedly stands foremost. He boldly (in despite of the Pope's so much dreaded curse of excommunication) preached up *regal supremacy*, against papall usurpation; as also he spoke against the *mass*, *transubstantiation*, the adoration of the *host*, or of *saints*, of *images*, and of *reliques*; and further preached against the *friarly orders*, *pilgrimages*, *indulgences*, and the like: his followers were called *Lollards*, (which, says Speed, signifies an evil offensive weed). In the reign of Henry the Fifth, they were pursued with uncommon severity; for they were stigmatised as Hereticks, and cruelly burnt alive, or otherways dismally misused.

Speed's
Chronicle,
p. 744.

Arts and Learning, &c.

In sculpture how much they excelled in this Æra, the many curious monumental images and statues preserved in the cathedral churches, are sufficient proofs; many of which are most elegantly executed.

Painting at the end of this Æra, may be said as it were, to be revived from a deep sleep: the only antient specimens of this art, that we have now left, are such small illuminations as appear in the MSS. and from which enrius remains the chief materials of this work are collected.

John Seres
Hist. Franc.

Seres tells us, that there was sent to king Henry the Fifth, a portrait of Catharine, the French king's daughter, done according to the life: but of what size, or in what manner it was done, we are not informed: however, at the latter end of the reign of his son, (Henry the Sixth) they began to paint in oil, as may be proved by four curious specimens, painted on pannels, which composed a door of some cabinet, or shrine, belonging to the abbey of St. Albans; thereon are pictured the portraits of cardinal Beaufort, Humphry duke of Gloucester, &c. these truly valuable curiosities, are in the possession of John Ives, Esq; of Great Yarmouth in Norfolk.

About this period also engravings both on wood and copper, made their first appearance, as may be seen by the remaining old prints of Andrew Mantagna, Martin Schoon, Albert Durer, &c. the wood cuts were chiefly designed, and made as ornaments to the old printed books.

Hartman's
Chronicle,
fol. 252.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, was first discovered that glorious and noble art of printing; which, says the Nuremberg Chronicle, (that was printed in the year 1493) we owe to the study and industry of the Germans. At

Mentz,

Mentz, a city upon the Rhine, was this curious discovery made; and the first book (as it was said) made its appearance in the year 1440. It is extraordinary that tho' the above mentioned Chronicle was printed but 43 years after the invention of printing, it makes no mention of the first authors of this noble art. William Caxton, mercer and citizen of London, first introduced printing into England, about the year of our Lord 1471.

Mathematics and arithmetic were well understood: the combination of numbers was particularly serviceable, not only in their computations of time, but in the astrological predictions. And great credit was placed in judicial astrology for they imagined that every sublunary being was under the government of the stars and planets.

Numerical figures are supposed to have been introduced into England in the thirteenth century: before that time they used only letters and marks, to ascertain their dates and numbers; which are also used at present.

We do not meet with the accounts of many mechanical productions. It is certain, that within this last two centuries, the improvements made in mechanism, are surprisngly great; yet the many stately edifices of our forefathers, are sufficient proofs that they must have had a vast number of different machines that we know not of, tho' perhaps not so compleat, and well constructed as our own.

In the catalogue of the benefactors to the abbey of St. Aibans, we are told that in the year 1328, Richard de Wallingford, then abbot, gave a clock to the abbey church; which greatly exceeded any that had ever been seen before in this kingdom.

MS. in the Cotton Library, mark'd Nero. D. vii.

I have not been able to ascertain the date of the first invention of clocks in England. Stow, indeed, tells us, that in the year 612, both clocks and dials were commanded to be set up in churches; but Stow must have been mistaken in regard to clocks, for had they been known as early as the time of Elfred, (a king so remarkable for his encouragement of the arts) he would not have been obliged to have had recourse to a candle, divided into 24 equal parts, to distinguish the hours as they passed. But some motion of this sort must have been made in the reign of Henry the Second; for we are told, that Rosamond had a coffer, wherein were represented various figures moveing like life, as giants, beasts, and birds flying to and fro.

Stow's Chron. p. 56.

We have already seen the musical instruments of this Æra, and from history we learn, that several excellent musicians flourished in the various reigns, as well as many learned men, both historians and divines.

There lived also many great philosophers, who made strict researches into the nature of things, and strove to explain and reduce all things to a rational system: they made, as it were in a chain, the subordination of beings, from the highest heavenly power (under God) to an atom.

Vide vol. 1. p. 72. Polychron. lib. 7.

Nuremberg Chron. f. 6.

God, omnipotent, omniscient, eternal, perfect, good, and holy, first made the heavens (which are three in number)*; and placed therein the sacred celestial host of spiritual beings: the highest heaven was the happy seat of the seraphim, the cherubim, and thrones; in the middle heaven he placed dominations,

ons,

* Saint Paul tells us that he was "caught up into the Third Heaven." Second Epist. Corinthians, chap. 12, ver. 2.

Abrahe. A-
venaris Ju-
dei Astro-
l.

ons, principalities, and powers; and the lowest heaven was assigned to the virtues, archangels, and angels, (and these under their great creator ruled all things either in heaven, or in earth) and from them to man; from him to beasts, birds, and fishes, in the animal world; from thence to trees, shrubs, and plants, in the vegetable world; and so on to stones, metal, and ores, in the mineral world: all these, from man, were composed by a union of the four elements, under the influence of the stars and planets, or rather of the intelligences, and heavenly spirits, who governed those planets. Man was united to the higher powers by a reasonable and immortal spirit, called the soul.

Compilatio
Leupoldi de
Astro-
Scientia.

The planetary system is thus divided: first the *Primum Mobile*, or first motion; secondly, the Christaline Heaven,* in which are placed the fixed stars; thirdly, the twelve signs of the zodiac; and fourthly follows the spheres, or circles of the planets, in this order; Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and last the Moon, as nearest the earth, which was placed in the midst of universal nature. Again the earth was surrounded by three elementary spheres, as the fiery sphere, the sphere of air, and the watery sphere: in the middle of the world, (as the sink of all nature) was Hell placed, for says a little book entitled, *Limaige du Monde*,—*Enchies que en la terre est enfer, car enfer ne pouroit estre en si noble lieu comme est lair, ne il ne pouroit estre ou ciel qui est si bel et si cler, et enfer est tant hideur tant puant est tant horrible et plus prant que nul le chose, parquoy on peult bien entendre que enfer doit estre au plus bas lieu. Know that Hell is within the earth, for it cannot be in a pleasant place as the air, neither can it be in heaven, which is so clear and bright; and Hell itself is so hideous, stinking, and dismal, and the most heavy of all things; therefore we may reasonably suppose that it should be in the lowest place.* And again in an old tract of rhimes, quoted by Hearne is this verse:

Image of the
World,
cap. viii.

Hearne's
Gloss. to
Robert de
Brunne's
Chronicle,
fol. 583,
vol. 2.

Ryght as an ey (egg) amydd habyth a yolke
For as a yolk is evene a myddwayde
Of the schelle of aney, whan it is harde;
Ryght so is helle pit, as clerkes telles
A myde the erthe and no where elles.

Inquiry into
the Origin
of the Dis-
cov. attribut-
to the mo-
derns, pag.
148, cap. 9.

From the perusal of the foregoing passages, as well as from the works of almost all the christian philosophers, we see that the system which goes under the name of the Copernican, (from Copernicus, the supposed inventor) was not adopted by them; by which we may be led to conclude, that the long established doctrine of all the ancient philosophers was, that the earth was in the middle of all things. But the Rev. Mr. Dutens, in his learned Enquiry into the Origin of the Discoveries attributed to the Moderns, has evidently proved, that

* The idea of a Christaline Heaven above the firmament, is taken from the seventh verse of the first chapter of Genesis: And God made the firmament, and divided the waters that were under the firmament, from the waters which were above the firmament: that is (say the old Christian philosophers) of the waters that were above the firmament, the which were frozen like crystal, he made the Christaline Heaven, and placed therein the fixed stars: the other waters were placed in the watery sphere, that surrounds the earth under the firmament; and thus were the waters divided, Nuremberg Chronicle, fol. 4.

that this system is very far from being a new established opinion. His words are these: "That the earth moves about the sun, and that there are antipodes, are particulars known long ago, though received almost every where at first with contempt or ridicule; nay, they have sometimes proved dangerous to those who held them; yet both these doctrines are now so well established, that they meet with general approbation. And thus for two ages past have we gone on to reintroduce the most celebrated of the ancient opinions; still affecting, however, not to know that we are in any manner indebted to those who first held them.

The most reasonable in itself, and what agrees best with the most accurate observations, is that system of the world proposed by Copernicus, who places the sun in the center, the fixed stars at the circumference, and the earth and other planets in the intervening space; and who ascribes to the earth not only a diurnal motion round its axis, but an annual round the sun. This system is entirely simple, and best of any explains all the appearances of the planets, and their situations, whether proceffional, stationary, or retrograde; but it is a matter of surprise, how a system so fully and distinctly inculcated by the antients, should derive its name from a modern philosopher. Pythagoras, Philolaüs, Nicetas of Syracuse, Plato, and Aristarchus, have in a thousand places expressed this opinion; and Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, and Stobæus, have with great precision transmitted to us their ideas." This argument he supports with several just and learned quotations from the above-named authors, among which none seem to strike me with more force than the following: "Archimedes, (says he) *Ibid. p. 152.* in his book *de Arenario*, informs us, *That Aristarchus, writing on this subject against some of the philosophers of his own age, placed the sun immovable in the center of an orbit, described by the earth in its circuit.*" And he after adds, "That the earth is round, and inhabited on all sides, and of course that there are antipodes, *Ibid. p. 155.* or those whose feet are directly opposite to ours, is one of the most ancient doctrines inculcated by philosophy."* Then he with the greatest justice makes the following remark: "And that these opinions were no sooner universally received, ought entirely to be ascribed to the force of prejudice, which, deciding every thing by appearances, prefers sense to reason, and abandons whatever is not conformable to the judgment of the former."

CONCLUSION.

Thus have I at last, with great pains and diligence, brought this laborious work to an end, and submit it to the candour and lenity of the readers, hoping that the toilsome difficulty that must necessarily attend such an extensive work, may in some measure excuse the errors and imperfections that may be found therein.

And

* In the Nurembergh Chronicle are pictured figures of the several monstrous people inhabiting the world, according to the various accounts of ancient authors; among the rest are those of the antipodes, "who live (says the Chronicle) in a country where the sun rises when it sets with us. These people have their feet set the contrary way to ours; their heels before, and their toes turned behind them. This, however, was not antiently credited at Rome, as witnesseth Augustine in his *Lib. de Civit. dei*, Lib. 16, cap. 9."—Hartman's Chronicle, printed at Nurembergh, fol. 12.

And if the reader has but met with pleasure and satisfaction enough to think his time has not been ill bestowed which he has spent in the perusal, I shall be perfectly happy in my labours. My love for my national antiquities is greater than I can express. I have with patience, nay with pleasure, turned over the many various volumes from whence the chief materials of this work are collected, and endeavoured faithfully to preserve those things which some years hence might else be lost and buried in oblivion. It is the most natural love which every man either does or ought to bear to his country, and 'tis his duty to preserve its glory; for the pictures of our ancestors are so truly noble, that we may with pleasure peruse the records, and look back upon the antient times with satisfaction, for it is not our least honour to be so nobly descended.

Thus have I chaulked out the path; perhaps hereafter, when I am laid in the silent grave, some pen more able than my own may quite compleat this my imperfect tracing.

Account of the principal MSS. from which the Materials of this Second Volume are collected.

THE first is a MS. Pfalter in the possession of John Ives, Esq; of Great Yarmouth, which is richly illuminated and adorned with figures. This he kindly communicated to me. The date of this MS. both by the writing and stile of the figures, appears to be about the reign of Edward the Third.

The next is in the Harleian Library, a MS. written in the latter part of Richard the Second's reign, (being the historical account of his troubles) by Francis de la Marque, a French gentleman, who was an eye-witness of most of the facts therein related. See a further account of this MS. in the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities. This MS. is marked 1319.

The large missal, called the Liber Regalis, is said to have been made for the direction of the clergy that assisted at the coronation of king Richard the Second. This valuable MS. is yet preserved in the Abbey; and I had the permission to copy it from the Bishop of Rochester, by means of Mr. Brooker, keeper of the Record-Office, who also kindly assisted me in several other matters. See a fuller account of this MS. in the Reg. and Eccles. Ant.

The next is a Pfalter in the Harl. Library, written in the reign of Henry the Fourth; and in the calendar are figures prefixed to every month, with the sign of the zodiac appropriated to each particular month underneath it. This MS. is marked 2331.

Another very curious MS. I found in the Harl. Library, which contains the life of St. Edmund, king of the East Angles, as translated from the Latin by John Lidgate, monk of Bury, on purpose to present to the young king Henry the Sixth, while he held his Christmas at Bury. This curious and valuable MS. is enriched with a vast variety of excellent illuminations. See a fuller account in the Catalogue of the Harl. MSS. and in the Reg. and Eccles. Antiqu. This MS. is marked 2278.

In the Cotton Library is preserved a valuable MS. Poem, called the Pilgrim, in old English, and adorned with pictures. This, by the writing and stile, appears to have been made during the reign of Edward the Fourth. It is marked Tiberius, A. VII.

And the next is also in the Cotton Library, a very curious and valuable MS. which, among various other things, contains the History of the Life and Acts of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, (as given in the description of the plates) illustrated with 53 excellent delineations, which fully explain the manners and customs of the times in which they were done. These compose the far greater part of the plates given in this volume: and the original delineations, together with the writing, are all done by the hand of John Rouse, the Warwickshire Antiquary and Historian. Vid. Catal. Cottonianæ. John Rouse died the 14th of January, 1491, the seventh year of Henry the Seventh. This MS. is marked Julius, E IV.

With various other MS. that are not here mentioned.

Description of the PLATES.

PL. I.

No. 1, the door way to St. Botolph's priory at Colchester, see p. 4; 2, an arched door way of the Saxons, p. 4; 3, the door way to Great Canfield church in the county of Essex; 4, 5, 6 and 7 are the capitals of Saxon columns from the church of St. Peter at Oxford; 8, is the capital of a Saxon column, vid. p. 4; 10. the quinten, p. 21; 12, a pillory, p. 9; 13, an umbrella, p. 18; 9, 11, 14, 15, 16 and 17, musical instruments, p. 20; No. 2 and No. 8, are from the Cædman MS. at Oxford, mentioned in the first vol. p. 105; 4, 5, 6 and 7 are from Hearne's Antiquities; 10, is from Stow's Survey of London; 9, is from Nero D. 1; 12, is from the transcript of Mat. Paris, at Cambridge, and all the other musical instruments, as well as 13, are from the psalter of Eadwine, in Trinity College Library, marked R. 17, 1; see the account of the last three MSS. p. 106, vol. 1.

PL. II.

No. 1, the gaveloc; 2, the gifarma; 3, the bipennis, vid. p. 98 of vol. 1; 4, 21 and 22, the globes; 5, 6 and 7, scepters; 8, a battle ax; 9, a spear; 10, a tilting spear, vid. p. 98 of vol. 1; from 11 to 20 are crowns; 23 and 24 are shields; 25, a dagger; 26, an arrow, headed with a phial; 27, a war ax; 28, a sword; 29, a banner; 30, a pennon; 31, a battle ax; 32, the arrows, headed with fiery combustibles, see p. 98 of vol. 1; 33, a chair; 34, a huntsman's horn; 35, a royal seat; 36, a church candlestick, as is also 46; 37, 38, 41, 42 and 44, are different Norman vessels; 39, an ink horn and pen; 40, a penknife; 43, a lamp, and 45, a key. No. 1, 3, 7, 16, 18, 20, 33, 34, 37, 41, 42 and 43, are from the psalter of Eadwine, Trin. col. vid. vol. 1, p. 105. No. 2 is from 1585, MS. in the Harl. Lib. 11 and 6 are from the great seal of the Conqueror; 5 is from one of his coins; 12 is from the great seal of Rufus; 13, from a coin of Stephen; 14, from Henry the First's great seal; 15, from the great seal of Maud the Empress; 17 and 21 are from the great seal of Richard the First, as is also fig. 19; fig. 22, from the great seal of Henry the Third; 4, 8, 9, 10, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 36, 44, 45 and 46, are from Nero D. 1; 26, 27 and 32, are from the Mat. Paris, at Cambridge; for these two last MS. see p. 106, vol. 1; 35, is from xiv. c. 2, and 39 and 40, from 10A13, both MSS. in the Royal Library.

PL. III.

The first 12 figures are the 12 months, beginning with January, having the sign of the Zodiac proper for each month, delineated under it; 13, is a caparisoned horse; 14, a lady on horseback; 15, archers; 16, a gentleman hawking; the months are from 2331, and the last 4 from 2278, both MSS. in the Harl. Lib. see the account of the MS. in this volume.

PL. IV.

Seven and 8 are men of arms in Richard the Second's time; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11 and 12, are soldiers during the reign of Henry the Sixth, see p. 33; 13, the proclaiming of a king, see note p. 59; 15 and 17, vessels, during the reign of Richard the Second; 14, the sailing ship, Temp. Henry the Sixth, see p. 73 & 74; 16, a boat, see p. 77; 18, a workman drawing up a bucket; 19, a plaiter at work;

work; 20, a mason at work, see p. 46; 21 and 22, tents, see p. 44; 7, 8, 15 and 22, are from 1319, all the rest are from 2278, see account of the MSS. in this volume.

One, a battle ax; 2 and 3, axes, as borne by the generals; 4, 5 and 6, are PL. V. bills; 8 and 9, glaives; 7, a spear; 10, the tilting lance, those used in the tournaments, differed only in the points being blunted; 11 and 12 are spears, used by the footmen; 21, the shields borne by the footmen; 19 and 20, pavises, used by the pavisers; 22 and 23, shields used by the archers; 13, 14, 15 and 16 are swords; 17 and 18 daggers; 24 and 25, strange shields; the two last mentioned, with 19, 20 and 21, are from Montfaucon's *Monarchie Francois*, see p. 34 of this vol. and the note ‡ of the same page, all the rest are from the MSS. before mentioned.

No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 are kings crowns; 8 and 16 are queens crowns; 9, PL. VI. is the princes coronet; 10, 11, 12 and 14 are ducal coronets; 13 and 15, earls, see p. 65; 19, is the posture master shewing postures, standing upon the shoulders of a man playing the bagpipes; 18, the balance master, balancing a spear on his nose, see p. 97; 19, a king lying in state; 20 and 21, a man firing cannons; I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX and X, are head dresses; and from XI to XXVII inclusive, musical instruments, see p. 99; 1, is the crown of Edward the First, from his great seal; 2, of Edward the Second, from a coin; 3, Edward the Third, from his great seal; 4, of Henry the Sixth, from his coin; 16, of his queen, from pl. 43 of the *Regal and Eccles. Antiquities*; 7, of Edward the Fourth; 8, of his queen, from pl. 47 of the *Regal and Eccles. Antiquities*; 5, from the great seal of Richard the Third; 6, from the great seal of Henry the Seventh; 9, from pl. 48 of the *Regal and Eccles. Antiquities*; 10, is from the 16th plate of the same book; 15, from the 19th plate of the same; 11, from the 42d plate, and 12, from the 43d plate of the same; 13 and 14 are from Julius E. IV. 17 and 19, from the MS. in the possession of John Ives, esq; fig. 19, from the *Liber Regalis*; 20 and 21, from Mountfaucon; 22 and 23, from 1766 MS. in the Harl. Lib. No. I to VIII are from 2278; IX and X are from the *Nuremburg Chronicle*; XXIV, XXV, XXVI and XXVII, from Tiberius, A. 7, MS. in the Cotton Library, and all the rest from the *Liber Regalis*.

The Life of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, by John Rous: Ex MS. apud Bib. Cott. infig. Julius E. IV.

“ This pagent shewed the birth of the famous knyght, Richard Beauchamp PL. VII. erle of Warrewik, which was born in the maner of Salwarp in the counte of Worcestre, the 28th day of the moneth of January, the yere of the incarnation of our Lord Criste 1381; whose notable actes of chevalry and knyghtly demennaunce been also shewed in the pagentis hereafter ensuyng.

Here is shewed howe he was baptised, havng to his godfaders Kyng Richard PL. VIII. the Second, and Seynt Richard Scrope, then Bishop of Lichefeld, and after in proceß of tyme he was archebischop of Yorke.

Here sheweth how this noble lorde Richard Beauchamp, erle of Warrewik, PL. IX. was made knyght; to the whiche ordre in proceße of tyme, as shall appere followyng by his noble atchievements, he did great honour and worship.

R

Here

- PL. X. Here shewes howe dame Jane duches of Breteyn, daughter of the kyng of Navern and newe wedded wife to Henry the Fourth, kyng of England, was crowned quene of this noble reame of England.
- PL. XI. Here shewes how atte coronacion of quene Jane, earl Richarde kepte iuste for the quene's part ageynst all other commers, where he so notably and so knyghtly behaved hymself, as redounded to his noble fame and perpetuall worship.
- PL. XII. Here shewes howe at theis daies appeared a blasynge sterre called *Stella Comata*, which after the seying of Clerkys, signyfyed great deth and blodeshede; and sone upon beganne the warre of Wales, by Owen of Glendour their chief capteyn; whom emonges other erle Richard so fore sewed, that he hadde nere bande taken hym, and put hym to flyght, and toke his baner, and moche of his people, and his baner.
- PL. XIII. Here shewes how at the battell of Shrewesbury, between kyng Henry the Fourth and Sir Henry Percy; erle Richard there beyng on the kynges party ful, notably and manly behaved hymself to his great larde (*Laud*) and worship, in which batell was slayne the said Sir Henry Percy, and many others with hym; and on the kynges party there was slayne in the kynges cote armoure, chef of al other the erle of Stafford, erle Richard's auntes son, wyth many other in greet nombre, on whoes fowles God have mercy amen.
- PL. XIV. In this pagent is shewed, howe the noble erle Richard was made knyght of the Garter at that tyme to his greet worship; and after by marvellous acts by hym ful notably and knyghtly ached in his propre persone, did greet honour and worship to the noble ordre of knyghtes of the Garter, as by the pageants hereafter followyng more pleynty is shewed.
- PL. XV. Here shewes how good provision made of English clothe, and other thynges necessary, and licence had of the kyng; erle Richard sailed towards the Holy Lond, and specially to the holy city of Jerusalem, where our Lorde Jhesus Criste wilfully suffered his bitter passion, for the redemption of all mankynde.
- PL. XVI. Here shewes howe erle Richard, when he was passed the see, he turned to his noble and nere cosyn the duc of Barre, of whom he was ful lovyngly and worshipfully received, and there tarried eight daies in greet pleasir.
- PL. XVII. And here is shewed howe at this noble duke's desire, erle Richard hys cousyn rode with hym agaynst the Whitfontide to the cite of Parys, the kyng of Fraunce there then beyng present in great roialte.
- PL. XVIII. Here shewes howe on the Whitsonday, the kyng of Fraunce in reverence of the holy feest was crowned, and made erle Richard to sitte at his table: where he so manerly behaved hymself in langage, and norture,* that the kyng and lordes, with all other people, gave hym greet lawde, and at hys departyng the kyng assigned hym an heraude to geve his attendaunce, and conducte hym faultry thorowe all hys Raume.
- PL. XIX. Here shewes howe at hys departyng from Fraunce into Lumbardy, the Frenche herawde richely rewarded and licenced; in shorte space after came another herawde to erle Richard, sent from Sir Pandolf Malatete, or Malet, with letres of challenge to do certeyn poyntes of armes with hym at Verona, at
a certeyn

* This word signifies breeding and education.

a certeyn day assigned for the ordre of the garter; to whych challenge to be doon before Sir Calcot of Mantua, Erle Richard gladly agreed, and after he hadde doon hys pilgremage at Rome he returned to Verona, where he and his chalenger Sir Pandolf shuld first just, then go togeder with axes, after which armyng swerdes, and last with sharpe daggers.

Howe atte place and day assigned, resortyng thidre all the contre, Sir Pandolf PL. XX., entred the place ix speres born before hym, then thacte of speres to the erle Richard worshipfully finished, after went they to gedres with axes, and if the lord Calcot hadde not the sonner cried peas, Sir Pandolf fore wounded on the list shuldre hadde been utterly slayne in the felde.

How erle Richard came to Venise, and was inned at Seynt George, and was PL. XXI., right worshpefully receved of the duc and lordes of Venise, and many rial presents hadde he there geven hym; and moche the rather for the great lawde they herde was geven hym at Verona.

Here shewes howe erle Richard was worthely resceved by the Patriarkes PL. XXII., depute at Jerusalem, and licenced to commune in due fourme with the hethen people, and specially with the greet estate if the cause required; and how with them he shulde be demeaned.

Here shewes howe he offered in Jerusalem at our Lordes sepulcre, and his PL. XXIII., armes were set up on the north side of the temple, and there they remayned many yeres after, as pilgrymes that longe after come thens reported.

Here shewes howe Sir Balderdain, a noble lorde the Soldans lieutenant, that PL. XXIV., tyne beyng at Jerusalem; heryng that erle Richard was there, and that he was lynally of blede descended of noble Guy of Warrewyk, and with greet honoure receved hym, and desired hym and his mayny (train) to dyne with hym in his owne place; and erle Richard ful manerly behavyng hym, granted lorde Balderdain to come for his pleaser.

Here shewes howe Sir Balderdain at that dyner in his owne place set first the PL. XXV., erle Richardes chapelleyne, in the chief place, and next hym erle Richard, he hymself beyng as marchall; and after dyner rewarded hys men with silkes, and clothes of gold, and to erle Richard he gave three pretious stones of greet value; and in secrete wise tolde hym, that in his hert, thowe he durst not utter his concept, yet he faithfully beleved as we do; reherfing by ordre the articles of our feith.

Here shewes howe on the morn erle Richard fested Sir Balderdains men, and PL. XXVI., gave them largely of English clothe to array them in his liverie, after their degrees, bothe scarlet and othe clothe of colour; this doon and by a spyne shewed to Sir Balderdaine, he came to erle Richard and seide he wolde be of his liverie, and marchal of his hall. This Balderdain was cunningy in many langages. Erle Richard gave hym then a gowne of blakke puke furred, and after dyner they had the greet communicacion to gedre.

Howe erle Richard came ageyn to Venus, and there was worthily resceived PL. XXVII., of the duke and other lordes, both spirituel and temporal; and all the cites gave loving to God that he hadde so wele, and prosperously spedde in his journey to the holy land.

Here shewes howe erle Richard from Venise toke his way to Ruffy, Lettowe, P. XXVIII., and Velyn, and Cypruse, Westvale, and other coostes of Almayn toward Eng-
land, by such coostes as his auncesters had laboured in; and specially erle Tho-
mas,

mas his grauntfader, that in warre hadde taken the kynges sone of Pettowe, and brought hym into England, and christened hym at London, namyng hym after hymself Thomas, and in this journey erle Richard gate hym greet worship at many turnamentes, and other saites of werre.

PL. XXIX. Here sheweth howe after the cummyng home of erle Richard from the Holy Lande, Henry the Fifth when beyng kyng of England, was secretly enformed of a prevey and sodeyn insurreccion of traiterous heritikes, which sodeynly by myght purposed to have taken the kyng, and kept hym undre their rule and subjeccion, and after by his auctorite to have destroyed the church of England, and to flee the prelates and distribute their possessions ageynst the house of God, after their indiscrete advyses and pleasures.

PL. XXX. Here sheweth howe this victorious and noble prynce kyng Henry the Fifth oponed this matier to the lordes of his counseil, erle Richard being present, which for the accomplishment of the kyng's entent and pleasir therein, dressed hymself into his harneys, and ful coragiously with good circumspencion and foresight, avaunced hymself to the subdewyng of the said traytours and heretikes.

PL. XXXI. Howe erle Richard after he hadde scoured the see, was made capteyn of Caley; where he ful notably guided al things undre his governaunce, and when he hadde seen al his londes and set al thing in dewe ordre, he hede to Caley, where he was reverently received with processcion, &c.

P. XXXII. Howe erle Richard after he hadde seen his londes, and sette al thyng in dewe ordre, heryng of a greet gaderyng in Fraunce, inasmoche as he was capteyn of Caley he bied hym thidre hastily, and was there worthely received; and when that he herd that the gaderyng in Fraunce was appoynted to come to Caley, he cast in his mynde to do fume newe poynt of chevalry; wheruppon he lete paynt 3 pavises, and in every pavire a lady, the first harpyng atte ende of a bedstede, with a greet of gold on her leste sleve, and her knyght called the grene knyght, with a blakke quarter; and he shulde be redy to joust with eny knyght of Fraunce xii courses, and 2 shildes should be of purvynnes; and that knyghtes lettre was sealed with the seale of his armes; the felde sylver, a maunche gules.

P. XXXIII The second pavys hadde a lady sitting at a covered borde, worchyng perles; and on her sleve was tacked a glove of plate, and her knyght was called Chevaler Vert, and his lettre was sealed with the armes; the felde sylver, and 2 barres of gewles, and he must joust xv courses, and that shulde be 2 sadilles of cheyes. The third pavys a lady sitting in a gardeyn making a chapellet, and on her sleve a poleyn with a rivet, her knyght was called Chevaler Attendant, and he and his felowe must renne x cours, with scharpe speres and without sheldys, his lettre was sealed with golde and gewles quarte a bordour of vert; their lettres were sent to the kyng's coorte of Fraunce, and anone other 3 Frenche knyghtes received them, and graunted their felowes to mete at day and place assigned.

Here shewes howe as it is said afore these lettres were received, to the first applied hymself a noble knyght, called Sir Gerard Herbawines, that called hymself the Chevaler Ruge; to the second answered a famous knyght Sir Hugh **P. XXXIV.** Laundry, calling hymself the Chevaler Blanke; and to the thyrd agreed an excellent knyght called Sir Colard Fymes, at a certeyn day and place assigned, that is to sey the xii day of Christmasse, in a lawnde called the Park Hedge of Gynes.

Here shewes how erle Richard on the first day that was the xii day of P. XXXV. Christmasse, comyng to the selde, his face covered, a bussh of Estrich fethers on his hede, his horse trapped with the armes of oone of his auncestres the lorde Tony, and at the third course he cast to the grounde at his spere poynt behynde the horse taile, the knyght called the Chevaler Ruge; and then the erle with cloose visar retourned unknowen to his pavilion. And forthwith he sent to the said knyght a fair courser.

Howe erle Richard the Second day came into the selde, that is fey the morowe P. XXXVI. after the xii day, his visar cloos, a chaplet on his basnet, and a tuste of estrich fethers aloste, his hors trapped with his armes of Haunslape silwer, two barrys of gewles, and their mette with hym the blank knyghte, and they ran togider; and the erle smote up his visar thries, and brake his besagnes and other harneys, all his apparaile saved; and so with the victory, and hymself unknown rode to his pavilion ageyn, and sent to this blank knyght Sir Hugh Lawney, a good courser.

Howe on the morowe next folowyng, that was the last day of the justes, the erle Richard came in face opyn, his basnet as the day afore, save the chapellet PL. XXXVII. was rich of perle and precious stones, in Guy his armes and Beauchampe quarterly, and the armes also of Tony and Haunslape in his trappure, and said like as he hadde his owne persone performed the twodayes afore, so with Goddes grace he wolde the third, then ran he to the Chevaler name Sir Colard Fymes, and every stroke he bare hym bakwards to his hors bakke; and then the Frenchmen said he was bounde to the sadyll, wherfor he alighted down from his horse, and forthwith stept up into his sadyll ageyn, and so with worshiipe rode to his pavilion, and sent to Sir Colard a good courser, and fested all the people; gevyng the said three knyghtes gret rewardes, and rode to Calys with great worshiipe.

Here shewes howe king Henry the Fifth made erle Richard, and Robert PL. XXXVIII. Halain bishop of Salisbury, with other worshipful persones, his ambassiatours to the general counceil of Constance.

Howe the pope and the clergy, the emperour Sygysmonde, and the tem- P. XXXIX. poralte, honourably and honestly did receive them.

Here shewes howe a mighty duke chalenged erle Richard for his lady PL. XL. sake, and he justyng slewe the duke: then the emperesse toke the erles livery a bere, from a knyghtes shuldre, and for grette love and favour she sette hit on her shuldre; then erle Richard made oone of perle and precious stones, and offered her that, and she gladly and lovyngly received hit.

Howe the emperour for a special love made erle Richard to bere his swerde, PL. XLI. and prosored to geve hym Seynte George his Hert, Englisshmennes avowry, to bryng into England; but erle Richard heryng the emperour sey that he in his owne persone would come into England: he by endenture restored hit to hym ageyne, sayng the delyveryng of hit by his owne persone shulde be more acceptable, and nourishyng of more love, and so he did; for in shorte space after he come into England, and was made knyghte of the garter, and offered up the holy Hert hymself, which is worshipfully yet kept at Wyndesore; and in his comyng and goyng at Caleys, erle Richard then beyng capteyn, he honourably received hym, and the emperour saide to the kyng that no prince Cristen for wisdom, norture, and manhode, hadde such another knyght as he had of therle War-

Warrewyk; addyng therto that if al curtesye were lost, yet myght hit be founde ageyn in hym; and so ever after by the emperour's auctorite he was called the Fadre of Curteisy.

- PL. XLII. Howe erle Richard in his comyng into Englund, wanne 2 greete carykkes in the sea.
- PL. XLIII. Howe erle Richard in the warres of Fraunce, toke Denfront, and entred first into Cane; but inasmoche as he was there with and under lorde Thomas duke of Clarence, the kyng's next brother, he sette on the walle the kyng's armys, and the duke's, and made a crye a Clarence, a Clarence: and then entred the duke, and gave the erle many greet thankes. After the erle beseged Cawbek on the water of Sayn, and they appoynted to stande undre the Fourme of Reone; and then brought he up vessels by water to Reone, and than by his policy was it beseged both by londe and by water. After he wanne Mount Seynt Michell and many townes, and the kyng made him erle of Aumarle.
- PL. XLIV. Howe erle Richard was atte the sege of Reon, there set first between the kyngs tent and Seynt Katheryns, and when Seynt Katheryns was wonne, he was sette to kepe Port Quartevyle.
- PL. XLV. Here shewes howe kyng Henry from Reon sent erle Richard to the kyng of Fraunce, and the erle of Kyme with hym in the begynnyng of May, with a 1000 men of armes, for the mariage of dame Katheryne, daughter of said kyng of France.
- PL. XLVI. Howe the dolphyn of Fraunce leide in the way 6000 men of armes, with the erles of Vandon and Lymclyn; and bothe the French erles were slayn, and 2000 of his men taken and slayn; all the other put to flight; and erle Richard flewe oon the said erles with his owne handes.
- P. XLVII. Howe erle Richard his enemyes overcome, did his message to the kyng of Fraunce, and brought answers ageyn to kyng Harries greet pleasir.
- P. XLVIII. Howe the noble erle Richard brought answere to kyng Henry of his message, deon to the kyng of Fraunce, for the mariage of dame Katheryn his daughter.
- P. XLIX. Here shewes howe kyng Henry the Vth was solempnely married to dame Katheryn the kyngs daughter of Fraunce.
- PL. L. Howe kyng Hen. Vth was born at Wyndfore, on Seynt Nicholas day: the yere of our Lorde 1420.
- PL. LI. Here shewes howe accordyng to the last wille of kyng Henrie the Vth. erle Richard by the auctorite of the hole parliement, was maister to kyng Henrie the VIth. and so he contynowed til the yong kyng was 16 yere of age, and then first by his greete labour he was discharged.
- PL. LII. Here shewes howe kyng Henry the VIth. beyng in his tender age, was crowned kyng of Englund at Westmynstre with great solemnytie.
- PL. LIII. Here shewes howe kyng Henry was after crowned kyng of Fraunce, at Seynt Denys besides Parys. Of whiche coronacion in Fraunce, and also the said erle to have the rule of hys noble persone until he were of the age of 16 yeres, it was the wille and ordinance of Almyghty God; as our blessed lady shewed by revelation, unto dame Emme Rawhtone recluse at Alle Halowes, in Northgate streete of York; and she saide that thorowe the rame of Englund was no persone, lord ne other like to hym, in habilitie of grace, and true feithfulnesse; to vertuously nourishe and governe his noble persone, accordyng to his rial astate.
- Also

Also she put greet commendacion by the ordinaunce of God of his greete benefytes in tyme to come of devowt commers to the place of Gye Clif, etherwise called Gibelyff; which in proceffe of tyme shal growe to a place of great warshippes, oon of the mooste named in Englund.

Here shewes how Philip Duc of Burgoyne, beseged Caleys, and Humfrey duc of Gloucestre, Richard erle of Warrewyk, and Humfrey erle of Stafford, with a greet multitude, went over the see, and folowed the duc of Burgoyne; he ever sleying before them; and they there fore noied the countrey with fire and swerde.

Here shewes howe kyng Henry the VI. made erle Richard lieutenant of France and Normandy. PL. LIV.

Here shewes howe erle Richard, when he with his navy toke the salt water, in short space arose a grevous tempest, and drefe the shippes into Dinsle cooste, in so moche that they al fered to be perished; and the noble erle fore castyng lete bynde hymself and his lady and Henri his sone and heir (after duc of Warrewyk) to the mast of the vessel; to thentent that where ever they were founde, they myght have been buried to gedres worshipfully, by the knowlege of his cote armour, and other signes uppon hym, but yet God preserved them al and so returned to Englund, and asfer to Normandy. PL. LVI.

Here shewes howe he este from Englund, come quietly into Normandy, and there as a lorde rial the kyngs lieutenant and governer (which sonnes regent in the French tongue) so nobly and discretely behavedde hymself, that bothe English and Frenshe were gladdes of hym, playnly percevyng by his gwyding that God was with hym. PL. LVII.

Here shewes howe by the hande of God, he fil seke in the noble cite of Reon, and as a cristyn knyght departed from this worlde; (all the sacramentes of the church devoutly of hym before received) the last day of May the yere of our Lorde 1439. the yere of his age 58. PL. LVIII.

Here shewes howe the same yere of his decesse, the 4th day of October next folowing, his cors was honourably conveid, as well by water as by londe, from Reon unto Warrewyk; and there worshiply buried, in the college of our lady church, founded by his noble auncestors; the bisshop of Lichfeld beyng executor officy, and many lordes ladyes and other worshipful people there beyng present." See *Harvæ's Appendix to "Historia Vita Ricardi II."* page 359. PL. LIX.

"This plate is engraved from a picture in the possession of William Bray, Esq; which was copied (in 1774) from a painting on glass in a window of the Priory Church of Great Malvern in Worcestershire. Thomas, in his Antiquities of that place, gives the following account of that window. After speaking of some parts being damaged, he says, "Ejusdem fortunæ participant sex inferiores Panel-
"læ, quæ non multis ab hinc annis a turbinoso vento e locis suis ejectæ et plurimum fractæ, neglecto pristino ordine, reponebantur. Sed tempore Thom.
"Abingdoni, Arm. in illis depicti fuere Henricus VII armatus, coronâ imperiali cinctus, et super anteriorem vestem quadrupartitum insignia Franciæ et Angliæ;
"a tergo Elizabetha regina ejus et super mantella eadem arma: post illam
"Arthurus princeps Walliæ simul armatus; et sagum ejus ipsidem insignibus decoratum, addito lemnisco triplici argenteo: *Huic successit Reginaldus Bray miles, in prosperis et adversis Regi suo semper fidelis*, gestans in clypeo candido
"signum inter tria nigra aquilarum vi distracta crura. Huncque secutus est
"Johannes

“Johannes Savage, Arm. pallum fuffillatum nigrum in parmâ argenteâ gerens,
 “et poſtremo omnium Thomas Lovell, Arm. unus ex conſiliariis ejuſdem regis;
 “cum ſcuto gentilitio candido, ſigno inter tres ſciuros miniatos inſignito. Hi
 “omnes genibus flexis, palmiſque ad cælum erectis, pro miſericordiâ ſuppli-
 “cant deum, et infra ſcriptum fuit, *Orate pro bono ſtatu nobiliſſimi et excellentiſ-
 “mi Regis Henrici Septimi, et Elizabethæ reginæ, ac domini Arthuri principis filii
 “eorundem necnon prædilectiſſimæ conſortis ſuæ ac ſuorum trium militum.*”

Of theſe fix the only ones remaining perfect are thoſe of the king and Sir Reginald Bray; both which are here repreſented.

Sir Reginald deſcended from a family which came into England with the Conqueror, and had been long ſeated at Eton Bray in Bedfordſhire. He was the ſecond ſon of Sir Richard Bray, one of the Privy Council to Hen. VI. and which Sir Richard lies buried in Worceſter Cathedral. He was very inſtrumental in the advancement of Hen. VII. to the throne; and that king was ſo ſenſible of his ſervices and abilities, that he beſtowed the higheſt employments and honours on him, and kept him in his ſervice as long as he lived. He was a knight banneret, probably made at the battle of Boſworth; was created knight of the bath at the king's coronation, was joint chief juſtice with lord Fitzwalter, of all the foreſts South of Trent, a privy counſellor, high treaſurer, chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter, high ſteward of Oxford, and was choſen knight of the garter. In the 12th year of the king he was at the battle of Blackheath, when lord Audley having joined the Corniſh rebels, was taken priſoner, he being afterwards beheaded, and his eſtate forfeited, his manor of Shire Vachery and Cranley in Surry, was given to Sir Reginald, from whom it deſcended to the Rev. Geo. Bray, the preſent owner of it.

His ſkill in architecture appears from Henry the Seventh's chapel in Weſtminſter Abbey, and the chapel of St. George at Windſor, as he had a principal concern and direction in building the former, and the finiſhing and bringing to perfection the latter, to which he was alſo a liberal benefactor in his life time, and by his will he made proviſion for the completion of it.

He died 5th of Auguſt, 1503, and was buried in a chapel built by him in St. George's chapel at Windſor, ſtill called by his name. He was married, but left no iſſue, and by his will made ample proviſion for his three nephews, ſons of his youngeſt brother John, viz. Edmund, afterwards by Henry VIII. created lord Bray; Edward, anceſtor of the preſent George Bray of Shire and Reginald, anceſtor of the late Brays of Barrington in Glouceſterſhire.

He was poſſeſſed of a very large eſtate acquired by the favor of the king (whoſe kindneſs from him was never withdrawn) and his great employments; but notwithstanding this, and his being an active miniſter in the reign of a monarch not generally beloved by his ſubjects, hiſtorians agree in giving him an excellent character, calling him, “*The very father of his country, a ſage and grave perſon, a fervent lover of juſtice, and one who would often admoniſh the king when he did any thing contrary to juſtice or equity.*” The words of Polydore Vergil are, “*Elizabetha regina enixa puellam, quæ paucos vixit dies, moritur. Secutus eſt reginam in cælum redeuntem, Regin. Bravius, vere pater patriæ, homo ſeverus, ita recti amator, ut ſi quid interdum peccatum eſſet, illud acriter in Henrico reprebenderet.*”

William

William Bray, Esq; (who kindly gave me the permission to copy these curious pictures) is brother to the above mentioned Rev. Mr. George Bray.

Though it is presumed that most of my readers are well acquainted with the Saxon character, yet, as perhaps this work may fall into the hands of some who are not, for their use therefore here is subjoined the Saxon alphabet.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	x	y	z
Power	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	x	y	z
	Ð	ð	þ	þ̅	ȝ																			
Power	Th,	th,	th,	that,	and,																			

The Lord's Prayer in Anglo Saxon, as it was used in the eighth century, taken from the venerable Bede.

Ðu upe fæder ðe eapt on heopenum. Sý ðin nama gehalgod. Gecume þin-
 Thou our Father art in Heaven, by thy name hallowed, Come thy
 rice; Sý ðin willa swa on heopenum swa eac on heorþan; Sýle
 Kingdom; be thy will done as in Heaven so also in Earth; give
 up to dæg urne dægþomlican hlaf; And forgyf ur upe gyltas. swa
 us to Day our daily Bread; and forgive us our Guilt, so
 swa þe forgyfaþ ðam ðe siþ ur agyltas; And ne læb ðu na ur
 as we forgive them that toward us are guilty; and lead thou not us
 on costnunge; Ac alyf ur fram yfele: Sý hit swa.
 into Temptation; But help us from Evil, be it so.

And to shew the difference between the Anglo Saxon and Anglo Norman-
 tongues, take the following prayer as translated by Pope Gregory (an English-
 man) and sent to king Henry the Second for the use of his subjects.

Our fader in heuene rich.
 Thi name be haliþ eueriliche,
 Thou bring vs to thi miþilblisse,
 Thi will to wiþche thu vs wiþe,
 Als hit is in heuene ido,
 Ever in earth ben hit also,
 That holi bred that lasteth ay,
 Thou send hit ous this ilke day,
 Forgive ous all that we hauith done,
 Als we forgiuet vch other mon,
 Be let vs faille in no founding,
 Ak seiþe vs fro the soule rþing, Amen.

This together with the creed (also in rhyme) was at that time used in all the
 churches in England, with universal approbation.

V O L. I.

<i>Plate.</i>		<i>Antiquities.</i>	<i>Æra.</i>	<i>A. D.</i>
I, Fig 2.	-	Roman,	before Christ	53 — 456.
I. to XXV. and XXVI. Fig. 3.	-	Saxon,	A. D. 457	— 1016.
XXVI. to XXVIII.	-	Danish,	- -	1017 — 1066.
XXIX. to LXVII.	-	Norman,	- -	1066 — 1272.

V O L. II.

<i>Plate.</i>		<i>Antiquities.</i>	<i>Æra.</i>	<i>A. D.</i>
I. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.	-	Saxon,	from 457	to 1016.
I. 9 to 17 inclusive, and Plate II.	-	Norman,	1066	to 1272.
From III. to LX. inclusive,	-	English,	1272	to 1510.

**An INDEX for finding the ILLUMINATIONS and MANUSCRIPTS mentioned
in the FIRST VOLUME.**

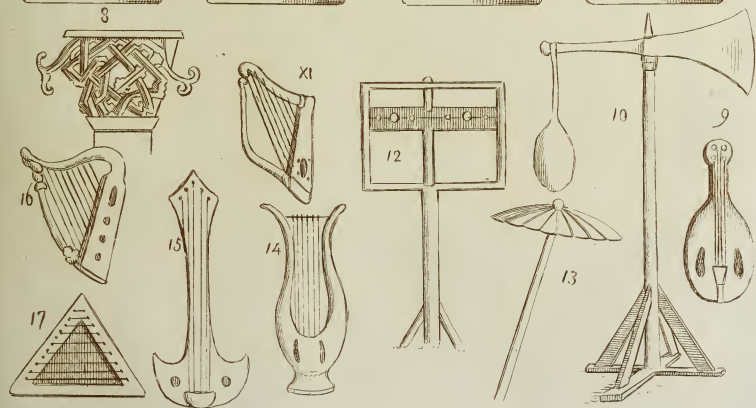
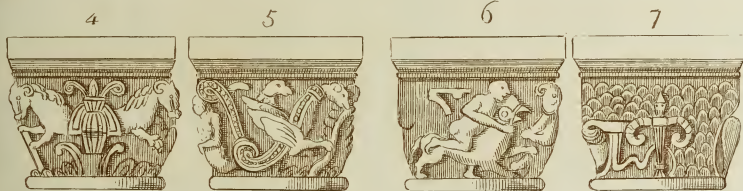
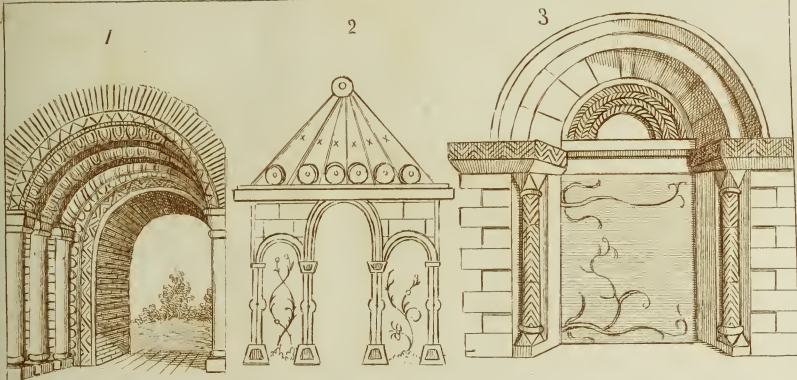
<i>Plate, and Numbers on the Plate.</i>	<i>Cotton Library, British Museum.</i>	<i>No. Page.</i>	<i>Date of MSS. Century.</i>	<i>Specimen of the Writing.</i>
IV. 5. V. 1, 2, 3, 5. VI. VII. 1, 2, 3, 4. VIII. 1, 2, 3. IX. 2, 3.	CLASS.	105		
XIII. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7. XIV. 1, 2, 3, 4. XV. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8. XVI. 2, 3, 4, 5. XVII. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8.	Claudius. B. IV.	2	8th.	{ VII. VIII. XIV. XV.
XXXI. 2, 3.	Claudius. D. II.		14th.	
I. 3, 4. IV. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7. V. 4, 6. VIII. 4. XIII. 5, 8. XIV. 6. XV. 4. XVII. 4.	Cleopatra. C. VIII.	3	9th.	IV. V.
IV. 4. IX. 1. X. XI. XII. XIII. 1. XXI. 8.	Tiberius. B. v.	5	11th.	{ IX. X. XI. XII.
VII. 5. XIX. XX. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9. XXI. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.	Tiberius. C. VI.	6	11th.	XIII. XVI.
XVI. 1.	Tiberius. C. VIII.			
XXVI. 1, 2. XXVII. 1, 2, 3.	Caligula. A. VII.	9	11th.	{ XXVI. XXVII.
XXII. 1-13, 15-21, 23-28. XXIII. 1-11. A to S. = 28. XXIV. 1-20. A to O. = 34.	Caligula. A. XIV.	7	11th.	
XXXI. 4, 8. from XXXVI. to LXVII.	{ From the different MSS before-men- tioned.			
XXXIII. 1.	Nero. D. I.	13	13th.	{ XXXVI. LI. LVI.
XXXIV.	Titus. D. I.			
	Julius. D. VII.			XXXIV.
	<i>Harleian Library, British Museum. No. 1585.</i>		12th.	XXXIII.
XXXIII. 5.	<i>Royal Library, British Museum. xiv. C. VII.</i>	12	13th.	XXXV.
XXXIII. 2, 3, 4, 6, 10. XXXV.	<i>Bodleian Library, Oxford.</i>			
XIV. 5. XXVI. 4.	Junius. No. XI.	1	8th.	XIV.
XVIII.	N. E. D. 2.	8	10th. 12th.	XVIII.
XXXIII. 7.				
XXII. 14, 22, 29, 30.	<i>Bennet College Li- brary, Cambridge.</i>			
XXXI. 1, 5, 6, 7, 9.	F. I.	4	9th.	
XXXII. 1, 2, 3, 8, 11.	C. v. xvi.	14	13th.	
LXII. No. 1. Additions from A. to F.				
XXXI. 10, 11. XXXII. 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10. XXXIII. 8, 9, 11, 12.	<i>Trinity College Li- brary, Cambridge.</i>			
XXXII. 4. XXVIII. - <i>Tho. Aste, Esq.</i> XXV. <i>Dr. Ruffel, and Tho. Aste, Esq.</i>	R. 17. I.	11	12th.	
I. 1, 2. II. 1, 6. III. 1, 4. XXVI. 3. XXIX. 1, 4. XXX. 1, 4.	<i>Register of Hyde Abbey</i>	10	11th.	XXVIII.
	{ Plans and Views of Roman, Saxon, & Norman Fortifica- tions, Castles, &c.			

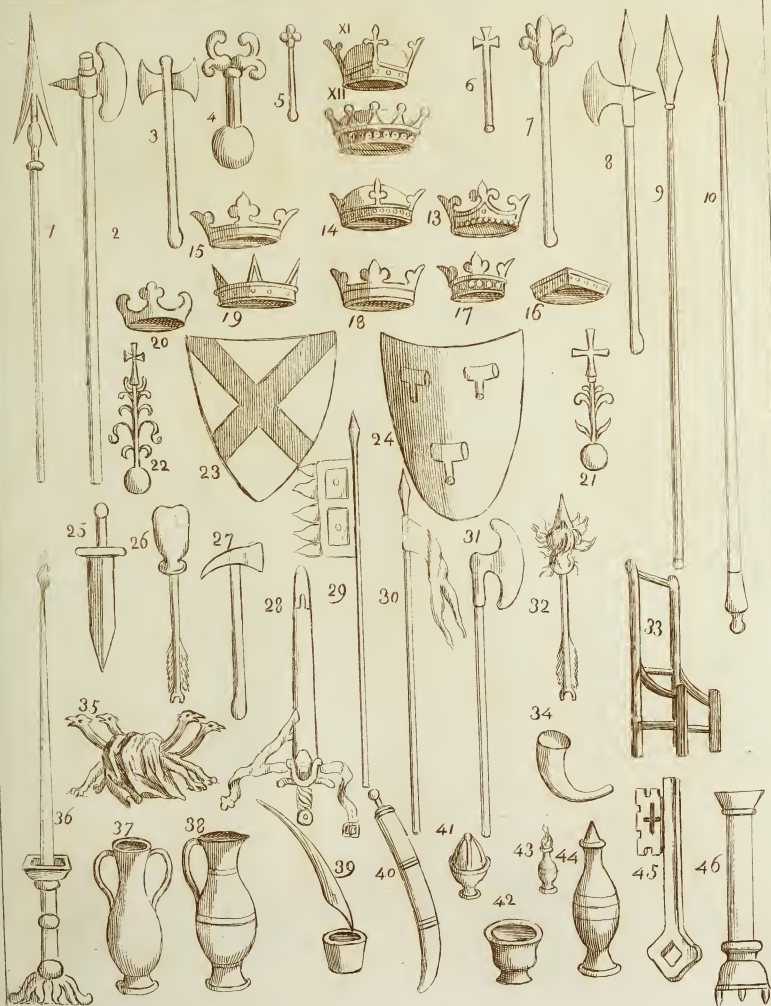
The Numbers contained in the third Column refer to the MSS. as they are taken notice of in the Account of the MS. page 105, of the First Volume.

AN INDEX for finding the ILLUMINATIONS and MANUSCRIPTS mentioned
in the SECOND VOLUME.

<i>Plate, and Numbers on the Plate.</i>	<i>Bodleian Library, Oxford.</i>	<i>Page 105 Vol. I.</i>	<i>Date of MSS. Century.</i>	<i>Specimen of the Writing.</i>
I. No. 2. to 8.	Junius. No. xi.	I	8th.	
I. 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.—II. 1, 3, 7, 16, 18, 20, 33, 34, 37, 41, 42, 43. }	Trinity College Li- brary, Cambridge. R. 17. I.	11	12th.	
I. 9.—II. 4, 8, 9, 10, 23, 24, 25, 28, } 29, 30, 31, 36, 44, 45, 46. -	Cotton Library, British Museum. Nero. D. I.	13	13th.	
VI. xxiv. xxv. xxvi. xxvii.	Tiberius. A. vii.	Vol. II. p. 119.		
VI. 9, 13, 14. Plates from VII. to LIX. inclusive	Julius. E. iv.	6 & 7.	15th.	
II. 26, 27, 32.	Bennet College Li- brary, Cambridge. C. v. xvi.	Vol. I. p. 105.		
II. 35. - - -	Royal Library, British Museum. xiv. C. 2.	14	13th.	
II. 39, 40. - - -	X. A. xiii.	—	13th.	
VI. 17, 18. - - -	<i>Pfalz, in the pos- session of J. Ives, Esq.</i>	Vol. II. pag. 1.		
VI. 19. from xi. to xxxiii.	<i>Liber Regalis, Westminster Abbey.</i>	1	14th.	
IV. 7, 8, 15, 17, 22. - - -	Harleian Library, British Museum.	3	14th.	
III. from 1 to 12 inclusive. - - -	1319	2	14th.	IV.
III. 13, 14, 15, 16. - - -	2331	4	15th.	
IV. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, } 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21. }	2278	5	15th.	
VI. I. II. III. IV. V. VI. VII. VIII.	1766	—	15th.	
VI. 22, 23. - - -				
V. from 1 to 18, and 22 23. - {	Collected from chief of the above MSS.			
V. 19, 20, 21, 24, 25. VI. 20, 21. - {	From Mountfaucon.	—	15th.	
VI. 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16. {	From the Regal and Ecclesiast. Antiquities.			
VI. ix. x. - - - {	From the Nuremberg Chronicle.	—	15th.	
I. 10. - - - {	From Stow's Survey of London.			
II. 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22. {	From Coins, Seals, &c.			
VI. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. - - - {				
I. 4, 5, 6, 7. - - -	Parts of Buildings. Saxon.			
I. 1, 3. - - -	Norman.			

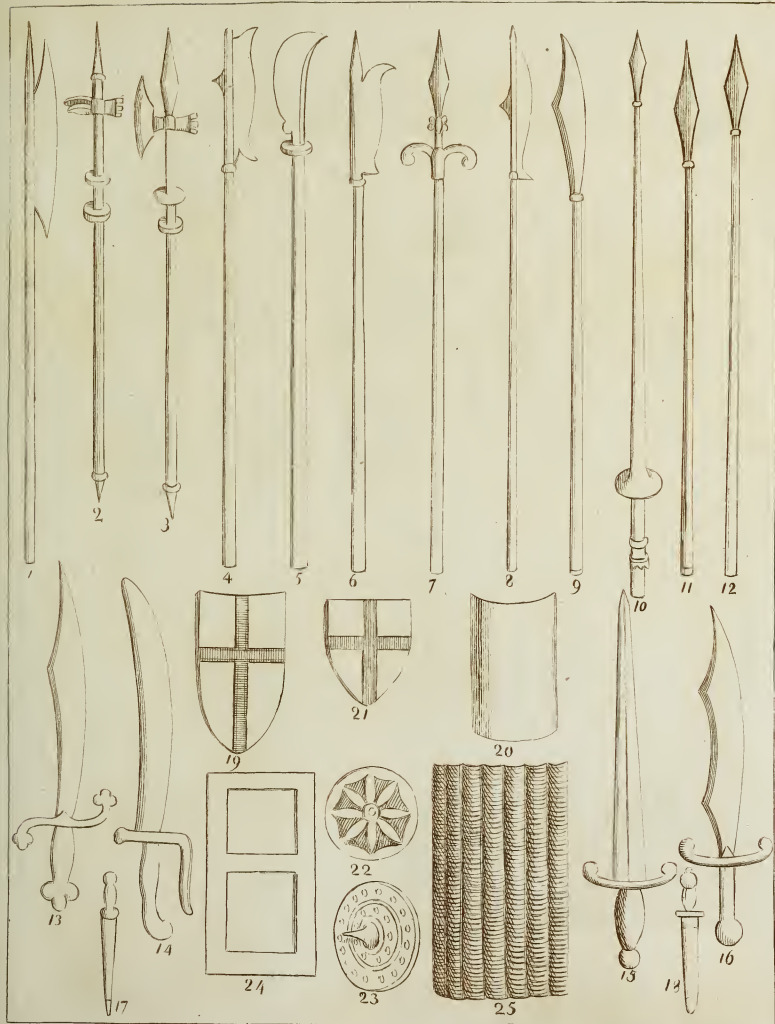
The preceding Indexes are added to this Work by the kind assistance of JOHN FENN, Esq; F. R. S.
East Dereham, Norfolk.







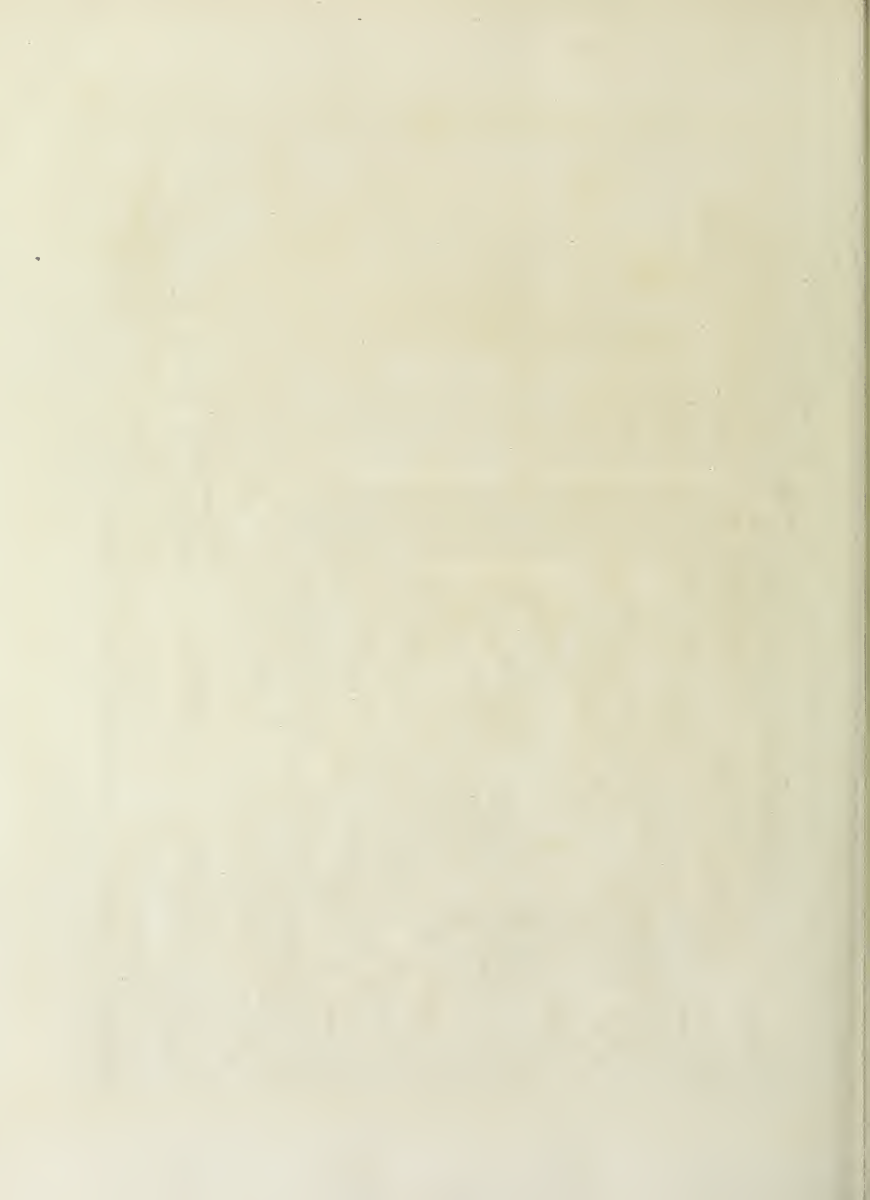
















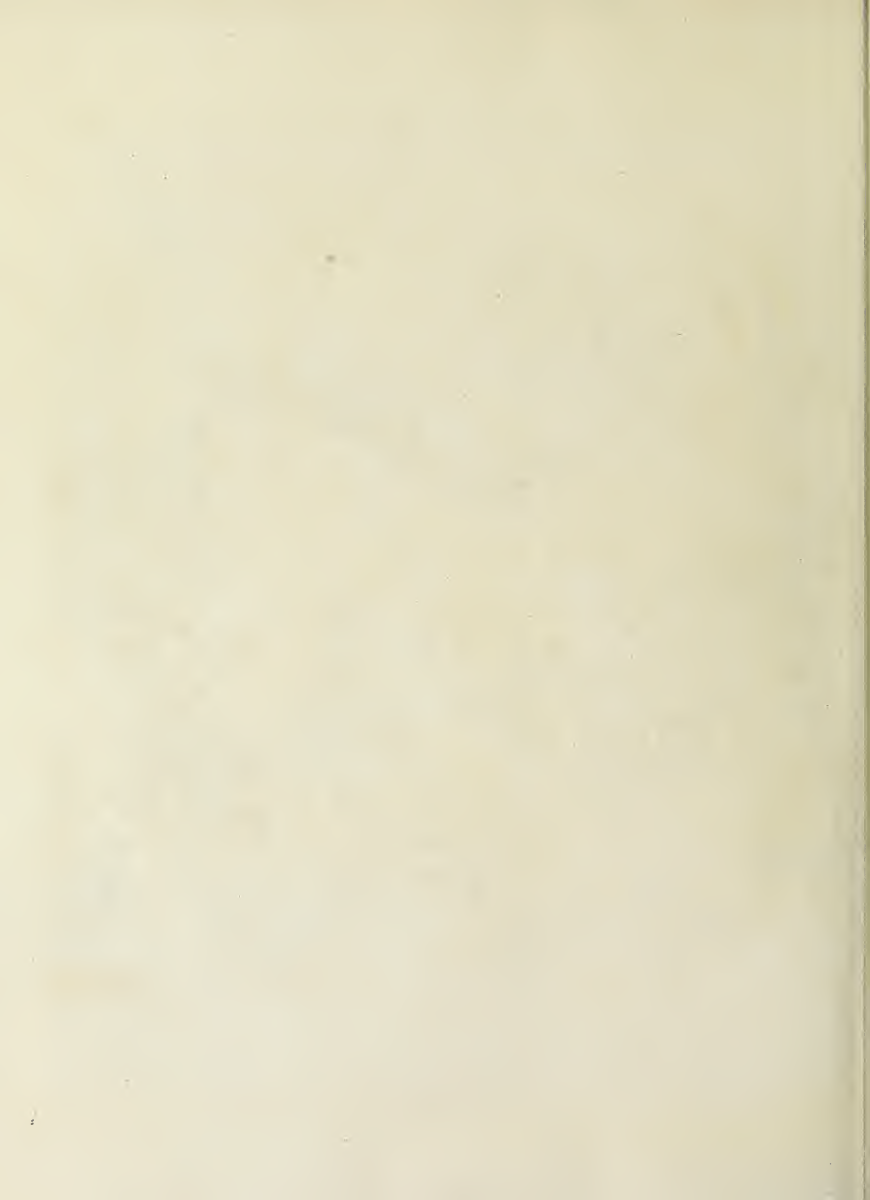


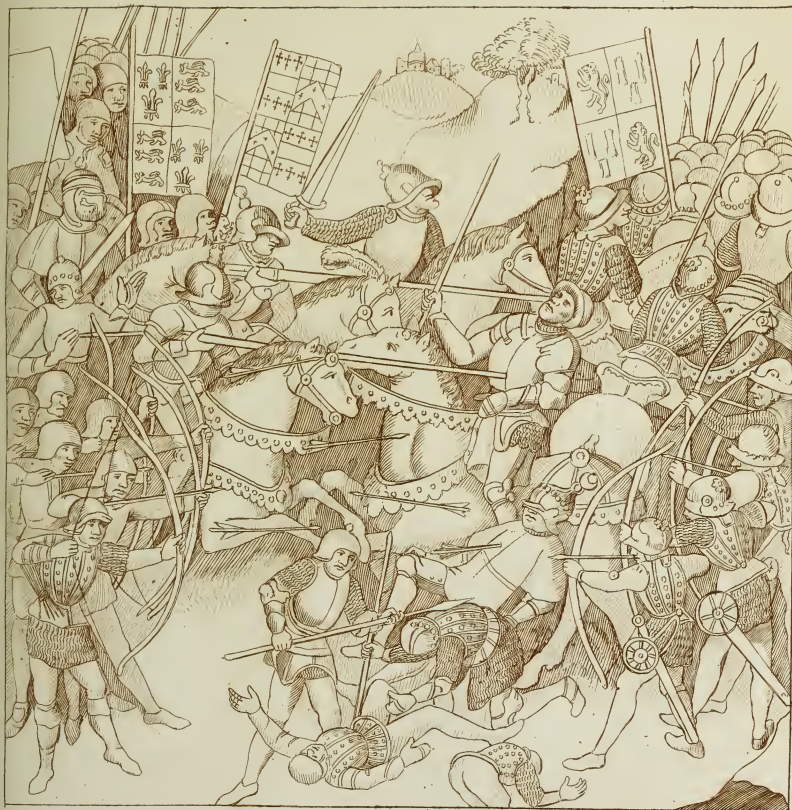






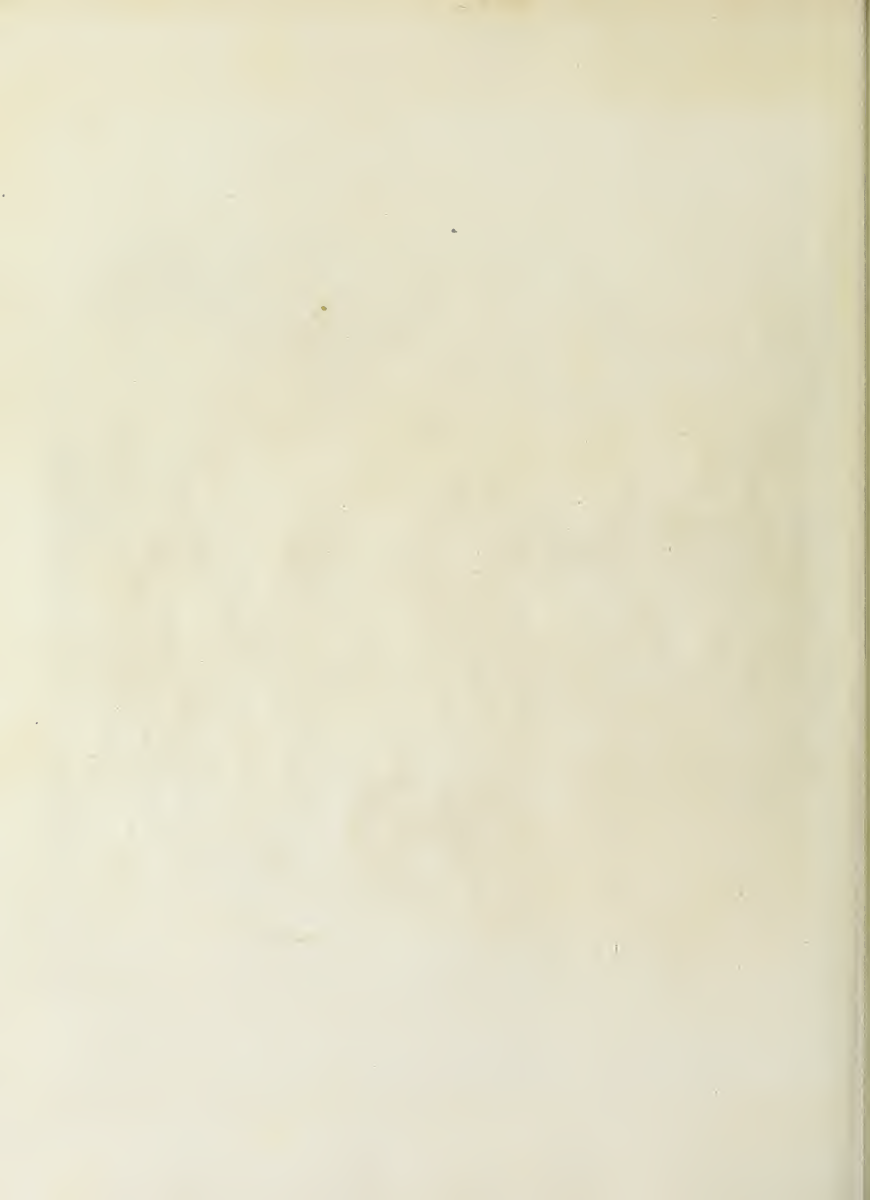








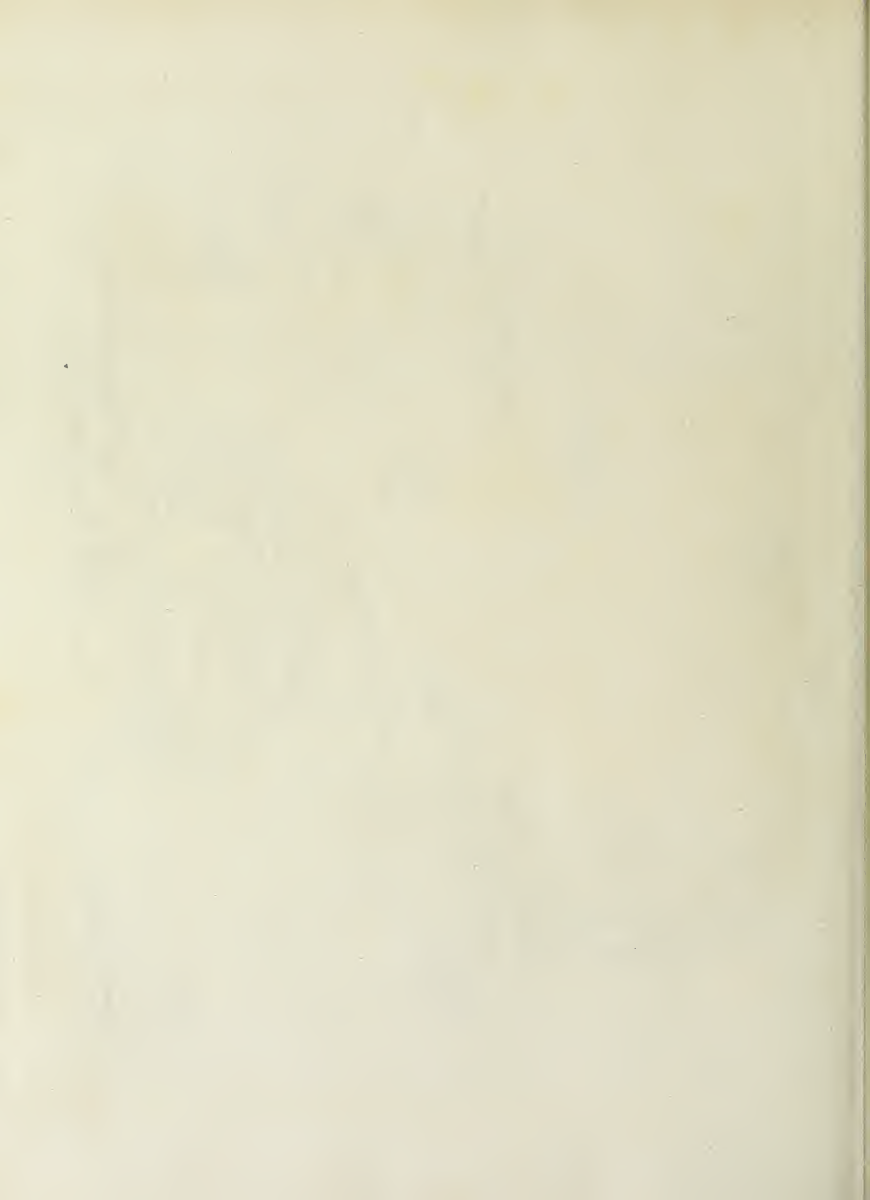




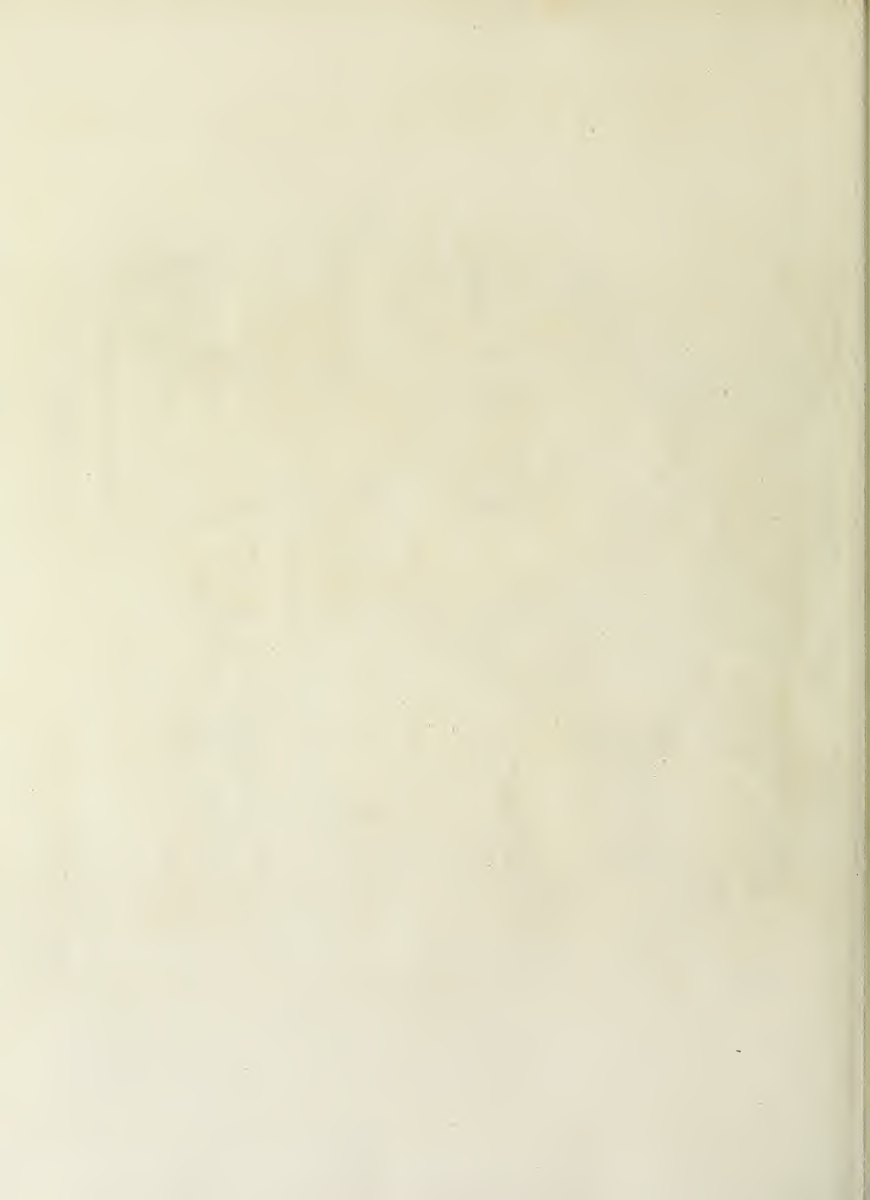












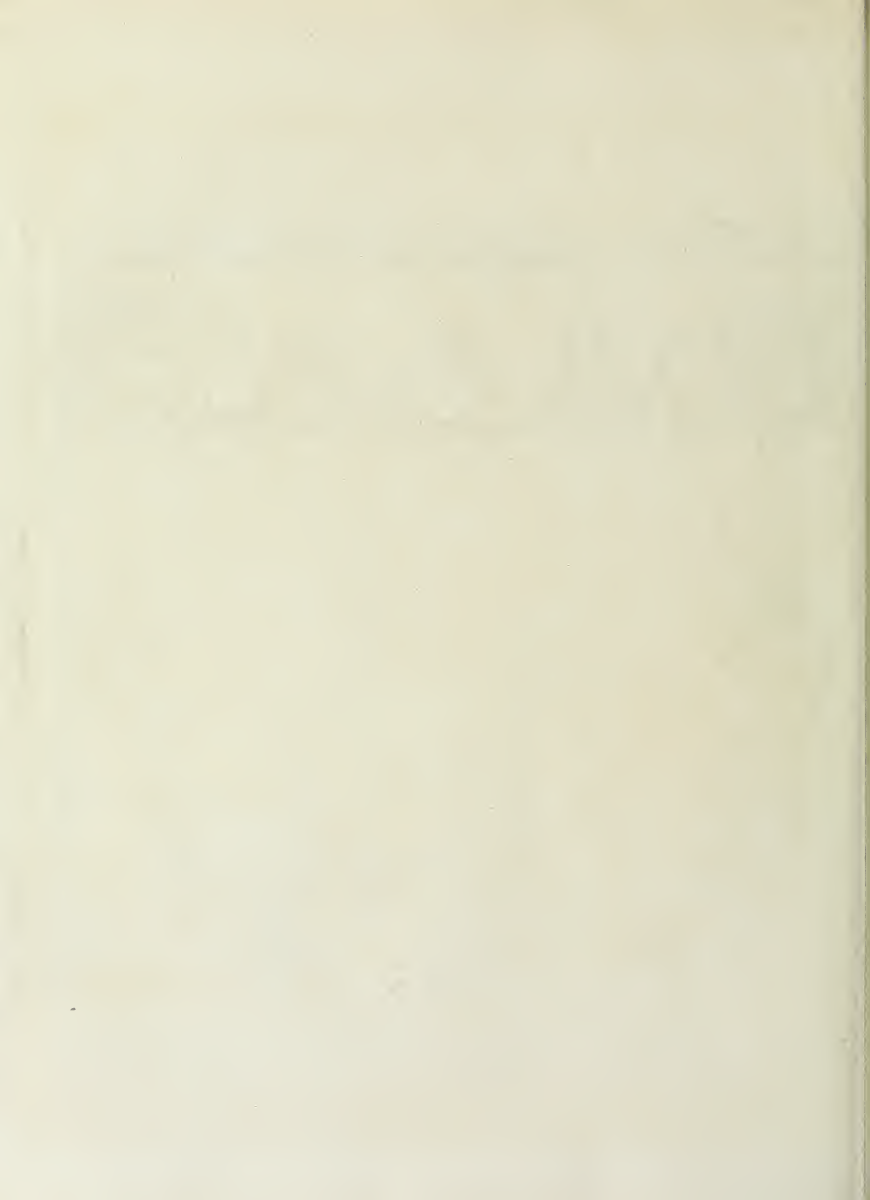




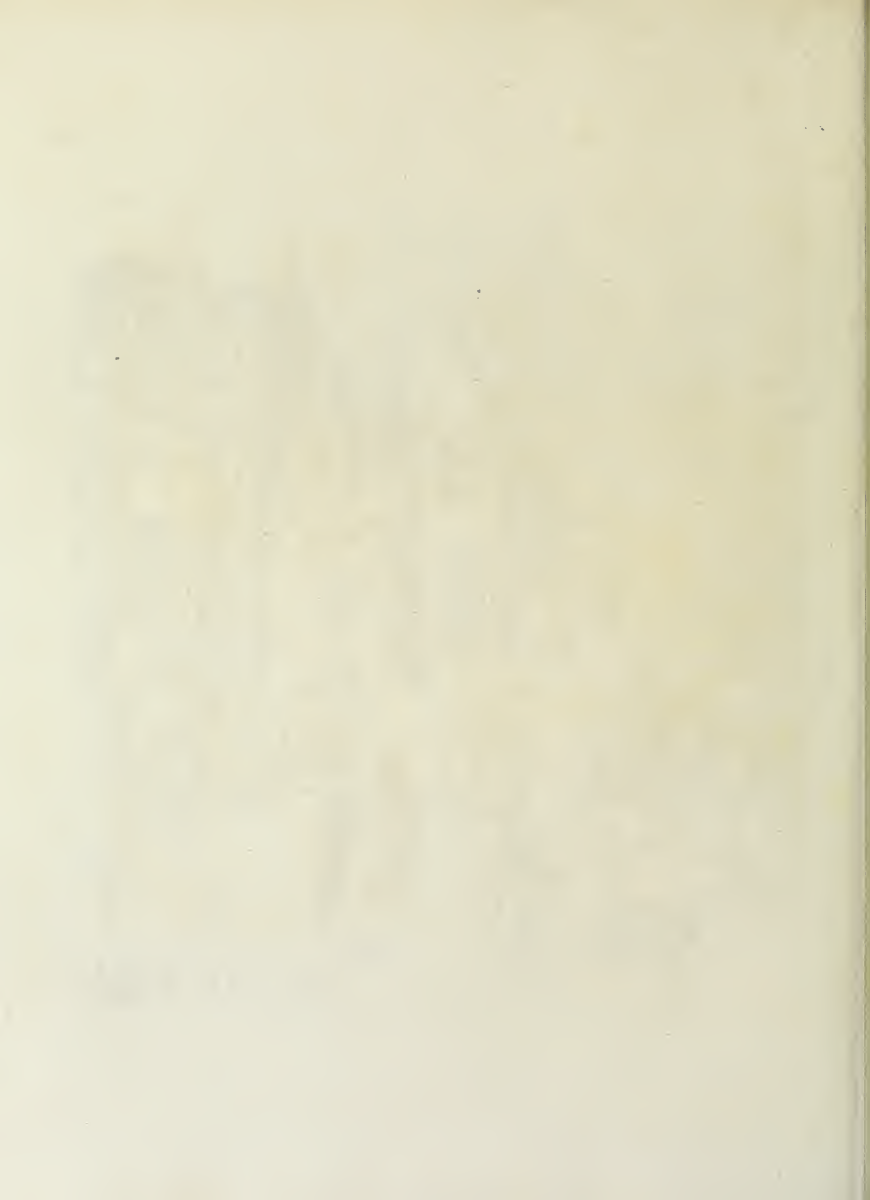




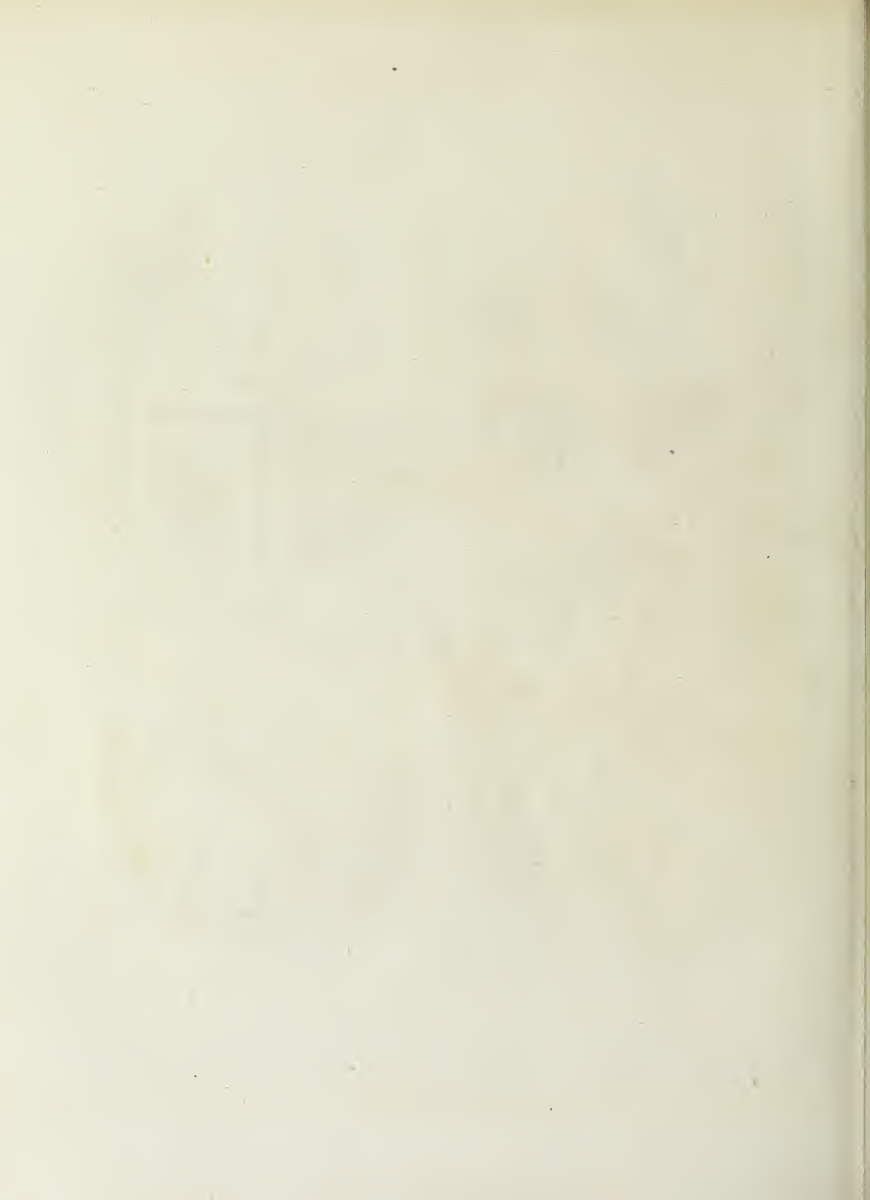








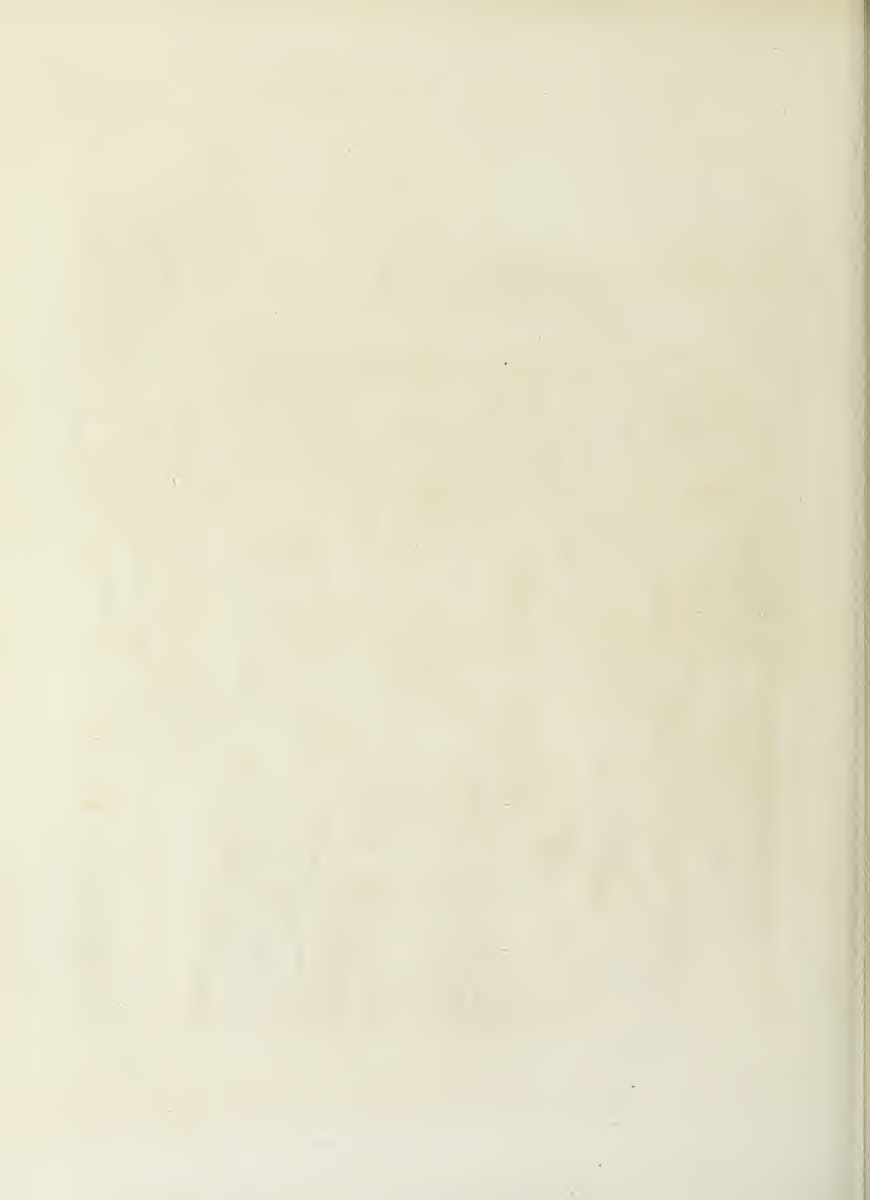












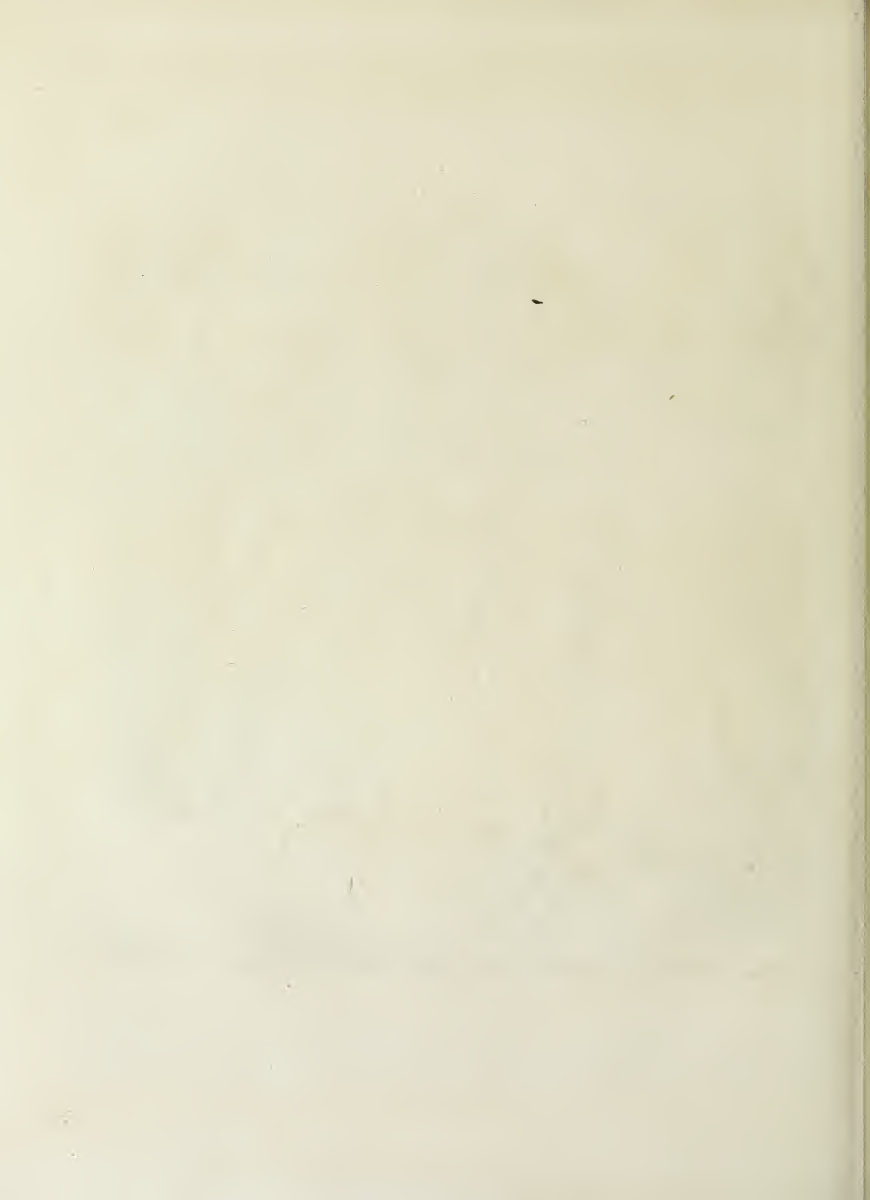




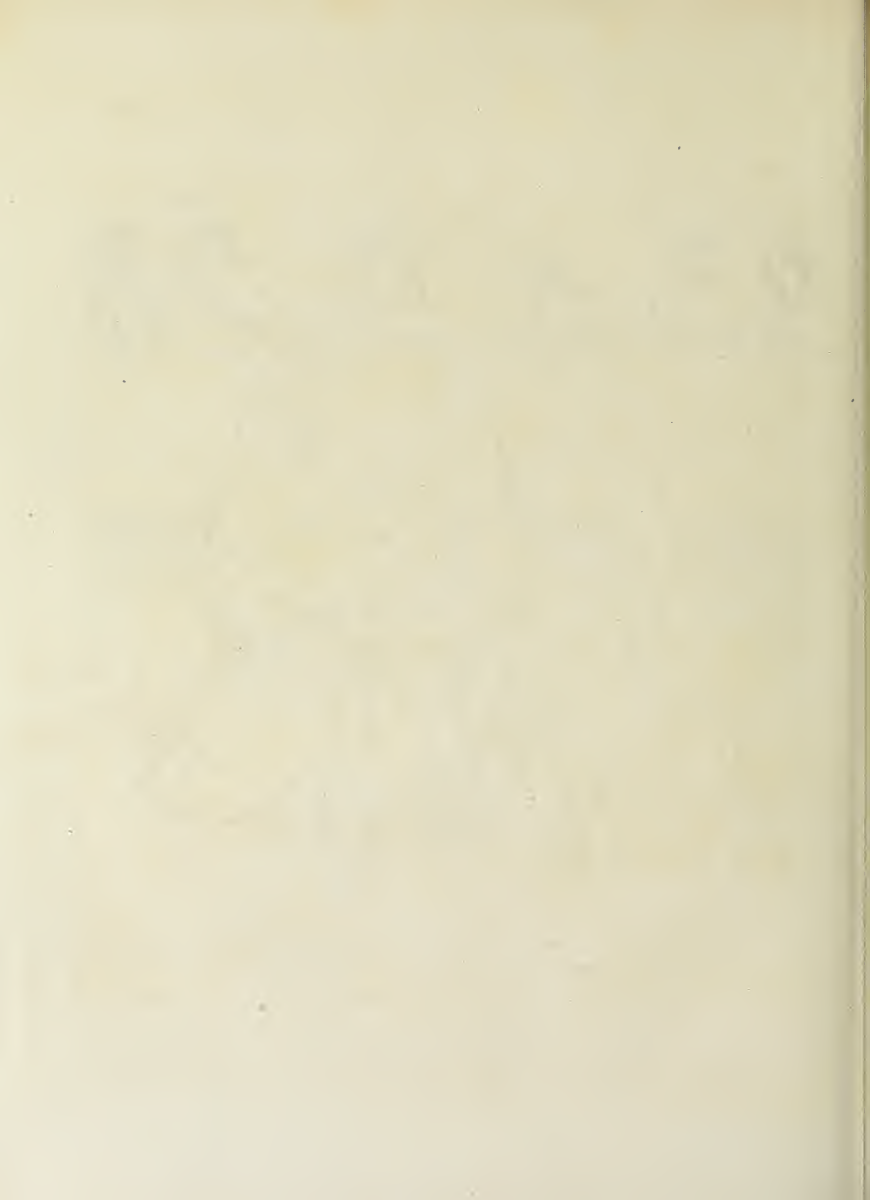




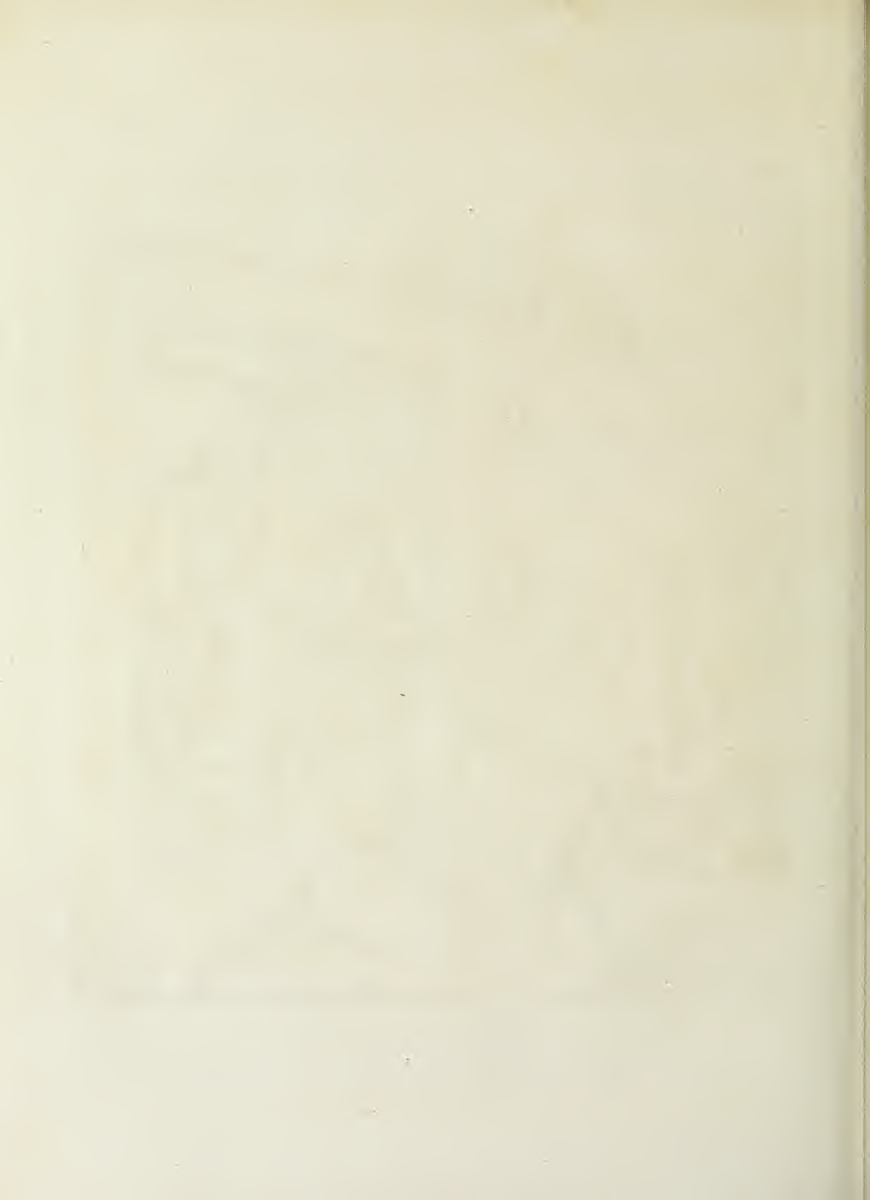
















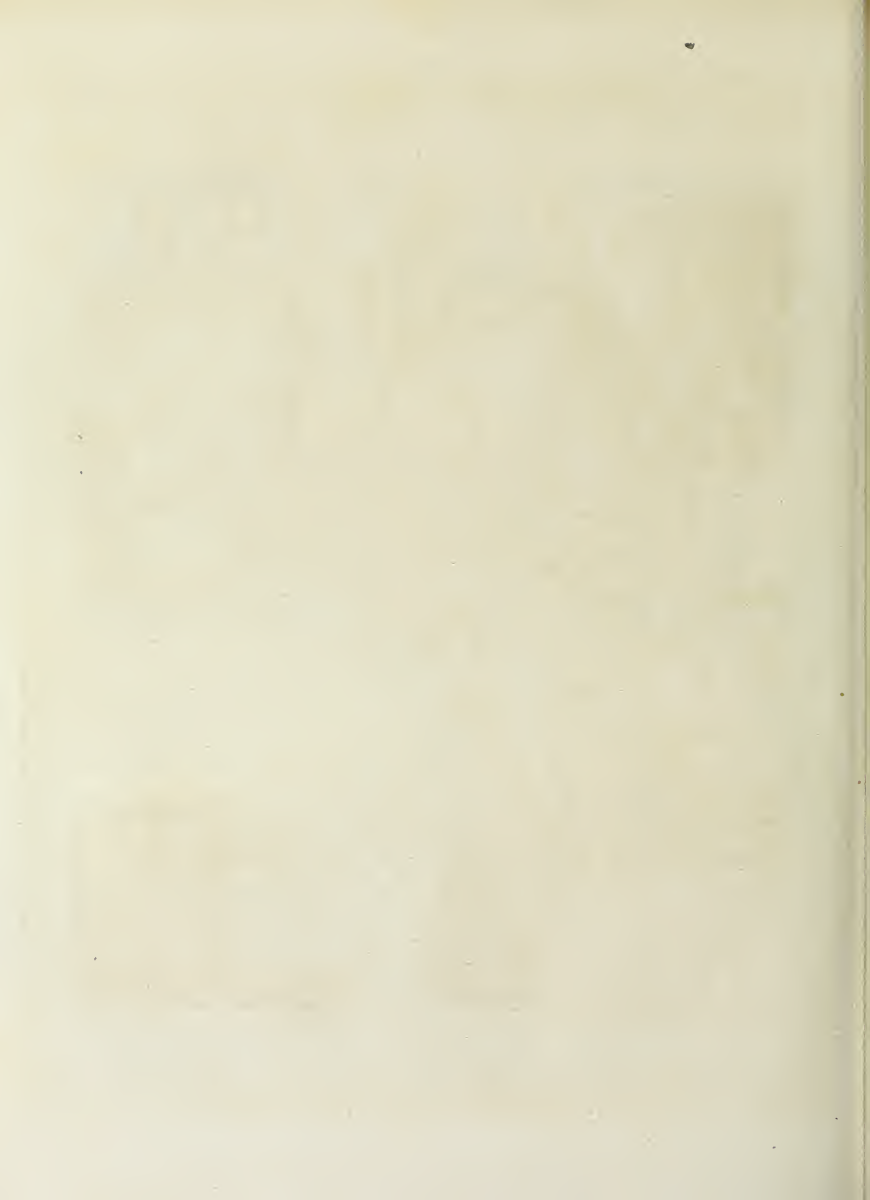












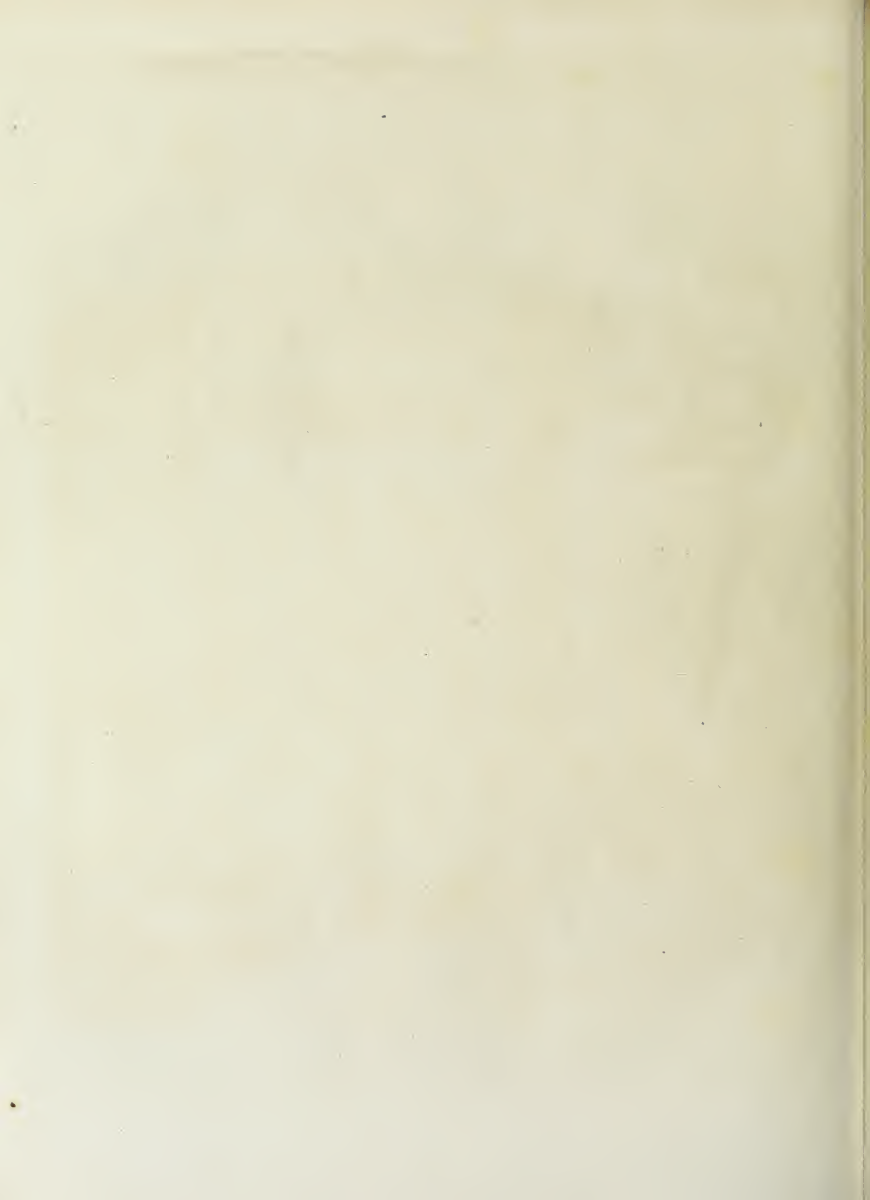




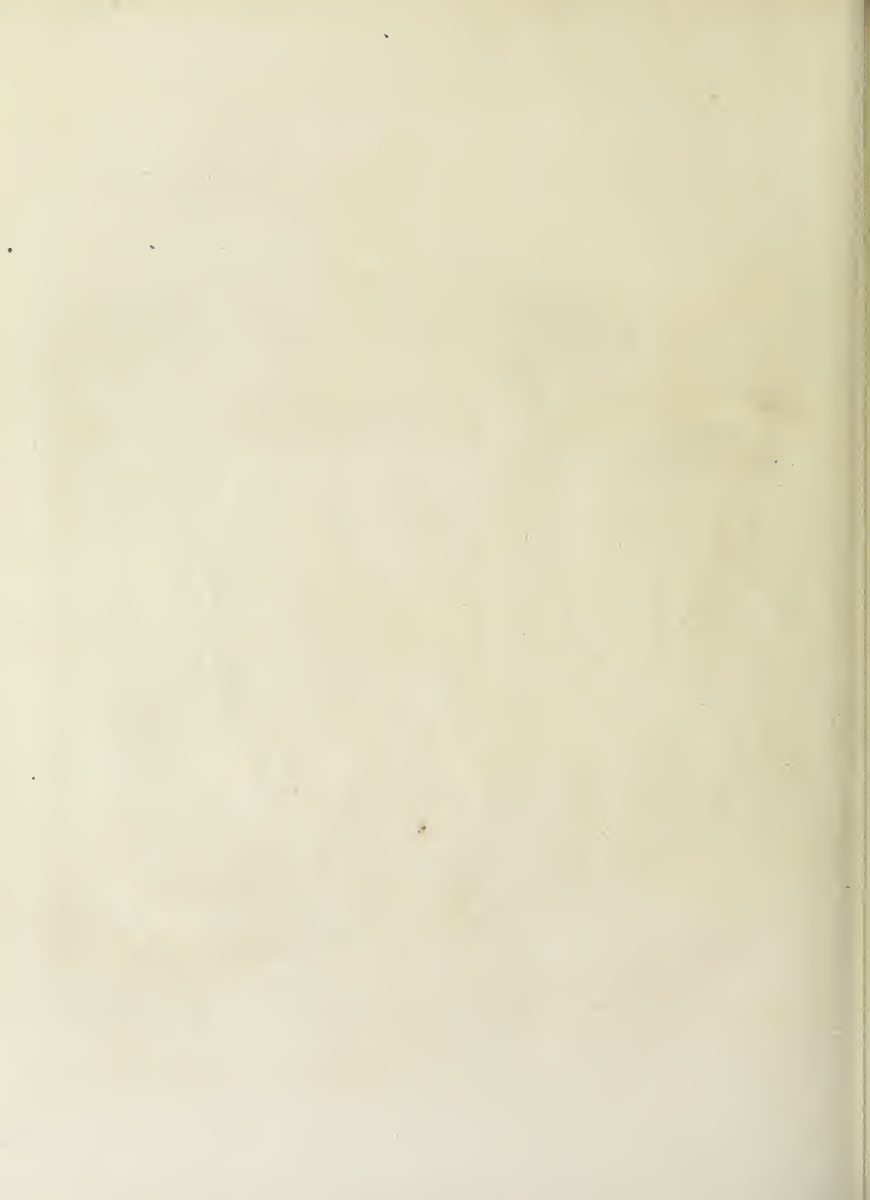




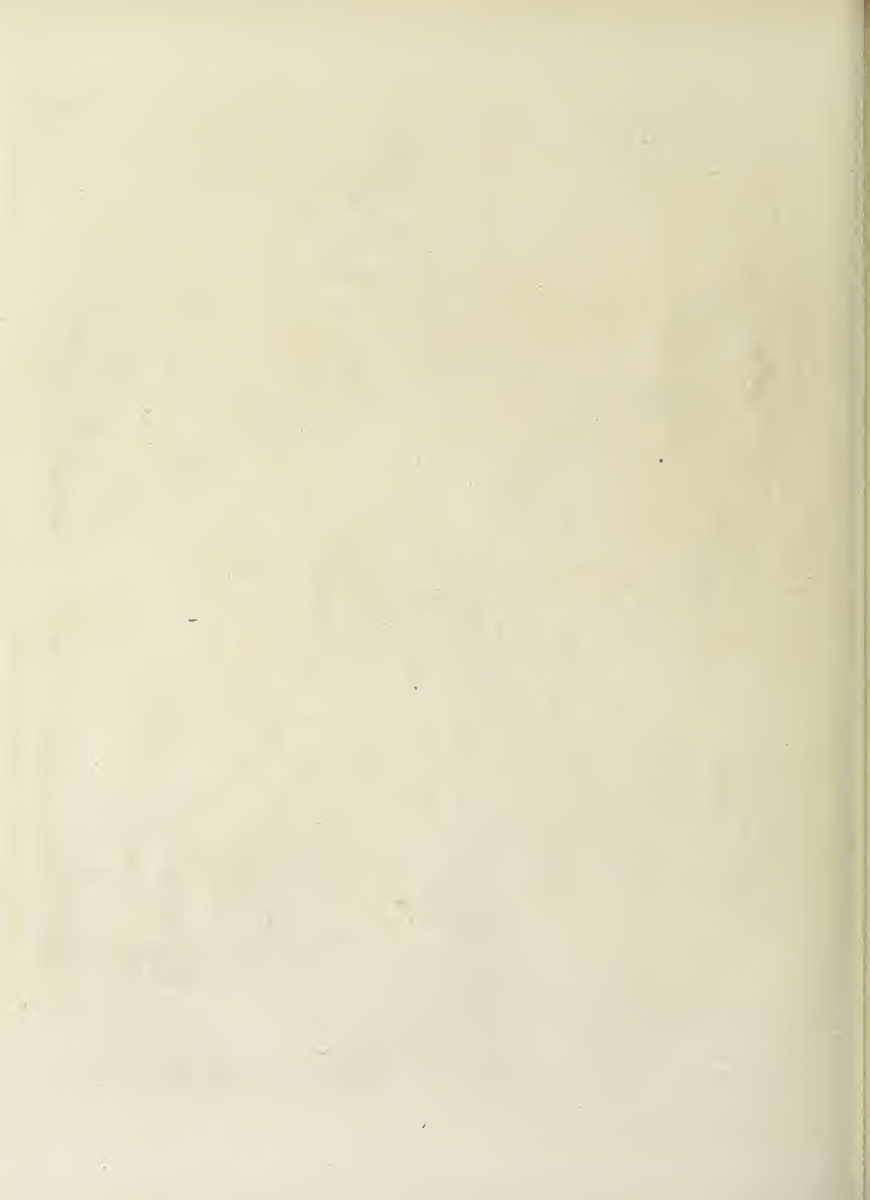


























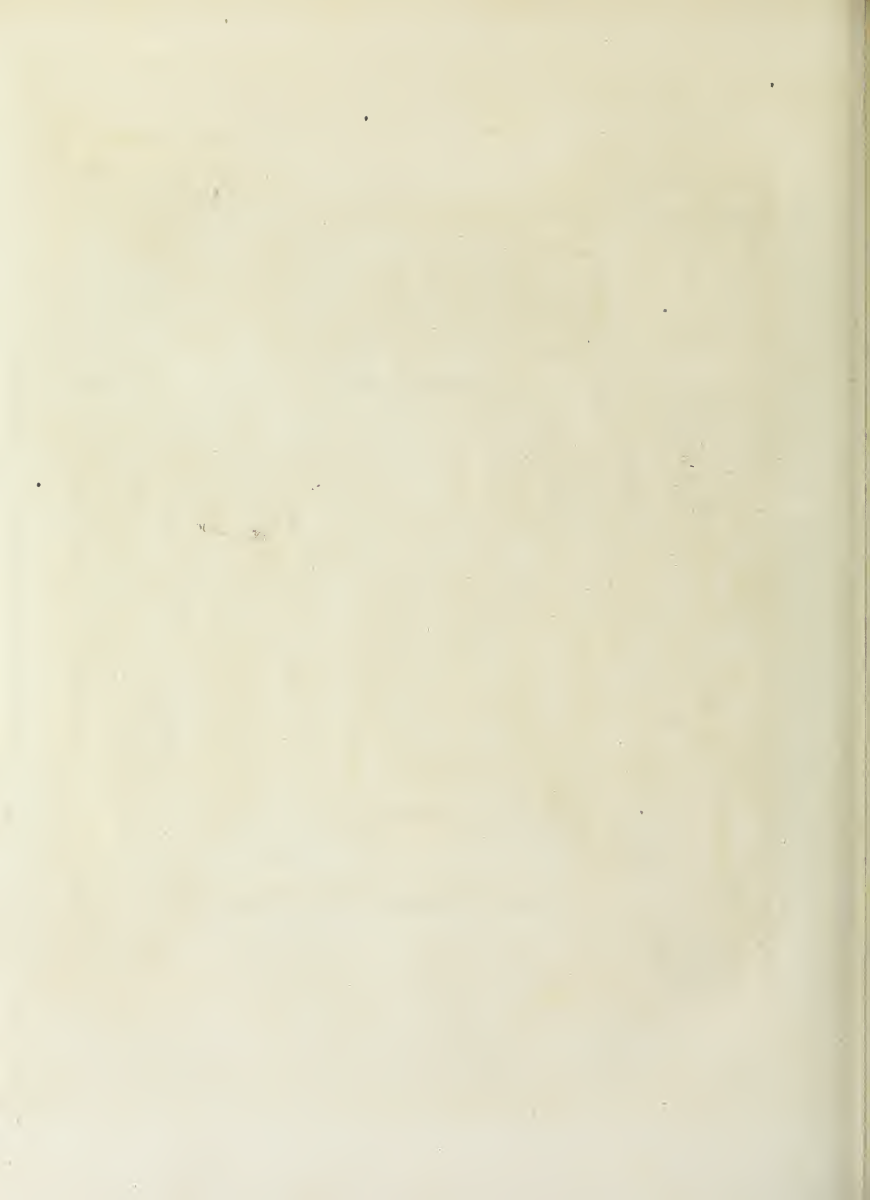






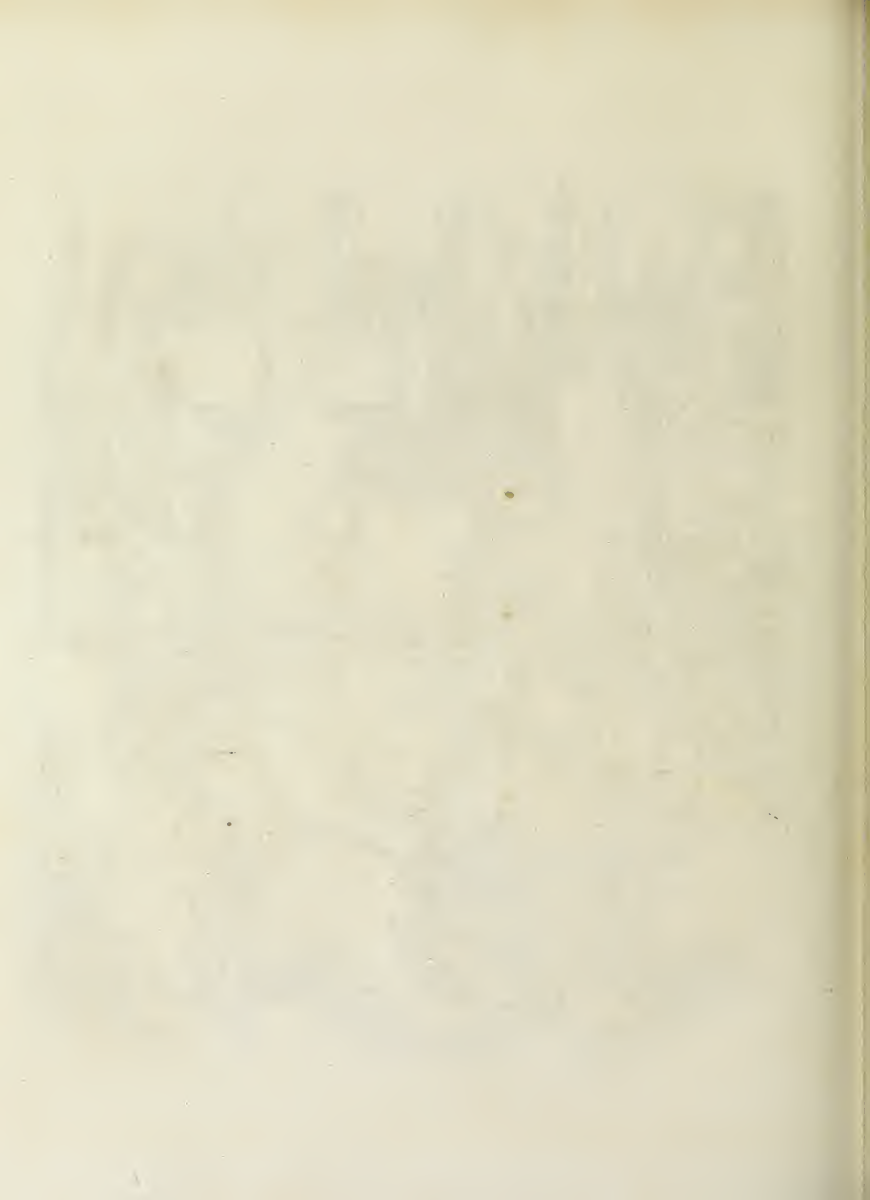


























HONDA ANGEL-CYNNAN;

OR,

A COMPLETE VIEW

OF THE

Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, &c.

OF THE

INHABITANTS OF ENGLAND,

From the Arrival of the SAXONS to the present Time;

WITH

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BRITONS,

During the Government of the ROMANS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

By JOSEPH STRUTT,

Author of the REGAL & ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES OF ENGLAND.

VOL. III.

Thus deep Desire hath lastly moved me
On Pilgrimage Time's Traces to pursue,
The Reliques of his Ruines for to see,
And for the Love of my deere Nation due,
The Things concerning them which I did view,
Tending to English Honour, earst concealed,
Here in my Travels-Map I have revealed.

Verflegan's Prefatory Poem to his Reftitution of Decayed Antiquities,

L O N D O N :

Printed for WALTER SHROPSHIRE, N^o. 158, NEW
BOND-STREET.

M.DCC.LXXVI:

P R E F A C E.

AS heretofore I promised that this work should be compleated in two volumes, I may now need some excuse for the putting forth a third. It should be recollected, that I did faithfully perform my first engagement, and brought the manners and customs of the people down to the beginning of the reign of Henry the Eighth, as was then promised, making the work as compleat as I possibly could : nor had I at that time the least thought or intention of continuing it down, as I have now done, to the present æra ; for if I had, I should have made no scruple of declaring my plan at once to the public. But in my researches, having met with such a variety of excellent and authentic materials, I collected them together, and declared my design to a considerable number of the former purchasers ; and they (so far from expressing the least dissatisfaction) used all their endeavours to encourage me in the pursuit thereof, and the more so, as in the former volumes the discourse was broken off in the most interesting part of our annals.---I have then, for these reasons, once more taken up my pen, and once more claim the indulgence of a favouring public.

In this volume, the reader will find the number of plates greatly diminished ; but then he will see, at the same time, how much better they are, and how much higher finished, which may in some measure compensate for the deficiency. To the letter press, there is made the addition of upwards of eight whole sheets, or sixty-four pages.

The variety of materials which compose the present volume are not conjectural, but real facts, collected from the best and most undoubted authorities ; by means of which almost all the ancient customs and ceremonies, from the early times to the present period, are set forth and fully explained.

Also at the end of this volume is the addition made of three compleat Indexes, referring to every remarkable circumstance throughout the whole body of the work, one of them to each separate volume.

TABLE of the Principal Heads contained in VOL. III.

	Page
A RMIES, and the Arrangement thereof	2
Method of Encampment	7
Soldiers, Arms, &c.	9
Government	12
Royal Proceffions, &c.	18
Coronations	22
Nobility and their Creation	38
Laws and Adminiftration of Juftice	40
Shipping and Marine Affairs	52
Hufbandry, &c.	54
Collections relative to fundry Trades	59
Domestic Affairs	63
Drefs and Habit	75
Banquets	106
Mufic	116
Sports and Pafimes	119
Theatre	130
Other Sports	145
Marriages	151
Burials	158
Religion	172
The Progreff of the Art of Design	180
Account of the MSS.	189
Description of the Plates	191

T H E
M A N N E R S A N D C U S T O M S
O F T H E
E N G L I S H,
C O N T I N U E D.

THE laudable desire of preserving, and handing down to posterity, a collection (as compleat as possible) of our national antiquities, induces me once more to take up my pen.—In the two preceding volumes, I have brought the manners and customs, of our early ancestors, to the reign of Henry the Eighth:—in this, my task will be to continue the same down to the present time.

In the former æras, 'tis true, the materials (particularly in the more early periods) were but few, and the subjects oftentimes obscured with the clouds of barbarism and error: to make amends in the volume now before us, we are advancing into a more extensive, and I believe more pleasing scene: the prospect is far more clear, and beautiful; for we shall now find our progenitors making hasty strides to perfection; the sun of literature, and politeness, advances to its meridian, while superstition and the dark veil of error, which formerly shaded the minds of men, by degrees doth vanish, and give place to truth and reason. But though in learning, and the polite arts, the present age is greatly superior to any of the foregoing, yet that noble hospitality, that honest simplicity, which has always been the true characteristic of the antient Englishman, must raise in our minds a great and honourable idea of our ancestors.—In short, all ages have produced, and will produce, as long as the world endures, ridiculous customs and fooleries without end; whilst even the most dark, and unenlightened times, do constantly abound with many great and striking instances of heroic virtue and nobleness of soul, worthy not only of our observation, but also of our imitation.

To pursue my plan regularly, as I did before in the two former volumes, I should here begin with the Modern Fortifications.—But this subject I shall entirely pass over, for these reasons; first, that the alterations and the additions made in this art are so various, and the vast variety of different specimens, which would be absolutely necessary to be given, so numerous, that this single article alone would fill the limits I have set to myself in this volume; and to enter superficially into the matter, would be only confusing, rather than elucidating the subject; secondly, I wish, in these my publications, rather to throw light upon subjects that are obscure, or unknown, than to animadvert upon such as are well understood, or may easily be come at.—On this art, many very curious, and copious volumes, have already been written and published, which will explain it, in all its branches, in a far better manner than I am able to do, or indeed than my design can require; referring therefore the curious reader to such publications, I shall pass on immediately, to

The Armies, and Arrangement of them, in the latter ENGLISH Æra.

MS. in Bib.
Cott. infg.
Tiberius,
E. VIII.

In my researches amongst the valuable MSS. preserved in the Cotton Library, I met with one written in the reign of Henry the Eighth; in which I find

“The Order to be had, when the King goeth to Battle.”

All which I will set down in the same language and orthography as I found it.

First, the constable, and lord marshall, ought to send out ryders to discover the countreyes together, as the army draweth nearer every day.

After them one marshall, or other valiant man, conjoin'd with good esquier, of good men and horse; and they to have with them good ordonaunce, and store of shott, sufficient for to succor the distress (if neede be) of the spyers.

After them the marshall of the lodgings, the knight harbenger, steward, pourveyors, and sergeaunts of the tents, with theyr trayne to discipline the lodging.

The Forewarde of the Battle, to be in order as followeth:

The constable, and marshall as chefe, to give order there, as the tyme and place may require; with the ordonaunce in order followinge; as equyers, knights, bannerets, barons, and the officers at arms, to ride here and there, where they shall be commanded.

The constable the first in the fore-ward, then the barons, knights, and esquier; next after the maister of the ordonaunce, with the ordonaunce, and all things to him appurtainyng.

The master of the horse ought to beare, or cause to be borne, the kynges standard unto the tyme of the battle; then he must beare it himself.

The

The kinges henchmen, upon bardett horses, having the armour of the kynge, both for the body and the head.

Then the trumpetters, next after the henchmen ;

Then pennons of the bachellers knightes ;

Next banners of the bannerettes two and two, after their degree ;

The barons two, and two,

The banners of the noble men of the blood, two and two, after their degree, and dignity ;

The banner of the kynge ; which ought to be borne into the field, or battle :

The chief chamberlayne ;

And two ranks from the barons, the kinges of armes, heralds, and pusevants ; to be sent here and there, as cause shall be.

Then shall folowe the kynge, accompayned with princes of the blood royal, dukes, lords, earles, and other noble men, to a great power.

The chief carver, ought to bear the kinges pennon, there where the kinge goeth most, next and behynde, to the ende that every man may know where the kinge is.

Memorandum. They that bear banners, standards, or pennons, on horseback ; the voiage accomplished,—it is their right to have them.

The Rerewarde.

After cometh the rerewarde ; where the dukes, earles, and marshalles, be well accompayned, with the valientest men ; and with the shott appertayning to the armye.

After the rerewarde, at a little distance, some companies of good horsemen ;

After them horsemen well furnished, which shall tarrye behynde, and shall go on bothe sydes, to discover that they be not taken, or rather that the rereward should not be suddenly attacked : and on the two sydes, shall be two wynges ; and therein gonnies, conducted by two princes, where the admirall, or the marshall, or the maister of the ordinaunce, or other captaynes, wyse and valient, shall suddenly send to the right, and left sydes, good and sufficient men at arms on horseback, for to discover the countries, passages, and lands, &c.

In another copy I met with the following addition, which, because it still further explains the present subject, I have given word for word. In *ibid.*
MS.

The Ordynaunce of the Kinge, when he goeth to Battaylle.

When a kynge will goe to warre, in the countrie of his enemyes, and intendeth to make batayle ; he must have in the forewarde ; the maister of his crofs bowes, to be before the kynge ; and after the forewarde, the high stewarde, and the marshall of his lodgyng, the which is for the battaylle of the kynge ; and then the kynge, accompayned with dukes, and earles, of hys bloode, and barons of his realme ; and then in the rerewarde, must be put a

duke, or an earle, or one of the marshalles, if the forewarde be stronge enough, to resist the enemies.

The Order of a Kynge, if he intend to fyghte.

The kynge arrayed in his own coat of armes, must be on horseback, on a good horse, covered also with his armes: —The kynge must also wear a crown upon hys headpiece; and on each syde of hym two dukes, or knyghtes of the valiauntest that he hath in hys armye, well mounted, and armyd at all poyntes, covered with the armes of the kynges bearynge; in their handes eache of them to bear, a banner of hys armes:—and before the kynge to be appoynted five hundred speares, with hys banners;—behind the kynge hys gentleman*—shall go bearynge hys pennon, wheresoever the kynge goeth.—And if it happen the kynge to go from the battayle, to make ordinaunces, or other thinges; then shall the constable, and marshalles, ryde alonge the battayle, to ordayne and keep good order, and arraye in the armye.—The kynge ought to be accompayned with dukes, and earles, and to contynue under hys banners. If the enemye will fight on foote, the kynge must still byde on horsebacke, and those that carry hys banners must be on foot, accompayned as beforesaide: The kynge must be on horsebacke, because that the dignitie of a kynge hath that priviledge; and for that it ought to suffice, to see hys people fight; and it is requisite, that he see from one ende of the felde to the other, to comfort his armye and give them courage: also if it happen that the felde should be lost, he may save himself; for it is better to loose a battayle, then to loose a kynge; for the loosyng of a kynge, is often the loss of a realme.

In the same MS. I met with the following ordinances.

Howe to maintayne a Duke in Battayle, and in what Arraye.

The duke must ordeyne his battayle, as aforesaide †, and must have his horse with hys armes, and himself likewise arrayed in hys owne coate; and to have a coronnett of golde, and pretious stones upon hys heade peece, signifieng that he is a duke: To have a banner, and pennon of hys armes, and to be accompayned with 300 speres; and his banner in the mydst; and archers for the winges; and hys earles and barons: and if he ordeyne hys battayle on foote, he must stande undyr hys banner, accompayned with hys earles, and barons, on eyche syde of hym; and to do hys devoir untill he be taken or slayne: For the kynge his soveraigne is bownd to revenge, and ayde hym, and to releefe hym also from prison;—and for this cause the duke ought more to adventure hymselfe than a kynge, in any battayle that is.

How

* Hys gentleman—What office this gentleman bore is not to be seen at present in the above copy, being entirely obliterated: but from the quotation before we may, I believe, supply the want, where we are informed that the chief carver ought to bear the kynys pennon, &c.

† As aforesaide,—that is as the *kings army* was arranged; for this order for the duke, is when he shall be commander in chief in the kings absence.

How to maintayne an Earle, in Battayle.

An earle must have 200 speares, and also archers with hym; if he goe *into the battayle he must* have one hundred speares before hym to fyght; *and to have a banner of bys armes,* and penons, with the other hundred speares, *to keepe bys bodye,* and the bowmen before in the *winges,* to proceed in good arraye.*

The same number of men, and the same ordinaunce, belong also to a Marquis:

How to maintayne a Baron.

The baron must have 100 speares: 50 to fight, and the other 50 for to keepe his bodye, and hys banner; but he must have no pennon; which is the difference between the earl and the baron.

How to maintayne a Bannerett.

A Bannerett must have 50 speares and bowmen; 25 to fight; and 25 for to keepe hys bodye and hys banner.—He is to be under the barons, and if there be any other banners of honor, according to their nobilitye, and in like wise all men that bear armes.

Then followe these directions, for to Ordeyne Battayles, and to arraynge the hoste.

1st. They must not be set too thick together, lest one should encumber the other.

2dly. Not too thin, lest the light armed of the enemy should easily enter amongst them to annoy them:

3dly. To set the best armed, strongest, and best weapon'd men in front, the weakest in the rear.

4thly. The general may divide his army into four or five battles, as he may see occasion; but if the enemy be stronger than himself, he should bring all his men together, and endeavour to force in upon the enemy unawares.

Seven Precepts, shewing how the Enemy may be stronge.

1st, When they are assembled in good order.

2dly, When they have the advantage of any passages of water, mountains, straights, &c.

3dly, When the wind, the sun, or the dust is in their backs:

4thly, When they assail their opponents suddenly, while at meat or other ways employed, thinking themselves secure.

5thly, If they have been some time at ease, untired with long marches, watches, &c.

6thly,

* This part is all dreadfully mutilated and torn in the MS. but I believe I have with examining some other tracts, pretty well supplied the deficiency; all that which is printed in italics, is added.

6thly, While they hold together in firm league without diffention and quarrels.

7thly, If they are well acquainted with the state and condition of their adversaries.

Seven other Precepts contrary.

1st, The chieftain must endeavour to assault, and break the ranks of his enemies.

2dly, He ought to secure all passages, straights, mountains, &c. where he can post himself to advantage.

3dly, He should be careful so to contrive his battle, as to have the advantage of the sun, the wind, and the dust, &c.

4thly, He should be careful to let some part of his host, as well men as horses, have both meat and drink before they approach the enemy, that they may then guard the rest against any sudden assault.

5thly, He should constantly (if possible) assail the enemy, when they are weary and harrassed with long marches, and fatigued with watching, &c.

6thly, He should by spies and emissaries, strive to breed debates and quarrels in the army of his adversaries, to hurt their order and divide them.

7thly, He ought to be very close and secret in his own intentions, yet striving by all manner of means to discover the state, the number, and the motions of his adversaries.

To this I will add the order and arrangement of the royal army of Henry the Eighth, as I find it drawn upon the march toward the enemies, in a curious delineation, preserved in a large book in the Cotton Library * (and most likely done at the time) †.—First go a strong party of horse, and on either side 2 cannons, guarded by 2 troops of horse, one to the right the other to the left: then follow a large party of musketeers and henchmen, rank'd alternately, preceded by a small party, and followed by a larger party of musketeers only, and at either end as wings, go a small party of archers; and on the right and on the left, several pieces of cannon; then follows the main body, flanked at each end with a strong party of archers, and on either side a large wing of horsemen well armed; the main body is composed of pikemen and henchmen; the henchmen being placed in the middle to guard the kings person; after the main body follows a small party of musketeers, then a larger body of musketeers, flank'd on either side with a small company of archers, which is also followed by a party of musketeers only; on either side are many pieces of cannon, and behind, (guarded by a strong troop of horse) comes the baggage, the women, the oxen, sheep, and the like.

In

Codex in
Bib. Cotton.
infig. Au-
gustinus 3.

* Of this curious book see a full account in the description of the MSS. at the end of the Vol.

† This *marsh* is also described by Holinghead, page 1479, and he has added the names of the leaders; it may be well worth while to the reader whom this may concern, to compare the two accounts: the king was present in person, and in this state marched from Calais toward the French army the 21st. of July, A. D. 1514, the 5th year of his reign.

In a MS. which I found in the Harleian Library (written in the reign of queen Elizabeth) is contained the names of the officers of honor and other mean officers, appertayninge to an armye royall, nominated and appointed men, necessary for the invasions of a forraigne realme.

MS. in Bib.
Harl. inf.
847.

The queenes majestie beinge determined to make warre withe anie other prince, by the advice of her graces most honorable counsaile, dothe name and assign, the officers of honor, to such charge appertaininge as folowethe :

First the *lord generall* of the *armye*, unto whom the whole charge is committed, and to his assistance, two *lordes leyvetenants* (*lieutenants*) of the *fore* and *reare* wardes, who have in their charge like as the *generall* hath in the *bat-taille*; savinge alwaies and in all services, they be at the commaundement of the *lord general*, and they have in every of their charges one *leyvetenaunt*.

There are also apperteyninge to the *lord leyvetenants* and *armye*; one *knight mareshall*, and a *provost marishall*; the *treasurer*, and the *under treasurer*; the *general of the horsemen*, and hys *lyvetenaunt*; a *standard bearer* with certayne *trumpettes*; the *maister* of the *ordinaunce*, and hys *lyvetenaunt*, with certeyne *clerkes* in *wages*; the *schoote maister*, the *barbinger*, the *general of the forlorne hope*; the *serjaunte major*, and some *corporalls* undir him; the *myster master*, the *surveyor of the victuals*; the *surveyor of the workes*; the *master of the cariages*, *serjauntes*, *clerkes*, *corporalls* and *trumpetts*, &c.—and this seems to be the muster of all the officers in the army at that time, as the list is given in a booke of instructions, to each particular officer, pointing out the whole extent of his duty and power of his office.—It will be well worth the trouble of examination, to any military gentleman, who may be desirous of comparing the discipline of the army at the above period, with what is at present commonly practised.

Method of Encampment.

In the valuable book above quoted (preserved in the Cotton Library) is the plan of king. Henry the Eighth's camp, pitched during his wars in France, and under the delineation is the original direction for the form and order of it for the better understanding what follows, the plan as in the above book, is copied, plate 10, of this vol. and the directions run thus word for word :

Augustus 3.
MS. Bib.
Cotton.

The mening of the plat, (*or plan*) ys fyrst that no manys tent, shal be sett within 200 foote of the kynges tentes, that is to saye, the uttermost parte of the cordds, shall not come nere the uttermost parte of the cordds of the Kinges tentes; both for ayer, and to have space about yt.

Item, that the fowre quarters be so appoynted, that the kinges grounde, and tentts, may be in the mydds, and to be bytwene corddes and corddes, of every quarter, a hundred fote brode, so that every such space bytwene the quarters, may come ryght to the grownde of the kynges tentte, according as it is drawn in the plat:—also yf the kynges highness will have the market place, that then the way through the markett place to be made as yt is in the platt; and the same markett place to be in the mydds, two hundred fote square, with fowre quarters, and betweene every quarter, a lane 50 fote, betweene corddes

corddes and corddes; and the said lanes to come every one to the myddes of the grownde, of the market place.

Item, for the good orderynge of the said tenttes, accordyng to the platt; there must be two as *Marshalls*, and they to appoynte the grownde, wher the saide tenttes shall stand; to chose the grounde as nere as they can, to be upon drye grounde, and specyally the place where the kynges highnes tenttes shall stande; and also to see that there may be goode water as nigh as can be.

Item, these *Marshalls* shall appoynte, fyrst the grownde for the kynges tenttes, and for the space about them, according to the platt; which grownde, the saide *Marshalls* shal delyver unto suche as shall be appoynted to receyve the same; and they to see the kynges tenttes to be sett in order, and appoynte the grounde for the same.

Item, that the said *Marshalls* shal also appoynte the grownde for the fowre quarters, accordyng to the platt, to such as shall be appoynted to receyve the same; and they to appoynte grownde, and place in there quarters, to every man, as they be appoynted, and after there degrees; and one *Marshall* to lye there, and to have yrons (*irons*) for punyshment of suche as shall offende.

Item, that they that shall lodge, and apoynte the quarters; have a bill of the names of them that are appoynted to have tenttes, in any of the saide quarters; which boke must be made by the kinges highnes, or his counsell, and to be delyver'd to them that shall have the charge.

Item, yf the kynges highnes plesure be to have a markett place, according to the platt; for the good ordyryng of the same, first one *marshall* muste lye in the saide markett, in his tentte, and the clerk of the markett also, to see goode rule and order, and the said *marshall* must have withynne bothe yrons and stokys (*stocks*) for punyshment of such as do offende; also there must be made a proclamation, suche as shalbe thought mete by the kynges highnes, and hys counsell, for goodde order and quyetenes, and punyshment for them that shall offende, contrary to the same, &c.

MS. in Bib. And in another MSS. (also quoted above) written in the reign of queen
Harl. infg. Elizabeth, is the following article.
847.

The order how a Camp ought to be pitched, videlicet.

Firste of all, after that the high *marshall* hath appointed the ground, bothe mete and convenient for the campe; having both woode, and water, and forrage sufficient for the armye; then must the *provost marshall* devide the grounde, into six severall quarters;—i. e. 3 for the footmen, and 3 for the horsemen, and betwixt the quarters, he must appoynte a strete, which must be 80 foot broade at the least; then must he also appoint a large place of assemblee, and a market place, where he muste place the rere-warde on the left hand of the place of assemblee, and the battaile in ye nether part of the sayde assemblee, reserving the strete into it betwene the two battailes; and to place the rereward upon the right hand of the same place of assemblee, reserving also another roome, for another strete, to goe bettwene the rereward and the battaile, and that all the tent doors do open into the said place of assemblee; also the place
of

of the generals tentte, is in the quarter of the battaile, directly in the myddeſt of the ſaid battaile, and the door of his tent muſt open into the place of aſſembly, a little before the other tentes; and in the ſame quarter, muſt he appointe the *marſhalls* tente, on the right hand of the *treafurers*, or the left hand of the ſaid generals tent.—Alſo he muſt appointe the ordinaunce, before the place of aſſembly, within the ringe of the ſaid campe, and cariages to impale the ſame, as muche as is needful: for in this campe, the horſe campe is not environ'd with cariages; for that it hath both woode, and a greate river running by it, for the guard thereof, that it needeth no impalement.—The horſe campe is alſo divided into 3 quarters; firſt the horſemen of the warward, are appointed in the quarter of the warward; the horſe and the horſemen of the battaile, directly under the battaile; and like wyſe the horſemen of the rereward, under the rereward: There muſt alſo be appointed within the market place of the campe, a place for the munition of ordinaunce, that muſt be trench'd aboute; and a place for the *M^r* of the ordinaunce, with the office of ordinaunce, near unto the artillorie, on the righte hande; and the victuelles on the left hande; and for the order of ſetting of watches, both of fotemen, and horſemen, ſhall be declared; alſo comandement muſt be given, that no man pitche anye tent, neare the ringe of the campe, by ſeven ſcore foote at the leaſt.

Soldiers, Arms, &c.

The archers and the henchmen (or men with axes) were, in the reigns of Henry the Seventh and Eighth, conſtantly intermixed with the gunners, or rather muſketeers, (Holinghead indeed, and ſome of the old chroniclers, call them *harquebuſſiers*) and pikemen; but during the reign of queen Elizabeth, they do not ſeem to have made any very conſiderable figure, and in the days of James the Firſt, we hear no more of them: but the pike-men were continued down till of late days; and the pikes then uſed form, at this preſent period, a conſiderable part of the ſmall armory exhibited in the Tower of London, which muſt have fallen under the notice of almoſt every one.

The muſketeers, even in the time of Henry the Seventh, and more particularly in the reign of his ſon, made a conſiderable part of the army; and during the rule of James the Firſt, they with the pike-men formed the whole: for muſkets were then uſed by the horſe, as well as the foot ſoldiers:—ſo that, from this time, the Engliſh archery were no longer had in uſe, at which a judicious author, then living, expreſſes his great concern.

In the ſecond plate of this volume, N^o. 3, is exhibited a figure with a hand-gun, or muſket, on his ſhoulder, as in uſe in the reign of Henry the Eighth. The priming is laid in the hollow at the ſide of the lock, expoſed uncovered to the weather, which, if damp and rainy, muſt of courſe prevent the operation of the gun, and render it uſeleſs. And the author above-mentioned, *John Bingham*, bears witneſs, that even in the more improved ſtate of the muſket, as in the reign of James the Firſt, it was ſubject to the ſame inconvenience; for, ſays he, “in rain, ſnowe fogges, or when the enemy hath gayned the wind, muſkets have but ſmall uſe;” and he alſo in the ſame diſcourſe declares, that long time was neceſſary for the charging: While, ſays he, “the *muſketier* takes

John Bingham, in his note to *Elizans Tactics*.

Ibid. p. 16.

Ibid. p. 25.

takes down his musket, *uncocks* the *matche*, *blowes*, *proynes*, *shuttet*, *castes* of the pan, *castes* about the musket, *opens* his charges, *chargeib*, *drawes* out his skowring sticke, (*ramrod we should now call it*) *rammes* in the powder, *drawes* out againe, and *puts up* his skowring stick, *layes* the musket on the rest, *blowes* of the *matche*, *cocks* and *tryes* it, *gardes* the pan, and so *makes ready*. All which actions must necessarily be observed, if you will not faile of the true use of a musket."—What a number of operations, before it could be brought once to fire!—But before I proceed in this discourse, for the better explaining the *uncocking* the *match*, and laying the *musket* on the *rest*, it may not be impertinent here to observe, that the method of firing the gun was not with a flint and steel pan, as at present, but instead thereof a piece of lighted match, made for that purpose (which the foldier constantly had with him) was put into the lock, instead of the flint, which, when the trigger below was pulled, was forced by the spring of the lock into the pan, and communicated the fire to the prime, or powder laid therein : And the *rest* here mentioned, was a staff sharp at one end, with a curve at the top, which also was a part of the musketeer's equipage; the sharp end of this staff (when he was about to fire his piece) he thrust into the ground, and laid the musket on the rest or curve at top while he took his aim; for such was the weight of his musket, that without this help he could never have been able to have taken any aim at all.—But the inconvenience of all these methods must strike every one so much, that it will become a matter of surprize that the archers (who were formerly so justly famed for their skill and service) should so suddenly be put from the army, even before the gun, the only instrument that could be found to supply their deficiency, was brought to any perfection; and especially as the author (above quoted) has so manifestly pointed out the superiority of the long-bow to the musket, at that period.

All from
Augustus 3.

The military figures represented in the six first plates of this volume (the originals of which were made in the reign of Henry the Eighth) are evidently officers of distinction. Dr. Morton (to whose favour I owe the sight of the book from whence these figures are taken) with the greatest propriety imagines, that they may be delineated as portraits of some of the chief performers at those tournaments which were held at the meeting of Henry the Eighth and the French king, in the valley of Arden : and tho' no written account is now to be found in the book, yet, I dare say, any one who examines the figures, their armour, and situations, will immediately be of the same opinion; especially when he is told, that the former part of the book is filled with the marches and actions of the same king (Henry the Eighth) and his army, during his stay in France.—If it is admitted that these figures do really represent those gentlemen, who distinguished themselves at the tournaments at that time held, it may naturally follow that the tents (Plate 8 and 9) are the delineations of the tents then set up for the reception of the two kings and their lords; for they are contained in the same book, and are placed directly before the figures above-mentioned. If so, as appears very likely that Plate 8, N^o. 2. (which did undoubtedly belong to the king of England) is the pavillion of crimson and gold, mentioned by Hall; the other (Plate 9.) might be for the French king; and the third (Plate 8, N^o. 1.) strip'd or pain'd for the lords, knights, &c. that belonged to the tournaments : but as (I before remark'd) there is no writing in the book which

can

can tend to the better explanation of these curious delineations, all this (which is indeed a very reasonable conjecture) must be left to the further judgment of the learned antiquaries.—Plate 16, of this vol. N^o. 1, is prince Henry, the eldest son of James the First, in his tilting habit, worn when they exercised the pike on foot. Fig. 2, of the same plate, exhibits a nobleman also so armed; in the same manner is prince Charles (afterwards Charles the First) represented, Fig. 3.—and Fig. 2, ~~the~~ Plate 17, is a man in the compleat armour as worn in the reign of Charles the First, and the figure beside him (N^o. 1.) is the habit of the soldier, when out of his armour, in his buff or leather jacket.

The buff jerken, or jacket, is often alluded to in several of the old Plays, where a soldier is introduced: as in Decker's Play, of the Untrussing of the Humorous Poet, Affinus says of capt. Tucca (after he is gone) "My stomach rises at this scurvy leather captain." And in the same Play, Tucca himself says to Minever, "Do not scorn me because I go in stag,—in buff,"

Untrussing
the Humorous
Poet.
By Decker.
Comedy.

The arms of the horse soldiers, as in use at the latter end of the reign of James the First, may be seen, Plate 21.—Fig. 1 and 2, represent the helmet; 3 the fore part of the compleat armour, and 4 the back part of the same; 5 and 6 are right and left gaullets; 9 is the vam brace, and 10 the cuilbe, or thigh armour; 11 is the separate armour for the back from the fourth figure, shewing how it buckles to the breast armour, fig. 12, under the vambrace; underneath fig. 11 is the *guard due reine*, which fastens on to the back armour with a staple and hook, and buckles to the cuilbe, fig. 10.—Fig. 7 and 8, are the muskets as used by the horse musketeers.

The armour of the pike-men, at the same period, may be seen upon the same plate. D represents the whole armour compleat, with the helm: A is the breast, or fore part, with the tassels or thigh-guards taken off, to shew how they are fastened, with two hooks on each, and two small staples in the breast: B is the gorget, or throat-guard: E is the back of the armour: C is the helm, or head-piece; and F is the long pike.

The arms of the foot musketeer, are only, fig. I. the helm; II. the rest for the musket, sharp at one end, to stick into the ground; III. the musket; and IV. the bandelier, or belt, with his charges: and these arms continued (with very little alterations) almost till the reign of king William the Third, when they were but little used; but every soldier was provided with a breast-plate; which even now, in my humble opinion, would be oft times found extremely serviceable, if made of a proper size and thickness.*

C 2

The

* In the Royal Library, I met with a MS. written in the reign of Henry the Eighth (*mark'd* 7 C 16) wherein, amongst various other accounts, I found the following.

Bought for the Kinges Grace

first I bought at Coulleynne by John Palme, of Thomas Mac for 1200 men, Harneys all compleyte at 2 florins the piece, 15 Batz for every florin, cometh to 2400 florins

Item Bought in Handwarpe of fraunfoys Meer, for 26 men great complayt Harneys at 16 . 8 Spanyshe the pece, amounteth to 21 . 13 . 4

Merry Wives
of Windsor,
act 2, sc. 2.

The name of soldier, in all ages, amongst our ancestors, was held in great veneration, as it justly ought; for the man who boldly ventures his life for his country's good, is of all others the most her friend.—Amongst the various appellations given to valiant men, the obsolete term of "*Tall man*" may seem the strangest.—We meet with many instances of this in the old Plays: Thus Falstaff says to Pistol, in the Merry Wives of Windsor, "I am damn'd in Hell for swearing to gentlemen, my friends, that you (*Pistol* and *Nim*) were good soldiers, and tall fellows." Thus also in Johnson's "Every Man out of his Humour," Shift, when detected in his cowardice, says, "I never robb'd any man—but only said so, because I would get myself a name, and be counted a tall (that is a valiant) man:" with many other instances.

The reader will, I hope, excuse my taking him back to the reign of king Henry the Sixth, to examine that curious figure of a knight of that age, represented leaning on his glaive in complete armour, in plate 29.—And plate 28, which contains a curious representation of a battle. The original of this last delineation was made in the reign of king Richard the Second.

And now, with the following description of the Martial Exercises of a Prince, I shall take my leave of this article.

These verses are selected from a much esteemed tragedy, called *Gorboduc*, written in the reign of queen Elizabeth:

Ah, noble prince, how of have I beheld
The mounted on thy fierce and trampling steede,
Shining in armour bright before the tilte,
And with thy mistress' sleeve ty'd on thy helme,
There charge thy staffe, to please thy ladies eye,
That bow'd the headpiece of thy friendly foe?
How oft in armes on horse to bend the mace?
How oft in armes on foote to breake the sword? &c.

The next article that should here follow is, The Religious Buildings; but on this head, the objections made in the second volume may for the same reasons be again (with the greatest propriety) made in the present. Also the Domestic Buildings, in the preceding accounts, are brought down to the memory of man; that is, to the strange uncouth houses chiefly of lath and plaister, ornamented with figures, flowers, trees, &c. in the front: a curious specimen of this kind of edifice I myself remember formerly to have stood at the East corner of Smithfield: these plaister images, with strange carved wooden ornaments, of frightful, and sometimes beastly figures, were what were constantly in use, and that so lately, that there is scarce a town in England of any note which does not still contain some remaining specimens.—Pass we therefore on to the

GOVERNMENT.

By way of addition to the Norman government, I beg leave to add the Hist. Hert- following; partly collected from the ingenious Sir Henry Chauncy's History of
fordsh. p. 7. Hertfordshire.

The

The Norman William, after the conquest of the realm, began to dispose of the dignities of the land, in such sort, to his followers and favourites, that scarce any Englishman was suffered to hold any state of honour. And the better to secure his power, he exacted an oath of fealty of every one of his favourites to whom he had given tenures under him: and the oath was in such sort, that it obliged every possessor of land to serve him in his wars, to the establishment of his power, with horse and arms, according to the value of their fees: and if they failed in such services, they thereby forfeited their estates.—At the same time promising them, that they should have nothing taken or exacted of them but their free service, which they were bound to perform.

These tenants, if they were knighted, were called *Milites*, but if not, *Liberi Homines*, or free men; and all those that were tenants in military service, were at that time accounted Great Free Men, and their service stiled free service; for such men were accounted lawful, and sufficient to choose juries, and serve upon juries themselves.

And they were obliged to defend the government with all their might, to keep the peace and dignity of the crown:—for by their service they must not only aid the king with horse and arms at home, but also accompany him in any foreign expedition; and moreover to attend the king in his great council, whenever he might require it:—also in their own courts and jurisdictions, where they were lords, as well as in the county and hundred court, to judge with equity and execute justice.

The Norman customs were then introduced into this country, and the courts were held after the fashion of those in Normandy; and (as has been observ'd before) the laws were in the Norman tongue; and the judges were Normans of course: the monks and priests (says Sir Hen. Chauncy) were the counters, and pleaders, that managed the trials for the people in those courts.

The next step he took, was to enquire diligently into every county, hundred, rape, lath, and wapentake; what every person held in demesne lands, what in plough'd fields, meadows, feeding woods, fishings, mills, commons, and rents; what men, and in what condition, knights, husbandmen and bond-men, and workmen, were in every borough, town, manor, vil, or hamlet; what castle they had, and to whom they belonged; and what rents and services every person paid and performed; which were set down in a large book made for that purpose, since called *Domes-day Book*.

This was the first establishment of the tenure, by military service, among the Anglo-Normans; and at this time such tenures were, at the will of the lord, or donor, to be taken away from the feudatory, at his (the lord's) pleasure; but afterwards they were granted for a year, then for life, till at last they became successive to the son; or, if there were more than one son, the lord would give the fee to which he pleased, and sometimes would equally divide it between them, after the manner of *gavelkind*:—yet at length by degrees it became hereditary, and passed also to the daughters; but even then they remained under conditions of fidelity, fealty, or faithfulness to the lord, and military service when he commanded; and they were always subject to forfeiture upon breach of trust, as felony, or defect of service; for in such cases the

Selden Tit.
Hon. 636.

Vid. Leges
Guliel. 1.
cap. 52.

Ibid. c. 58.

Ibid.

Ibid. c. 59.

Hist. Hert-
ford. pag. 7
and 8.

Vide vol. 2
of this work,
pag. 7.

Hist. Hertf.
p. 9 and 10.

Spel. Gloss.
fol. 365.

Brad. Gloss.
fol. 39, 40.

Hottom. in
verbo Rele-
viv.

Brad. Glosf. fol. 40. the land reverted to the lord :—and in case of an infant, or woman, who were not fit to do military service, their estates were in ward to the lord, therefore they were called his wards, and he provided for the service until the male infant came of age, and was made fit for the service he ought to perform, or the woman by his consent had taken such a husband, of whose fidelity he was assured, and by whom he might perform the service which the fee required ; and this was the reason why the lord had the wardship of the heir within age, at the death of his ancestor :—but if the heirs were of age, they paid reliefs, which in the Feudal law were called *relevia*, *releviamenta*, *relevationes*, because he took up again the fees or lands which were fallen by the death of the feudatory. Sometimes they were called *introitus* or *ingressus*, and were at first but honorary gifts.

Not all men were allow'd to give or accept fees, for those of base condition were not permitted to perform military service ; but it was confined to the nobles, and gentlemen, who, by their education, ought to be used to arms, and more learned, to judge of such causes of law, in the courts, as might come before them, than the rustics and commoners.

Hist. Hertf. pag. 10. By this means the nobility had the whole power and government, under the king, in themselves, and kept the lower class of people in subjection. By which also the kings of England could not impose any tax, tallage, or subsidy, upon the estates of any gentleman or their tenants, without their consent in common, or their representatives in the great councils, or parliaments.

Spel. Glosf. fol. 513. At that time were three classes of people, distinguish'd by these Feudal tenures ; 1. Military men ; 2. Socmen ; and 3. Labourers.

Brad. Hist. of England, fol. 211. The military tenants, or such as held by knight's service, were such as by their tenure were obliged to serve the king, or their lord, in his wars, when he should need them, at their own proper cost and charge.

There were several sorts of these military fees ; as where the king created a man an earl, and granted him lands to the amount of 400*l. per annum*, to be holden of him by military service : this was a tenure in *capite*, because it was immediately holden of the king himself. Persons of this dignity usually added *comes* to their Christian name ; and in the reign of Richard the First, they took also the name of their shire or county.—Every such earl at the age of 21 years, his ancestor being dead, was bound by his fee to pay to the king, for a relief, eight saddle-horses furnished with bridles, four coats of mail, as many helmets, and as many shields, spears, and swords ; as also other hunting horses and palfreys, with bridles and halters : but *anno* 9 Henry III. this relief was ascertained at the fourth part of the earl's estate, which consisted of twenty knights fees.

Those great persons in William's days, who held immediately of him in *capite*, were called in Domes-day Book, *barons*, or *magnates*.

Selden Tit. Hon. fo. 627. A *vivafor* was only a tenant by knight's service, who did not hold immediately of the king in *capite*, but of some mesne lord, which excluded him from the dignity of a baron, by tenure :—He paid for his relief, two coats of Leg Gul. I. cap. 24. mail, a shield, a spear, and a sword, or in lieu of them 100 shillings.

Lambarde's Peramb. of Kent. Spelman's Glosf. A *thane* held land of the king to the quantity of five hides at least, by service of personal attendance :—He paid for his relief, all his arms, one horse with a saddle, and another without ; he also presented his dogs and hawks to the king, who, if he pleased, might take them. The

The knight, by his tenure, was obliged to serve the king on horseback in his wars, and maintain a soldier at his own proper charge, when the king required it: at this time a knight's fee consisted of land, &c. to the amount of 20*l.* a year, which was then thought sufficient to support the dignity of his estate:—His relief, in the 9th year of Hen. III. was 5*l.*

Edward the Second, in the first year of his reign, obliged every one who held an estate to the amount of 20*l. per ann.* to be knighted, paying his relief.

The esquires were such as held land by the service of the shield, and were bound by their fee to attend the king, or their lords, in the wars, or pay escuage. They were anciently called *servientes*, because they used to attend some lord, or knight, in the wars; sometimes *scutiferi*, because they did bear a shield; and oftentimes *armigeri*, because they might wear a coat of mail.

In the Harleian library is a MS. containing various tracts, part written in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and some part of still later date; amongst the rest I found the following—

MS. in Bib.
Harl. mark'd
1775.

The Definition of an Esquire, and the several sortes of them, according to the Customs and Usage of England.

An esquier, called in lattyn *armiger*, *scutifer*, et *bono ad arma*, is he that in tyme past was an attendant of the knight, the bearer of his scheilde and helme, the faithful companion, and servante to him, in the warres service, on horsebacke;—whereof every knight hath two at the least, attendant on him, in respect of his fee; for they held lands of the knights by *scutage*, as the knight held his of the kynge by *knights service*. At this day that vocation is growen to be the first degree of gentry, taken out of the service of the warres; from whence all other degrees of nobility are borrowed.

The first sorte of them, and the most antient, are the eldest sonnes of knightes; and the eldest sonnes of them, successively, for ever.

The seconde sorte are the elder sons, of the seconde house of barons, and noble men of higher degree; which taken and are determined when the chief masters do faile of such elder sons, and that the inheritance goeth awaie with the heires female.*

The third sorte, are those that by the kinge are created esquires, by the guise of the collar of SS; and such bearing armes of antiquitie, are the principle and chief of that coate armour, and of their whole race; out of whose families, although diverse other houses doe springe, and yssue, yet the eldest of that coate armour only is an esquier, and the residue are but gentlemen.

The fowerth, and last sorte of esquires, are such as bearing office in the common wealth, or in the kings house, and are therefore called and reputyd to be esquires; as the sargeantes at the lawe, the escheatores of every shire, and in the kings house; the herald of armes; the sargeantes at armes; and the
sergeant

* The sense here seems a little obscure; perhaps *chief masters* may mean the chief of the first house of barons.

sergeante of every office, who have the collars of SS given them; but having no armes, that degree dieth with them, and their issue is not inobled thereby.

Signed R Glover, Somersett.

Gentlemen, a title borrowed from the French, to distinguish the free men from the vulgar and common people: these held of the mesne lords, small parcels of land by military service; those who had as much as amounted to 40s. a year, paid escuage and sent men well furnished to the wars, and those whose estate would not afford them to send substitutes, attended personally themselves.

Hist. Hertf. The next class of people were the *Socmen*, so called because they held
pag. 11. their lands of their lords by *socagium*, or service of the plough;—these are the *yeomen* and there is made three distinctions amongst them; 1, *socmen* in ancient demesne; 2, *socmen* by free service; 3, *socmen* by base service.

Spel. Glofs. The first was properly a tenant who was free and held land of the king in
ver. Socman *socage*; which in the days of Edward the Confessor and the Conqueror, were kept for the maintenance and provision of their tables and families: they were by virtue of this privilege, free from payment of toll and passage, and all impositions for goods or chattles, sold or bought at fairs or markets, and of wages to knights in parliament, or from serving upon juries or inquests in the county, out of their own jurisdiction: neither could any turn them out of their possessions, while they were able to perform the services which belonged to their lands or tenements, nor augment their services; for that these *socmen* were tillers of the lands of their lords in ancient demesne.

Ibid. 518. Secondly, *Socmen* by free service, were tenants who held lands of the chief lords, by certain rent in money, in regard of some tillage, &c.—Every such *socman* in ancient time, held a plough-land of his lord in free *socage*, which was then reputed worth 5 nobles *per annum*; and was thought a sufficient estate to maintain a *ploughman* or *yeoman*: they in those days could not give or sell their land without the consent of their lord; neither could they alienate certain services, the first born was to succeed to the whole: neither could they sell their male cattle, or marry their daughter without paying to their lord the sum of 3s. and 4d: however, they might make their son a clerk.

Ibid. 519. Thirdly, *Socmen* by base services, were tenants who held not by certain service, therefore were not free *socmen*, for their lords might impose what service they pleased upon them: and tho' divers freemen might hold lands by base services, yet this did not render them ignoble, for it was the person, not the service, that did qualify the tenant: but all fees belonged only to gentlemen; for farms which were granted to rustic and ignoble men, were not accounted fees by Feudal law.

The *military tenants* and *socmen* had their *labourers* and *dependants*, as *bordars*, *cotars*, *villains*, *servants* and *rustics*, which composed the third class of people.—*Bordar*, from the French word *borde*, a cottager, or farmer who hath a cottage; these were bound to perform the base services of their lord, and

and could neither sell, mortgage, or give, without his consent; for these there was no homage.

Cotar, so named from *cote* a Saxon word, signifying a mean hovel, was a poor man who had his *borde* or cottage; he was taxed at the will of his lord, and was subject to all his commands; he had nothing of his own, nor could he purchase but for his lord's benefit. Brad. Pref. to Hist. of Eng. 157.

A *villain* was not taken for a bondman in *Domes-day book*, but a person of base or servile condition; and took his name *de villis*, because he had a farm, and did the works of husbandry for his lord. These were so fix'd to their farms, that they were bought and sold, and were wont to pass by the grants of the manors of farms to which they belonged, as servants passed in merchandize: but the lord had no right to the goods of his *villain*; for if at any time he took more than his due, he took it wrongfully as a robber: yet if the lord wrong'd the *villain*, he had no judge but God to relieve him. Du Fresne, vol. 3. fol. 1333.

A *servant*, or rather a slave, was of two sorts, *predial* or *personal*.—*Predial servants* possessed their lands or goods at the will of their lords, performing such servile works as they were required. *Personal servants* had nothing of their own, but what they gained was their lord's, who fed and kept them. Brad. Hist. of England, fol. 206.

Rusticks were labourers who did break open or dig the land or ground, and were so fix'd to it, that by grant of the land the *rusticks* passed with it. The sons of the *rusticks* might not be taken away from such estates, without the consent of the lord on whose land they were known to be born. Du Fresne, tom. 3.

But any of these might obtain their freedom from their lords several ways —
1. By his favour, as if he will release them, or if he give or sell them to another to be released. 2. They might be made free by knighthood. 3. If a bondman that lived quietly a year and a day in any privileged town, and was made a member of the common guild, as a common-councilman; for the magistrates and chief citizens were properly the guild, or corporation, and they only managed the affairs of the corporation. 4. By exchange, as when base and servile services were turn'd into rent, which was paid *pro omni servitio*; for if the lord had no service to command him, but payment of rent, he was free.

In the very early times, the common and servile people passed only under two names of distinction, *bond* or *customary tenants*, and the *cottager*; for they who held by *military* service, and *scutage* tenure, were comprehended under the general names of *freeholders*; and these were they who by their voices were to appoint the knights of the shire, &c. But at length they so increased, by the division of the fees, and many of them were of the low and ignorant class of people; yet, by their freehold, or tenure, they also claimed a voice equal to the *knights* and *squires* of the county, when it was ordained that the knights of the shire should be chosen by people resident in the county, who had lands or tenements to the yearly value of forty shillings, besides reprises; and that the sheriff might examine every elector, upon oath, how much he might expend by the year. This sum of 40*s.* *per annum*, had respect to those military men who paid *escuage*, or *scutage*; and of these, the *tenants in capite* paid it first for themselves and their tenants, and then the king granted a writ to levy of their *tenants in military service* so many fees as they held of them; but when *tenants in vilenage*, *tenants by copy of court rolls*, *tenants for years*, Stat. 8. H. 6. cap. 7.

and all sorts of people residing in the county, having lands or tenements of the yearly value of 40*s.* pretended a right to have voices at all such elections, by reason that such elections were not restrained to *military* and *scutage tenants* by Stat. 10, H. 8. cap. 2. the last statute, an explanatory law was immediately made, that every elector should have freehold to the value of 40*s.* by the year, above all charges and reprises, in the same county. This 40*s.* says Sir Hen. Chauncy as at that period, is worth 6*l.* now, in silver, which then was only 20*d.* the ounce, and reckoning it at present at 5*s.* 3*d.* if it is valued at the rate of servants wages, or the prices of goods, stock or victuals in those days, the price is more than ten times the value: but if you will estimate the value of the money by the rent of the land, those lands which yielded then 40*s.* would now let at 100*l.* *per annum*. In the parliament an. 9, H. 3. it was declared that 20*l.* *per annum* was a sufficient estate to maintain the state and dignity of a *knight*; whereas our modern parliaments, in all their post-bills, have valued a *knight's* estate at 1000*l.* *per annum*; and at this proportion, 20*l.* then, answers to 1000*l.* at this day.

From that time it hath continued to the present period, that all who have 40*s.* freehold in the county, clear of all reprises, are reputed legal voters, having an unquestionable right to give their voice at all elections of the knights of the shire.

Our ancestors had only two kinds of tenures, *boke-land* and *folk-land*; the one was a possession by writing, the other without. That by writing was freehold, and by charter, hereditary with all immunities, and for the free and nobler sort. That without writing, was to hold at the will of the lord, bound to rents and services, and was for the common people: the inheritance descended not alone, but after the ancient German manner, equally divided amongst all the children, which they called *Landskiftan*, or *part lande*; a custom yet continued (says my author) in some places in Kent, by name of *Gavel-kind*, or *Gipeal-kind*, &c.

See
Lambarde's
Peramb. of
Kent.

Royal Proceffions, Public Entries and Shows, &c.

In the first and second volumes of this work, we have seen various royal processions and grand entries publicly made, by several of our kings, as well into the city of London, as other cities of the realm; nor shall we find that, in this latter era, the English have been in the least behind-hand with their ancestors, in their pageantry and shews of grandeur.

The whole life of Henry the Eighth (especially during the time which that pompous prelate, Cardinal Wolsey, was in favour) abounded with processions, and princely shows of grandeur and magnificence.—But all that ever went before, was far out-done in the stately and superb meeting of our king, Henry the Eighth, and Francis the First, king of France, in the valley of Arden, the 7th day of June, 1520. The vast profusion of expence, to support the unbounded pomp which was at this time display'd, is almost incredible; the astonishing richness of the dresses, not only of the kings themselves, or the

great

great lords, but indeed of all their attendants, was such, that it was styled *Le camp de drap d'or*, or cloth of gold. Wolfey, who himself had the chief management of the scene, came also in all his splendour to this meeting; of whose pride and state the old chronicles have given many instances. Hall, the faithful historian of that time, has set down in his history a most exact and circumstantial account, not only of the meeting itself, but also of the preparations made, and the stately pavillions then built, as well as of the tournaments, which, with the feasts and grand entertainments, continued several days. Montfaucon, in his *Monarchie Francois*, has given certain prints of this famous meeting, done (as he informs us) from a bas-relief at Rouen, in Normandy; the which prints Dr. Ducarel has copied in his *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*:—But the society of Antiquaries have lately published a print (of a large size) which is a beautiful representation of the same meeting, from the celebrated picture at Windsor Castle; of the which Sir Joseph Ayloff has given a full and copious account:—To the which works the curious reader is refer'd.

But, before I pass from this famous meeting, I would wish the reader to cast his eye to the plates, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. The figures which he will see there represented, are supposed to be of the noble gentlemen who distinguished themselves (on the English party) in the tournaments there perform'd: the reasons for this supposition have already been set forth in page 10, therefore they need not be again repeated here. The tent, plate 8, N^o. 2, which undoubtedly belonged to the king of England, may with the greatest reason be supposed to have been there erected; for in magnificence and elegance (the taste of that time considered) it answers well with the description of the rest of the meeting: it is much larger in the original book, and made of a rich crimson, embroidered and wrought with ornaments of gold, and all round, at the bottom of the roof, is a rich fringe of gold, and crimson silk; above the fringe is a narrow compartment like a moulding, which runs all round the tent, in which is written in letters of gold, DEV: ET: MON: DROET:—SEMPER: VIVAT: IN: ÆTERNO.—and on the top is a running ornament, carved and richly gilt, with the lion, the hart, the greyhound, and dragon, alternately holding little banners, with the crown and the fleur de lys at the tops: on these little banners are the arms of England, roses, and the portcullis. —Every one, upon the sight of this rich tent, will readily conclude it must have been made for more than the common purpose of setting up, during the wars, for the king to lodge in: and if not for that purpose, it follows that it must have been for some more particular occasion; and the which none other, so proper as the present, can (I believe) be imagined. Then it may follow, that the other grand tent (plate 9.) was for the French king, which, in the book, is a deep blue, with rich gold embroidered flowers, fringed also below the roof with blue and gold threads; the top is ornamented with rich carving of fleurs de lys, &c. highly gilt; and at the corners are pedestals, with irons sticking up, on which most probably were figures, in the manner of those on king Henry the Eighth's tent;—but they are not here represented. The third tent (plate 8, N^o. 1.) is pain'd, green and white, fringed with the same colours, with a gilt ornament at the top; here also at the corners are the

See Holingshead, Stow, & Grafton, temp. H. 8.

Hall, in vit. Hen. 8.

Montfaucon Reg. & Eccl. Antiquities of France. Anglo-Norman Antiq.

MS. in Bib. Cott. infig. Augustus 3.

pedestals or stands, with the irons for the figures to be set upon. This tent, which is not by any means to compare with either of the former in grandeur or elegance, might, I suppose, be erected for the attendants on the great lords, or for the reception of those who performed in the tournaments.

This print
was engrav-
ed an. 1742.

The industrious Geo. Vertue has given to the world the royal procession of queen Elizabeth, in her chair, carried by six men, and attended by many of the nobles and grandees of the realm, as she went on a visit to the right honourable Henry Cary lord Hunfdon, governor of Berwick upon Tweed, who was cousin german to her majesty, by the lady Mary, sister to queen Anna Bolen.

Decker's
magnificent
entertain-
ment given
to K. Ja. I.
Stow's Ann.
pag. 836.

Printed accounts, with delineations engraved, have also been published, of the magnificent procession, through London, of king James the First, the 15th of March, 1603; and of the triumphal arches (which were seven) through which he passed, accompanied by a great number of his nobility. The various verses then repeated, and the pageants exhibited, were exceeding grand and elegant, according to the taste of the times, at that period.

MS. in Bib.
Cotton, in
fig. Nero,
C. 9.

Several other processions, of later date, might be mentioned; but as they were not so magnificent as the foregoing, and the accounts of them are so very easy to come at, I shall pass them over, and add to this article the following quotation from an old MS. in the Cotton library, written in the reign of king Henry the Sixth.

The Ordynauce of a Kynge, when he shall goo in hys Processione.

It is to be remembred, that what tyme the kynge shall kepe his astate crowned; or ellys in habite ryall, that day that he shall goo on procession,—The *swerd* shall be (*coried*) next to the kynge, and next before the swerde the kynges cote of armes, and all the prynces cotes, and other cotes, shall be departed and goo in their estates, and degrees; the oon (*one*) half on the right side of the processione, and the other half on the lyft side thereof;—and there shall no manne goo betweene Goddis vicare, that seith (*saith*) the masse that day, and the kynges highness;—The grete constable of England *shall go* on the right hand of the swerde, berynge a staff of woode in hys right hande, the end of the staff upward, at which ende *must be* the kinges armes,—at the nether end his owne armes;—The marshall of England on the lyft hande, *over* ageynst the constable, he shall bere in hys right hande a staff, sylver and gylt, the ende vpward, at the upper ende of *this staff also* the kinges armes, at the nether ende hys owne;—The cappe of estate *before*;—on the right hande of the cappe, the grete styward of Englande; on the lyft hande, the kynges chamberleyn, —byfore them the styward of the housholde on the right hand;—The tresorer (*treasurer*) of the housholde, on the lyft hande; and all such officers as wearen surcotes by their office, aught to goo before the kynge;—Betwene them the sergeaunt porter, that he may take hede of the sergeauntes of armes, and also to attende upon the prynce, and upon his lordes, yf he have any comaundement to receyve any person, or persones, that he may do it; the sergeauntes of armes, owen (*ought*) to goo on every side of the processione, to make
100me

roome from before the crofs,* to the lordes;—The usheres of the kynges chamber, owyn to goo on every syde of the kyng, to make room from the sword aboute kynges persone, and to have recourse to the nedyr (*nether*) ende of the trayne, to keepe the people from hym; and to wayte upon hys trayne;—The grete chamberleyn of Englande, ought to bere the kynges trayne, wether he be duke, or erle, or what estate he be of by hys office;—And all dukes, and erles, and other estates, to follow the kyng; every estate in their degrees.

Here, by the way of conclusion, I shall just say a word or two on the parade, or procession, at this day distinguished by the name of *The Lord Mayor's Show*. From the first institution, till the year 1454, this procession was constantly made on horseback, by land, to Westminster, where the lord mayor took the oath; but the said year 1454, Sir John Norman Draper being mayor, he caused a barge to be made at his own charge, and in that was rowed to Westminster, attended by most of the companies who had barges, in a superb manner. This alteration was so pleasant, and so profitable to the watermen, who ply'd with their boats at that time upon the Thames, that (says Stow) they made a song in praise of their new mayor, which begins in this manner, "*Row thy boat, Norman,*" &c.—From what we may collect amongst the ancient chronicles, in former ages this procession was managed with much pomp and grandeur, as every company constantly attended, habited in their richest habits, with vast variety of banners, flags and streamers, on which were figured the arms of the companies; and the emblems of their several *crafts*, or trades: the houses also, in such streets as they pass'd through, were ornamented and hung out with rich cloths and arras; which was a great and special mark of elegance and finery, at that age.—What at present remains of this show, indeed, is scarcely fine enough, one would think, to afford the least satisfaction to any but children, or the mere mobility; for of late years, good order and good sense have been so much neglected, and such childish-trumpery introduced, that this foolish parade is become perfectly contemptible and ridiculous. I speak now only of the land procession; that on the water—certainly is infinitely superior, and when well managed (in a fine day) has a very pleasing effect.

Perhaps it might not be an unpleasant sight, when the lord mayor used to ride forth in procession, his mace with the officers before him, and guarded round with hench-men. To this one of the characters in the *Witts* seems to allude, where he says, "I will match my lord mayor's horie, make jockeys of his hench-boys, and run them through Cheapside."

Stow's Survey of London, p. 567.

The Witts Comedy, by Sir William Davenant.

CORONATIONS.

* The cross was usually carried in procession before the prelates, on holidays and solemn occasions; with which always went certain attendants of the lower clergy, with lighted tapers, sprinkling the holy water, and oftentimes also singing of hymns and anthems.—See plate 64, vol. 1.

CORONATIONS.

In the second volume of this work, I have inserted a short history of coronations in general, and therein is contained some of the ceremonies used at the coronations of our own kings, as they are set down by the old historians. I have since thought, that an accurate description in full, of all the ancient ceremonies, with the prayers, &c. used at such coronations, might perhaps be acceptable to the world; I have therefore (to render my work as complete as possible) here subjoined the form and manner, as taken from the great book called *Liber Regalis*, which is preserved in Westminster Abbey.—This curious MS. was written, as is supposed, for the particular instructions of the prelates who attended at the coronation of king Richard the Second and his queen. A still further account of this MS. is given in the *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*, page 14; and therein are also two engraved plates, 1. & 18, (accurate copies of two illuminated delineations preserv'd in this valuable MS.) which serve as head-pieces to the particular ceremonies, and represent, the one the coronation of the king, and the other the coronation of the queen.—As the whole of this noble book is in Latin, it is but justice that I acknowledge the following translation of the ceremonial part is collected from a MS. in the Harleian library,—which translation (or rather abridgment in English) might probably have been made towards the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth, or thereabouts. The title annex'd is as follows: “A Collection out of the Booke, called *Liber Regalis*, remaining in the Treasury of the Church of Westminster.” This translation, which is executed with singular judgment, I have carefully compared with the original, and have given here, divested of the antiquated orthography; adding only some few things which the writer might have overlook'd. The prayers I have added, as they are, from the original; and these also I have examined with several other MSS. in the British Museum, particularly one in the Cotton library, of the same date with the *Liber Regalis* at least, if not somewhat older.

Lib. Regal.
in Arch. of
Westminst.
Abbey.

MS. in the
Harl. Libr.
mark'd 310.

MS. in Cot-
ton Library,
mark'd Ti-
berius, B.
VIII.

Here follows the order of crowning the kings and queens of England.

The day before the coronation, the king should come from the Tower of London to his palace at Westminster, through the midst of the city, mounted on a horse, handsomely habited,* and bare headed, in the sight of all the people.

The place where the king is to be crowned, is the Abbey church of Westminster, granted thereto by divers charters, to be *Locus institutionis et coronationis regie, et repositorum regaliū insignium in perpetuum*.

The time, if it may be with conveniency, either upon a Sunday, or on some solemn feast day.

The

* In cultu decentissimo equitabit—capite denudato.

The person that is to anoint, and to crown the king, is the lord archbishop of Canterbury: but if, through bodily indisposition or other cause, he cannot be present, in his own person, to perform the solemn ceremonies, his place must be supply'd by some other bishop then present, of the greatest promotion.*

Against the solemnity, a square stage † is to be set up close to the four high pillars between the choir and the altar, with rails about it: the stage is to be covered with tapestry, and the rails also to be covered with the same.

There must be two pair of stairs from the stage, one to the choir westward, and the other to the altar eastward; upon the stage are two thrones of state to be erected, the one for the king, and the other for the queen: the king's throne must be higher than the queen's.

On the south side of the altar, a chair is to be set for the king, and another not so high on the north side for the queen, with *fald stools* and cushions, for either of them to pray at.

In St. Edward's chapel a travers is to be set up, wherein the king disrobeth himself, after the coronation is done; where also a stool and cushions are prepared to pray at;—and a chair for the queen to repose herself, in the mean time are to be made ready.

The evening before the coronation, the king is to be put in mind, that he may give himself to contemplation and prayer, &c.

To the king is to be delivered his *tunica*, or vest of red silk, which is put on next over his shirt; to which *tunica* his majesty's shirt, and other wearing apparel, is to be fitted, because of the anointing.

There are to be delivered also these *regalia*,—by the abbot of Westminster, or the prior in the abbot's absence,—to those whom the king shall appoint:

For the KING.

The patena;
The scepter with the cross;
The long scepter;
The rod with the dove;
The spurs.

For the QUEEN.

The ivory rod with the dove;
The scepter;
The crown.

All the other *regalia*, with the *ampullæ* ‡ (in one of which is contained the oil with which the king and queen are to be anointed, and in the other the holy ointment) must be laid ready upon the altar.

That the gowns, and other robes, which the king putteth on after the coronation, be laid ready in the travers in St. Edward's chapel.

The

* “Supplebit alius qui inter episcopos tunc presentes dignior reperitur,” &c.

† Præparetur pulpitum aliquantulum eminens inter magnum altare et chorum, &c.

‡ Et provideatur a sacrista quod ampullæ tam de oleo, quam de chrismate, quarum una deaurata est, et in se continens sanctum chrisma; altera vero solum argentea et in se continens oleum sanctum, sint ad altare præparatæ, &c.

The heir of the lord Beauchamp of Bedford, *almoner* for the coronation day, is to have care that cloths* be spread upon the ground, from the palace to the stage in the church.

The abbot of Westminster (or some appointed monk of the same place) shall be constantly at the side of the king, to inform him concerning the ceremonies, &c. of the said coronation.†

The archbishop and bishops, &c. who are present within the church of Westminster, are to meet the king in procession at the palace.‡

The lord chancellor (if he be a bishop) shall carry the stone cup of St. Edward, § and the treasurer (if he also be a bishop) should bear the patena, || both in their pontificalibus:—but if neither of the two before-mentioned grandees should be bishops, the king is to assign two bishops, that may please him, to those offices.

Then two peers, dukes or earls, of the greatest estates of the realm, ¶ one bearing the scepter with the cross, the second having the scepter with the dove.

After them the three swords, borne by the earls of Chester,** of Huntingdon, and of Warwick.

Then a nobleman, appointed by the king, bearing his spurs.††

The king goeth next (under a canopy ‡‡ borne by the barons of the Cinque Ports, four of them at a staff) supported by the bishops of Durham and Bath.

After the king follow three peers, carrying, first the ivory rod, secondly the queen's scepter, thirdly the queen's crown.

Then

* Et faciet dominus N. de bello campo Bedefordie, qui ab antiquo elemosinarie regie habet officium, pannum virgatum, sive burellum prostratum sub pedibus regis incedentis a palatio uique pulpitum antedictum.

† Abbate Westmonasterii vel alio ejusdem monasterii monacho, ut præscriptum est, ad hoc electo, qui semper lateri regis adhærendo præsens debet esse pro dicti regis informatione in hijs quæ d. Clæ coronationis concernunt solemnitatem.

‡ The following curious note, which my translator has not observ'd, I have added entire from the original, as indeed almost all these notes are: I have added them where I thought the sense not fully express'd. — Die vero præfinito, quo novus rex consecrandus est, summo mane convenient prælati & nobiles regni in palatio regio apud Westmonasterium, tractaturi de novi regis consecratione et electione, et de legibus & consuetudinibus confirmandis firmis statuendis. Hijs sub universorum concordia præactis, provideatur, quod in aula regia majori sedes eminens sit pannis fericis & inauratis decent r ornata, super quam dictus rex regnaturus cum omni mansuetudine & reverentia clevetur, ipso tamen prius, ut moris est, balneato et induto mundissimis vestibus & caligis solum modo calceato — ordinetur in ecclesia per archiepiscopos episcopos, abbatem & conventum Westmonasterii in capis fericis cum textibus & thuribulis, et alijs, quæ processioni conveniunt.

§ Calice lapidei Sancti Edwardi.

|| — dictamque patenam honorifice eodem modo tenebit, quæ patena a subdiacono inter secreta missæ ante altare teneri solet.

¶ Duo duces sive comites regni excellentiores, & maxime, qui jure propinquitatis stirpi regie proximis videntur pertinere, immediate subsequuntur; &c.

** Comes Cestræ — portabit gladium, qui vocatur curtana.

†† Unus de magnatibus, ad hoc per regem assignatus, portans calcaria magna & deaurata.

‡‡ Pannum de fericis quadratum purpureum quatuor hastis de argentatis sustentatum cum quatuor campanellis argenteis & deauratis ultra regem, &c.

Then the queen under a canopy, borne likewise by the barons of the Cinque Ports, supported also by two bishops;—her crown and habit described in the book.*

The king and queen are received into the church with an anthem or hymn; they pass up the middle of the choir to the stage, and there repose themselves, either of them, in seats appointed for them,† but not in their thrones.

Then the archbishop goeth to the four sides of the stage, speaking to the people, enquiring of them, whether they were willing that he should anoint and consecrate the said prince: the king then standing up by his seat, turneth himself, as the archbishop speaketh to the people.

The people shew their consent and approbation, crying out unanimously, Let it be done! Let it be done!—Long live the king N! (naming the name of the prince aforesaid).

Then the choristers shall sing the following anthem :

Firmetur manus tua & exaltetur dextera tua, justitia et judicium præparatio sedis tuæ—Misericordia & veritas præcedent faciem tuam. Alleluia!—Misericordias domini in æternum cantabo:—gloria patri & filio & spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in principio, &c. Amen.

Repetatur ant. *Firmetur, &c.*

While the anthem is singing, the archbishop goeth to the altar.

The king, with the two bishops attending, and the abbot of Westminster, goeth also to the altar; and the queen, likewise supported by two bishops, followeth the king, and they go to a place prepared for them before the altar.

The king offereth first a robe, and next a wedge of gold of a pound weight;‡ then kneeleth, and the archbishop sayeth this prayer:

Deus humilium visitator, qui nos spiritus sancti illustratione consolaris, prætende super hunc famulum tuum N. gratiam tuam ut per eum tuum in nobis adesse sentiamus adventum.

A bishop then beginneth the sermon,§ which the king and queen hear by the altar: after the sermon, the archbishop asketh the king, whether he be pleased to take the oath which his predecessors usually took;||—the king, willing thereunto, goeth to the altar to take it.

The

* Dicta vero regina induta erit tunica & cyclade cum fimbria longa & defluenti: quæ quidem tunica & cyclas unius erunt coloris videlicet purpurei, et unius texturæ sine aliquo alio opere artificiali desuper intexto: capite nudato, laxatos circa humeros decenter habens crines: gestabitque circulum aureum gemmis ornatum, ut honestius crines capiti ejus confringantur.

† In sede sibi apta.

‡ Pallium unum & unam libram, auri.

§ Metropolitano interim in cathedra sua residente ante altare more episcopali. Coram ipso vero residet princeps coronandus in cathedra decenti sibi præparata ex aduerso.

|| Si leges & consuetudines ab antiquis justis & Deo devotis regibus plebi Anglorum concessas, cum sacramenti confirmatione eidem plebi concedere & servare voluerit, et præsertim leges, consuetudines & libertates, a glorioso rege Edwardo clero populoque concessas. Dicto autem principe se promittente omnia præmissa concessurum & servaturum tunc exponat ei metropol: de quibus jurabit, ita dicendo.—Servabis ecclesie Dei, cleroque & populo pacem ex integro & concordiam in Deo secundum vires tuas?

Respondet.—Servabo.

VOL. III.

E

Metropol.

The archbishop asketh three first questions, and the king severally answereth them; then another bishop recordeth (or asketh) the last question; the king answereth to them all in the words as there set down, namely.

ARCHBISHOP.

Sire, will you graunte, and kepe, and by your oathe confirme to the pepul of Englande the lawes and customes to them graunted, by the kynges of Englande, youre lawful and religious predecessores; namely, the lawes, customes, and fraunchises graunted to the clergie, and to the pepul, by the gloriouse kyng Saynte Edward your predecessore; accordyng and conformable to the lawes of Gode, and professiōne of the Gospell, established in thys kyndome; and agreeing to the prerogatives of the kynges thereof, and the auncient customes of thys realme?

The kyng answereth; I graunt and promyse to keep them.

Then the archbishop shall declare unto the king, what the things are that he shall swear unto.

ARCHBISHOP.

Sire, will you keepe pecee and agreement entirely, according to your power, both to Gode, the holie churche, and the pepul?

The king answereth, I wyll kepe it.

ARCHBISHOP.

Sire, will you to the utmost of youre power, cause lawe, justice, and discretione, and truthe to be executed, in all your judgements?

The king answereth, I will.

ARCHBISHOP.

Metropol.—Facies fieri in omnibus judiciis tuis æquam & rectam justitiam & discretionem in misericordia & veritate secundum vires tuas?

Respondet.—Faciā.

Metropol.—Concedis justas leges & consuetudines esse tenendas, et promittis eas per te esse protegendas, et ad honorem Dei roborandas, quas vulgus elegerit, secundum vires tuas?

Respondet.—Concedo & promitto.

Take the above in old French, as from a MS. in my own Possession.

Sire boilles vous grauntier & garder par votze seement contēner au poeple dans leteze droitzelyz lez loies & custumes a euz grauntez par lez anrientz roys dangleteze custumes & fraunchises grauntez a clergie & au poeple par le gloriouse roy Seint Edward selonc votze pover.

Le roy responderay, Jeo lez garderay.

Sire garderez vous a dieu & a seinte esglise a clergie & a poeple pees & accorde en dieu entierment selonc votze pover.

Le roy responderay, Jeo lez garderay.

Sire ferez vous saize en toutz voz juggementz D wele & droit justice & discretione en misericorde & verite.

Le roy, —Jeo lez saize.

Sire garantz vous a tennre & accomplize & promettez vous a defendre le loiez & custumes droitzelyz lez quelz le comonalte de votze reaume auz esliz & lez entorez & al honour de dieu selonc votze pover.

Le roy responderay, Jeo a les graunte & permettre,

ARCHBISHOP.

Sire, will you graunt, to holde and kepe the lawes, and ryghtful customes, which the commonaltye of your kingdome have to defende, and upholde them, to the honour of Gode; so much as in you lyeth?

The king answereth, I graunt, and promise so to doe.

Then one of the bishops, in an audible voice, shall read the following admonition:*

Domine rex a vobis perdonari petimus, ut unicuique de nobis & ecclesiis nobis commissis canonicum privilegium ac debitam legem atque iustitiam conservetis & defensionem exhibeatis, sicut rex in suo regno debet unicuique episcopo, abbatibus & ecclesiis sibi commissis.

The king shall answer,

Animo libenti & devoto promitto vobis et per dono, quia unicuique de vobis & ecclesiis vobis commissis canonicum privilegium & debitam legem atque iustitiam servabo, et defensionem, quantum potuero adiuvante domino, exhibebo, sicut rex in suo regno unicuique episcopo, abbatibus & ecclesiis sibi commissis per rectum exhibere debet.

These questions thus asked by the prelates, and answered by the king, he at the altar by oath confirms his promises:

Then the archbishop kneeling down, with an audible voice begins the hymn,
Veni creator spiritus!
and the choir sing it.

Then the king, and the queen kneel down, and the archbishop sayeth this prayer:

Te invocamus domine sancte, pater omnipotens, æterne deus, ut hunc famulum tuum N. quem tuæ divinæ dispensationis providentia in primordia plasmatum usque hunc presentem diem juvenili flore letantem crescere concessisti, eum tuæ pietatis dono diductum, plenumque gratia & veritate de die in diem coram deo & hominibus ad meliora semper proficere facias, ut summi regiminis solium gratiæ supernæ largitate gaudens suscipiat, et misericordiæ tuæ muro ab hostium adversitate undique munitus, plebem sibi commissam cum pace propitiationis & virtutis victoriæ feliciter regere mereatur.

This prayer being finished, the Litany is sung;† and after that is ended followeth these prayers:

Omnipotens sempiternus deus, creator omnium imperator angelorum, rex regnantium dominasque dominantium qui Abraham fidelem famulum tuum de hostibus triumphare fecisti, Moysi et Jesue populo prælati multiplicem victoriam tribuisti humilemque David puerum tuum regni fastigio sublimasti, et Salomonem sapientiæ pacisque inefabili munere ditasti; respice quesumus ad preces humilitatis nostræ, & super hunc famulum tuum quem supplicii devotione in regem consecramus † benedictionum tuarum dona multiplica, eumque dextere tuæ potentia semper & ubique circunda quatinus prædicti Abraham fidelitate firmatus Moysi mansuetudine fretus, Jesue fortitudine munitus, David humilitate exultatus, Salomonis sapientia decoratus tibi in omnibus placeat & pertranseat iusticiæ in offenso gradu semper incedat ecclesiæ tuæ deinceps cum plebibus sibi annexis ita enutriet ac doceat, munit & instruat contraque omnes visibiles & invisibiles hostes

E 2.

* Sequitur admonitio episcoporum ad regem; et legatur ab uno episcopo coram omnibus clara voce sic dicendo—Domine rex, &c.

† Infra Letaniam hæc adiungant.—Ut presentem famulum tuum in tua pietate, iustitia et sanctitate confirmare & conservare digneris—Te rogamus, audi nos, &c.

‡ In regem eligimus, &c. in MS. Cottonianæ.

hostes eidem potenter regaliterque tuæ virtutis regimen administret, & ad veræ fidei pacisque concordiam eorum: animas te epitulante reformet ut horum populorum debita subjectione fultus, cum digno amore glorificatus, ad paternum decenter solum tua miseratione conscendere mereatur; tuæ quoque protectionis galea munitus, & scuto insuperabili ingiter protectus, armisque cælestibus circumdatus, optabilis victoriæ triumphum feliciter capiti terroremque suæ potentie infidelibus inferat, et pacem tibi militantibus letanter reportet: per dominum nostrum, qui virtute crucis tartare destruxit, regnaque diaboli superato ad caelos victor ascendit, in quo potestas omnis, regnum consistit & victoria, qui est gloria humilium, et vita, salusque populorum, qui tecum vivis, &c.

Alia ORATIO.

Benedic domine hunc regem nostram qui regna omnium moderaris a sæculo, & tali eum benedictione glorifica, ut Davidicæ, teneat sublimitatis sceptrum et glorificatus in ejus, te propitio reperiatur merito; da ei tuo inspiramine cum mansuetudine ita regere populum, sicut Salomonem fecisti regnum obtinere pacificum. Tibi cum timore semper sit subditus; tibi que militet cum quiete: sit tuo clipeo protectus: cum precebus & ubique tua gratia victor existat: honorifica eum præ cunctis regibus gentium: felix populis dominetur, et feliciter eum nationes adorent: vivat inter gentium catervas magnanimus: sit in judiciis æquitatis singularis: locupletet eum tuæ prædices dextera: frugiferam obtineat patriam, et ejus liberis tribvas pro futura: presta ei prolixitatem vitæ per tempora ut in diebus ejus oriantur iusticia: a te robustum teneat regiminis solium, et cum jocunditate & iusticia æterno glorietur in regno, &c.

Alia ORATIO.

*Deus ineffabilis auctor mundi, conditor generis humani, gubernator imperii, confirmator regni, qui ex utero fidelis amici tui patriarchæ nostri Abrahamæ præ eligisti regem sæculis pro futurum, tu presentem regem hunc cum exercitu suo per intercessionem omnium sanctorum uberi benedictione locupletas, & in solum regni firmam stabilitate connecte: visita eum sicut Moysen in rubo, Jesum nave in præliis, Gedeon in agro, Samuelem in templo: & illa eum benedictione sydereæ ac sapientiæ tuæ rore perfunde, quam beatus David in psalterio, Salomon filius eius te remunerante percepit e caelo: Sis ei contra acies inimicorum lorica, in adversis galea, in prosperis patientia; in protectione clipeus sempiternus: & præsta ut gentes illi teneant fidem; præceres sui habeant pacem diligant charitatem abstineant se a cupiditate loquantur iusticiam custodiant veritatem & ita populus iste pullulet coactis benedictione æternitatis, ut semper maneant tripudiantes in pace victores. Per Christum, &c.

Dominus vobiscum, &c.

ORATIO.

Deus qui populis tuis virtute consulis, & amore dominaris, da huic famulo tuo N. spiritum sapientiæ cum regimine disciplinæ, ut tibi toto corde devotus, in regni regimine maneant semper idoneus, tuoque munere ipsius temporibus securitas ecclesiæ dirigatur, et in tranquillitate devotio christiana permaneat, ut in bonis operibus perseverans ad æternum regnum te ducere valeat pervenire. Per dominum nostrum Jesum, &c.

Then shall the archbishop say, with an audible voice,

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.—Resp. cleri, Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.—Habemus ad dominum.

Gratias agamus domino deo nostro.—Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum & justum est, æquum & salutare.—Nos tibi semper & ubique gratias agere, domine sancte, pater omnipotens, æterne deus.—Electorum fortitudo & humilium celsitudo, qui primario per effusionem diluvii

* This excellent prayer is translated, and placed in the end of the Whole Duty of Man, and there said to be from the *Liber Regalis*.

*diluvii crimina mundi castigare voluisti et per columbam rannum olivæ portantem pacem terris reddidit demonstrasti, iterumque Aaron famulum tuum per unctiorem olei sacerdotem sanxisti, et postea per hujus unguenti infusionem ad regendum populum Israeliticum sacerdotes ac reges & prophetas perfecisti, vultumque ecclesie in oleo exhiberandum per propheticam famuli tui vocem David esse predixisti. Ita quæsumus omnipotens pater, ut per hujus creaturæ pinguedinem hunc servum tuum N. sanctificare tuâ benedictione digneris eumque in similitudinem columbæ * pacem simplicitatis populo sibi subdito præstare et exempla Aaron in dei servitio diligenter imitari, regnique fastigia in consiliis scientiæ et equitate judicii semper assequi vultumque hilaritatis per hanc olei unctiorem tuamque benedictionem is adjuvante toti plebi paratam habere facias, per Christum dominum nostrum, &c.*

This prayer finished, the prince ariseth, and sitteth in his chair for a small space; then goeth from thence to the altar, where he putteth off his upper garments to the silk tunic, which is made open for the anointing: the archbishop openeth the places to be anointed, and anointeth first his hands with the holy oil, saying

Unguantur manus istæ de oleo sanctificato, unde uncti fuerunt reges et prophete, et sicut unxit Samuel David in regem; ut sis benedictus et constitutus rex in regno isto super populum istum quem Dominus Deus tuus dedit tibi ad regendum et gubernandum, quod ipse prestare dignetur, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit, &c.

Then the choir shall sing the following anthem:

Unxerunt Salomonem Sadoc sacerdos et Nathan propheta regem; et accedentes læti dixerunt, Vivat Rex, Vivat Rex, Vivat Rex in æternum.—P. Domine in virtute tua.

O R A T I O.

Prospice, omnipotens Deus, serenis obtutibus hunc gloriosum regem N. et sicut benedixisti Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, sic illum largis benedictionibus spiritualis gratiæ cum omni plenitudine tua potentia irrigare atque profunderè dignare; tribue ei Domine de rore cæli et de pinguedine terræ abundantiam frumenti, vini et olei, et omnium frugum opulentiam ex largitate divini muneris longa per tempora, ut illo regnante sit corporum sanitas in patria, et pax inviolata sit in regno, et dignitas gloriosa regalis palatii in maximo splendore regiæ potestatis oculis omnium fulgeat luce clarissima choruscare atque splendere quasi splendidissima fulgura maximo perfusa lumine videatur.—Tribue ei, omnipotens Deus, ut sit fortissimus protector patriæ, et consolator ecclesiarum atque cœnobiorum sanctorum maxime cum pietate regalis munificentia, atque ut sit fortissimus regum, triumphator hostium ad opprimendas rebelles, et paganas nationes; sitque suis inimicis satis terribilis præmaxima fortitudine regalis potentiæ: optimatibus quoque atque præcelsis præceribus atque fidelibus sui regni munificus et amabilis, et pius; ut ab omnibus timeatur, atque diligatur: reges quoque de lumbis ejus per successiones temporum futurorum egrediantur regnum hoc regere totum, et post gloriosa tempora atque felicia præsentis vitæ gaudia sempiterna in perpetua beatitudine habere mereatur, per Dominum, &c.

Then shall the archbishop anoint his breast, his shoulders, between his shoulders, the bending of his arms, and the crown of his head, in the form of the cross, first with the holy oil, and afterwards with the sacred ointment;† that done, the abbot of Westminster shall put on his robes again, and the archbishop shall say the following prayers:

Deus, Dei filius, Jesus Christus, Dominus noster, qui a Patre oleo exultationis inunctus es, præ participibus suis, ipse per præsentem sacri unguinis infusionem spiritus paracliti super caput tuum infundat benedictio-

* The ampull. wherein the holy oil was kept, was in the shape of a dove.

† Imprimis inungantur de oleo—et postea de chrismate.

nem, eandemque usque ad interiora cordis tui penetrare faciat, quatenus hoc visibili et tractabili dono invisibilia percipere, et temporalis regno iustis moderaminibus exequo æternaliter cum eo regnare merearis, qui solus sine peccato rex regum vivit, et gloriatur cum Deo Patre in unitate ejusdem Spiritui Sanc. &c.

A L I A.

Deus qui es iustorum gloria et misericordia peccatorum, qui misisti Filium tuum precioso sanguine suo genus humanum redimere, qui conteris bella, et propugnator es in te sperantium, et sub ejus arbitrio omnium regnare continetur potestas, te humiliter deprecamur, ut præsentem famulum tuum N. in tua misericordia confidentem, in præsentis sedis regali benedicas, eique propicius adesse digneris, ut qui tua expetit protectione defendi, omnibus sit hostibus fortior. Fac eum, Domine, beatum esse, et victorem de inimicis suis: corona eum cum corona justicie et pietatis, ut ex toto corde et tota mente in te credens tibi deserviat, et sanctam tuam ecclesiam defendat et sublimet, populumque a te sibi commissum jure regat, nullus insidiantibus malis eum in injusitiam convertat.—Accende, Domine, cor ejus ad amorem tue gratiæ per hoc unctionis oleum, unde unxisti sacerdotes, reges et prophetas, quatenus diligens justiciam per tramitem similiter justiciæ populum ducens post præcæta a te disposita in regali excellentia annorum curricula pervenire ad æterna gaudia mereatur: per, &c.

Then they put on the king the *colobium*, or short vest of fine linen, made in the manner of the *dalmatica*, and so as to cover the king's head, because of the anointing; *—which done, the archbishop blesteth the regal ornaments, using the following words:

Deus, Rex Regum, et Dominus Dominantium; per quem reges regnant, et legum conatores jura decernunt, dignare propitius benedicere hoc regale ornamentum, et presta ut famulus tuus rex noster, qui illud portaturus est, ornamento bonorum morum, et sanctorum actionum, in conspectu tuo fulgeat, et post temporalem vitam æternam gloriam, quæ tempus non habet, sine fine possideat, &c.

Then the abbot of Westminster putteth upon the king the *tunica*; † or vest; over the *colobium*; which *tunica*, or vest, must be very long, reaching down to his ankles, wrought before and behind with large figures of gold; and then the buskins ‡:—the spurs are put on by a nobleman.

The archbishop layeth the sword upon the altar, and blesteth it, saying

Exaudi quæsumus Domine preces nostras, et hunc ensen quo hic famulus tuus N. se circumcingi desiderat, majestatis tuæ dextera benedicere et sanctificare dignare: quatenus defensio atque protectio possit esse ecclesiarum, viduarum, orphanorum, omniumque Deo servientium, contra severitiam paganorum, aliisque insidiantibus sit pavor, terror, et formide.—Per, etc.

Then a bishop takes the sword, and delivers it to the king, when the archbishop says

Accipe gladium per manus episcoporum licet indignas, vice tamen et auctoritate sanctorum apostolorum consecratas, tibi regulariter impositum, nostræque benedictionis officio in defensionem sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ divinitus ordinatum;

* Post hæc induatur Sidonis colobio ad modum dalmaticæ formato capite amictu aperto propter unctionem, qui amictus per septem dies continuos circa regum caput indefinenter permanebit: Octava vero die post dicti regis consecrationem unus episcoporum dicto rege in ecclesiâ sive in capella suâ presente missam de Trinitate celebrabit, missaque finita idem episcopus amictum præfatum auferet de capite regali dictum caput regium aquâ calidâ cum omni diligentia lavabit, quo loto & exsecrato, crines regis reverenter componet: deinde circulum aureum capiti dicti regis imponet honorifice, &c.—This curious passage my translator hath entirely passed over.

† Et prius induetur super prædictum colobium tunica longa & talari intexta magnis imaginibus aureis an: & retro.

‡ Caligis sandariis & calcaribus tibiis ejus & pedibus coaptatis.

ordinatum; et esto memor de quo Psalmista prophetavit, dicens, Accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum potentissimè ut per eundem vim æquitatis exerceas, molem iniquitatis potenter destruas, et sanctam, ecclesiam dei ejusque fideles propugando protegas, nec minus sub fide falsos, quam Christiani nominis hostes exaceris ac destruas, viduas et pupillos clementer adjuves et defendas, desolata restaures, restaurata conserves; ulciscaris injusta, confirmes bene disposita; quatenus hæc in agendo virtutum triumpho gloriosus justiciæque cultor egregius, cum mundi Salvatore, cujus typum geris, in nomine sine fine merearis regnare, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus per, &c.

The sword is then girded on by a peer;—and the *armill* is presented to the king, the archbishop saying

Accipe armillas sinceritatis et sapientiæ, divinæque circumdationis indicium; quibus intelligas omnes operationes tuas contra hostes visibiles et invisibiles posse esse munitas.

The *armill*, which is in the fashion of a stole, is then put about the king's neck, which hangs down over his shoulders to his elbows;—then the square robe, or pall, is put upon the king, (which pall is embroidered all over with golden eagles *) the archbishop saying

Accipe pallium quatuor initiis formatum, per quod intelligas quatuor mundi partes divinæ potestati esse subiectas, nec quenquam posse feliciter regnare in terris, nisi cui potestas regnandi fuerit collata de caelis.

The archbishop shall bless the crown, saying as follows :

Deus tuorum corona fidelium, qui in capitibus eorum ponis coronam de lapide precioso, benedic et sanctifica coronam istam, quatenus sicut ipsa diversis preciosisque lapidibus adornatur, sic famulus tuus N. gestator ipsius multiplici preciosorum virtutum munere tua largiente gratia repleatur : per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum regem æternum, qui, &c.

Then shall the archbishop sprinkle the crown with holy water, and cense it; after which he shall set it upon the king's head, saying

Coronet te deus corona gloriæ atque iusticiæ, honore & opere fortitudinis, ut per officium nostræ benedictionis cum fide recta & multiplici bonorum operum fructu, ad coronam pervenias regni perpetui, ipso largiente cujus regnum permanet in sæcula seculorum.

Alia ORATIO.

Deus perpetuitatis, dux virtutum, cunctorum hostium victor, benedic hunc famulum tuum N. tibi caput suum inclinantem; & proluxa sanitate & prospera felicitate eum conserva; & ubicunque auxilium tuum invocaverit, cito assis & protegas ac defendas. Tribue ei quæsumus domine divitiarum gratiæ tuæ: comple in bonis desiderium ejus; corona eum in misericordia tua, tibi que domino pia devotione jugiter famuletur: per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum, qui, &c.

And this anthem shall be sung :

Confortare et esto vir, et observa mandata domini dei tui, ut ambules in viis ejus, et custodias ceremonias ejus, & præcepta ejus & testimonia & judicia: et quocunque te verteris confirmet te deus.—P. Dominus regit me!

Then

* Unless "*aquilis aureis*" may bear any other interpretation;

The archbishop shall bless the ring, saying

Deus cœlestium; terrestriumque conditor creaturarum atque humani generis benignissimus reparator, dator spiritualis gratiæ, omniumque benedictionum largitor, qui iustitiam tuæ legis in cordibus credentium digito tuo id est unigenito tuo scribis, cui magi in Ægypto resistere non valentes concinnabant dicentes, digitus dei hic est: immitte spiritum sanctum tuum paracletum, de cœlis super hunc anulum arte fabrilis decoratum, et sublimitatis tuæ potentia ita cum emundare digneris, ut omni nequitia lividi venenosique serpentis procul expulsa, metallum a te bono conditore creatum immune a cunctis sordibus inimici maneat.

Alia ORATIO.

Benedic domine & sanctifica anulum istum, et mitte super eum septiformem spiritum tuum, quo famulus tuus eo fruens, annulo fidei sub arratus virtute albisimi sine peccato custodiatur: et omnes benedictiones, quæ in scripturis divinis reperiuntur super eum copiose descendant, ut quæcunque sanctificaverit, sanctificata permaneant, et quæcunque benedixerit spirituali benedictione benedicantur.

Then shall the archbishop give the ring to the king, saying

Accipe regiæ dignitatis anulum, et per hunc in te Catholicæ fidei signaculum, quatenus ut hodie ornaris caput & princeps regni ac populi, ita perseveres auctor ac stabilitor Christianitatis & Christianæ fidei, ut felix in opere locuples in fide, cum rege regum glories, cui est honor & gloria per æterna sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

ORATIO.

Deus cuius est omnis potestas & dignitas, da famulo tuo suæ præcipuæ dignitatis effectum; in quo te remunerante permaneat, semperque te timeat, tibi que jugiter placere contendat, per dominum, &c.

The king taketh off his sword, wherewith he was girt before, and goeth to the altar and offers it; which the chief nobleman present, by offering, redeemeth, draweth out, and beareth naked before the king during the solemnity.

Then the king putteth on his linen gloves, which are part of the regalia; and the archbishop giveth him the golden sceptre, with the cross upon the top, into his right hand, saying

Accipe sceptrum regis potestatis insigne, virgam scilicet regni rectam, virgam virtutis qua te ipsum bene regas, sanctam ecclesiam, populumque videlicet Christianum tibi a deo commissum regia virtute ab improbis defendas, prævos corrigas, reos pacifies, et ut vitam rectam tenere possint tuo iuvamine dirigas, quatenus de temporali regno ad æternum regnum pervenias, ipso adiuvante cuius regnum permanet in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

ORATIO post SCEPTRUM.

Omnium domine fons bonorum, cunctarumque deus institutor profectuum, tribue quæsumus famulo tuo N. adeptam bene regere dignitatem; et a te sibi præsitum honorem dignare corroborare honorifica eum præ cunctis regibus Britannicæ; uberi eum benedictione locupleta, et in solio regni firma stabilitate consolida; visita eum in solio: præsta ei prolixitatem vitæ: in diebus ejus semper orietur iustitia, ut cum iunioritate & lætitia æterno glorietur in regno.

Then the golden rod, with the dove, is given into the king's left-hand, and the archbishop saith

Accipe virgam virtutis atque æquitatis, qua intelligas te mulcere pios & terrere reprobos: errantes viam doce, lapsisque manum porrige: disperdasque superbos & relevas humiles: ut aperiat tibi ostium Jhesus Christus dominus noster, qui de seipso ait, Ego sum ostium, per me si quis introierit salvabitur. Et ipse qui

est clavis David & septum domus Israel, qui aperit et nemo claudit; claudit et nemo aperit, sit tibi adjutor, qui educit vinculum de domo carceris, sedentem in tenebris & umbra mortis: ut in omnibus sequi merearis eum, de quo propheta David cecinit, sedes tua, Deus, in sæculum sæculi, virga recta est virga regni tui: Et imitare ipsum qui dicit, diligas justitiam, et odio habeas iniquitatem; propterea unxit te deus, deus tuus, oēs laetitiae, ad exemplum illius quem ante secula unxerat prae participibus suis Jesum Christum dominum nostrum.

Then the archbishop bleseth the king, as follows:—

Benedicat tibi deus custodiatque te, & sicut te voluit super populum suum esse regem, ita in presenti sæculo faciem & æternæ felicitatis tribuat esse consortem. Amen.—Clerum ac populum quem sua voluit opitulatione tua sanctione congregari, sua dispensatione & tua administratione per diuturna tempora faciat feliciter gubernari. Amen.—Quatenus divinis monitis parentes, adversariis omnibus carentes, bonis omnibus exuberantes, tuo imperio fideli amore obsequentes, & in presenti sæculo pacis tranquillitate fruantur, & te cum æternorum civium consortio portiri mereantur. Amen.—Quod ipse præstare dignetur, cujus regnum & imperium.

The king kisseth the archbishop and the assistant bishops, and then he is led from the altar unto the stage, all the peers attending; the choir in the mean time sing the hymn “Te deum laudamus.”

When they have finished, the king is solemnly placed in his throne, and the archbishop sayeth to him as follows:

Sta, & retine a modo locum, quem hujusque paternæ successionis tenuisti hereditario iudicio tibi delegatum per auctoritatem dei omnipotentis, & præsentem traditionem nostram; et omnium episcoporum, cæterarumque dei servorum: & quanto clerum sacris altaribus propinquirem prospicias, tanto ei potorem in locis congruis, honorem impendere memento quatenus mediator dei & hominum te mediatorum cleri et plebis in hoc regni solio confirmet, & in regnum æternum regnare faciat Jesus Christus dominus noster, rex regum & dominus dominantium, qui cum patre & spiritu sancto vivit & regnat in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

When this is done, all the peers of the realm do their homage to his majesty, and then put their hands and touch his crown together.*

The king (for his ease) delivereth his sceptre and rod to any that he pleaseth, attending.

The ceremonies of anointing and crowning the king being thus finished, the archbishop goeth to the altar; and the queen cometh from her seat also to the

* In a MS. in my own possession I find this remark:

Et memorandum quod archiepiscopus Cantuariensis primus faciet homagium regi & fidelitatem in coronacione sua & postea alii prelati & proceres regni quilibet in suo gradu.

Take the oath of homage, from the same old MS. in the antiquated language.

Ich herome your man liege, of lyfe, & lynne, & trouthe; & ethelich honour to you shall beyn, ageynst al men that mowe lyve & dye; so help me god & holydome,

The same also in old French.

Jeo debien botze homme liege, de vi, & de membre, & de sealt; & tene honour à tous portez, encontre tout manze de gentes qui poit vivre & morir; si dieu me aide & saintz saintz.

altar, supported by the two bishops, where she kneels down, and the archbishop sayeth the following prayer: *

Deus qui solus habes immortalitatem, lucemque habitatus inaccessibleem, cujus providentia in sui dispositione non fallitur, qui fecisti quæ futura sunt, et vocas ea quæ non sunt, tanquam ea quæ sunt; qui superbos equo moderamine de principatu deicis atque humiles dignanter in sublime provebis; ineffabilem misericordiam tuam supplices exoramus, ut sicut reginam Hester, causa Judaice salutis de captivitatis suæ compede salutam, ad regis Assuæri thalamum, regniq; sui consortium transire fecisti, ita hanc famulam tuam N. humilitatis nostræ benedictione Christianæ plebis gratia salutis ad dignam sublimemque regis nostri copulum misericorditer transire concedas; ut in regalibus sœdere conjugii semper manens, pudica proximam virginitati palmam continere queat, tibi que Deo vivo et vero in omnibus, et super omnia, jugiter placere desideret, et, te inspirante, quæ tibi placita sunt toto corde perficiat, &c.

The queen ariseth; then the chief lady present taketh off the queen's coronet, and openeth the robe at her breast: when the queen kneeleth again, and the archbishop sayeth this prayer:

Spiritus Sancti gratia humilitatis nostræ officio in te copiosa descendat, ut sicut manibus nostris indignis oleo materiali oblita pinguescis exterius, ita ejus invisibili unguine delibuta, impinguari merearis interius, ejusque spiritali unctione perfectissime semper imbuta et illicita, declinare tota mente et spernere discas seu valeas et utilia animæ tuæ jugiter cogitare, optare, atque operari queas, auxiliante Domino nostro Jesu Christo qui cum Deo Patre et eodem Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Then shall the archbishop anoint her breast, and the crown of her head, in the form of a cross, saying, as he anoints her breast,

In nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, prosit tibi hæc unctio olei, in honorem et confirmationem eternam in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

The same shall he repeat, when he pours the holy oil upon her head; and then saith the following prayer:

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, affluentem spiritum tuæ benedictionis super famulam tuam N. nobis oranti-bus propitiatus infunde, ut quæ per manus nostræ impositionem hodie regina instituit sanctificatione tua digna et electa permaneat, ut nunquam postmodum de tua gratia separaretur indigna. Per, &c.

The

* At the entry of the queen into the church, the archbishop sayeth this prayer:

Omnipotens sempiterne deus fons & origo totius bonitatis, qui feminei sexus fragilitatem nequam quam reprobandum adversaris sed dignanter comprobando propicius eligis, & qui infirma mundi eligendo forcia quæque confunderet decrevisti, quique etiam gloriæ virtutisque tuæ triumphum in manu Judith femine olim Judaicæ plebi de hoste sevisimo resignare voluisti; respice quæsumus preces humilitatis nostræ et super hanc famulam tuam N. quam suplicii devotione in reginam eligimus benedictionum tuarum dona multiplica, eamque dextera tuæ potentie semper & ubique circunda, ut umbone muniminis tui undique securis firmiter protecta visibilis seu invisibilis hostis nequitias triumphaliter expugnare valeat, & una cum Sara atque Rebecca & Rachel beatis reverendisq; feminis fructu uteri sui secundari seu gratulari mereatur, ad decorem totius regni statumque sanctæ dei æcclesiæ regendum nec non protegendum, per Christum dominum nostrum qui intemerato beatæ Mariæ Virginis utero nasci & visitare ac renovare hunc dignatus est mundum, qui tecum vivit & gloriatur deus in unitate spiritus sancti per immortalia secula sæculorum. Amen.

The prayer finished, the chief lady closeth the queen's robes at her breast, and putteth upon her head a linen quoif: and the archbishop putteth on the queen's ring, saying,

Accipe annulum fidei signaculum sinceritatis, quo possis omnis hæreticæ pravitatis devitare, et barbaras gentes virtute Dei præmere, et ad agnitionem veritatis advocare. Per, &c.

Then followeth this prayer :

Deus cujus est omnis potestas et dignitas, da famule tuæ N. signo tuæ fidei prosperum suæ dignitatis effectum in qua tibi semper firma maneant, tibi que jugiter placere contendat. Per, &c.

The archbishop placeth the crown upon the altar, and blesteth it, saying

Deus tuorum corona fidelium, qui in capitibus eorum ponis coronam de lapide precioso, benedic et sanctifica coronam istam quatenus sicut ipso diversis preciosisque lapidibus adornatur, sic famula tua N. gestatrix ipsius multiplici preciosarum virtutum munere tua largiente gratia repleatur. Per, etc.

He putteth the crown upon her head, saying

Accipe coronam gloriæ, honorem jucunditatis, ut splendida fulgeas, et æterna exultatione coroneris.

Alia ORATIO.

Officio indignitatis nostræ seu congregationis in reginam benedicta, accipe coronam regalis excellentiæ, quæ licet ab indignis episcoporum tamen manibus capiti tuo imponitur, unde sicut exterius auro et gemmis redimita enites, ita et interius auro sapientiæ virtutumque gemmis decorari contendas, quatenus post occasum hujus sæculi cum prudentibus-virginibus, sponso perenni Domino nostro Jesu Christo valeas adherere, qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus per infinita sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

This prayer being done, the archbishop delivereth the scepter into the queen's right-hand, and the ivory rod (with the dove) into her left, and sayeth the following prayer :

Omnium Domine fons bonorum, et cunctorum dator profectuum, tribue famulæ tuæ N. adeptam bene regere dignitatem, et a te sibi præstitam bonis operibus corroborare gloriam, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum &c.

This prayer finished, the queen ariseth, and goeth from the altar (supported by the two bishops) up to the stage ; and passing by the king, doth bow humbly to him : * after which she is led to her throne, and is placed in it without further ceremony.

The archbishop goeth to the altar, and beginneth a communion ; he readeth also collect: the epistle and gospel are read by two bishops, together with the Nicene creed.

That done, the choir singeth an anthem.

In the mean time the king and queen come down to offer : the king goeth first to the altar, and offereth bread and wine for the communion ; then returneth to his chair, and going again he offereth a mark of gold. Then the queen goeth to the altar and offereth.

* Inclinet, ejus majestatem, ut deest, adorando. &c.

The bishop who celebrates the mass sayeth the following prayers, blessing the king and queen.

Dominus vobiscum.—Et cum spiritu tuo.

Omnipotens Deus det tibi de rore cæli, et de pinguedine terræ abundantiam frumenti et vini, et serviant tibi populi, et adorent te tribus; et qui benedixerit tibi benedictionibus repleatur; et Deus erit adjutor tuus: Omnipotens Dominus benedicat tibi benedictionibus cæli desuper in montibus et in collibus; benedictionibus abyssi jacentis deorsum; benedictionibus uberum frumentorum et rivarum, pomorumque; benedictiones patrum antiquorum, Abraham et Isaac et Jacob confortatæ sint super te. Per Dom. nostr. &c.

Alia ORATIO.

Benedic Domine fortitudinem istius principis, et opera manuum ejus suscipe: et de benedictione tua terra ejus de pomis repleatur, de fructu cæli et rore, atque abyssi subjacentis, de fructu solis et lunæ, de vertice antiquorum montium, de pomis æternorum collium, et de frugibus terræ, et de pinguedine ejus.—Benedictio illius qui apparuit in rubo veniat super caput istius, et plena sit benedictio Domini in filiis ejus, et tingat in oleo pedem suum: Cornua Rhinocerotis cornua illius, in ipsis ventilabit gentes usque ad terminos terræ, quia ascensor cæli auxiliator ejus in æternum fiat. Per Dominum, &c.

After these blessings, they are brought back to their chairs, hard by the altar; and the archbishop proceedeth with the prayer as follows:

Munera Domine quasumus oblata sanctifica, ut et nobis Unigeniti tui corpus et sanguis fiant, et famulo tuo regi nostro N. ad obtinendam animæ corporisque salutem: et ad peragendum injunctum officium te largiente, usquequaque proficiant per eundem.

Aliud secretum pro Rege & Regina.

Suscipe Domine preces et hostias ecclesiæ tuæ pro salute famuli tui regis nostri N. et reginæ nostræ N. in protectione fidelium populorum supplicantis, ut antiqua brachii tui te operante miracula superatis inimicis, secura tibi serviat Christianorum libertas. Per Dominum, &c.

P R Æ F A T I O.

Æterne Deus, qui es fons immarcescibilis lucis & origo perpetuæ bonitatis, regum consecrator, bonorum omnium attributor, dignitatumque largitor, cujus ineffabilem clementiam votis omnibus exoramus, ut famulam tuam N. quam regalis dignitatis fastigii voluisti sublimari, sapientiæ cæterarumque virtutum ornamentis facias decorari, et quia tui est munus, quod regnat, tuæ sit pietatis, quo id feliciter agat, quatenus in fundamento, spei fidei charitatisque fundata, peccatorum labe absterfa de visibilibus et invisibilibus triumphator effectus, subiecti populi augmento, prosperitate & securitate exhibitor, cum eis mutua dilectione connexus, et transitorii regni gubernacula inculpabiliter teneat, & ad æterni infinita gaudia te miserante perveniat. Per Christum Dom. nost. &c.

A G N U S D E I.

Sequitur autem benedictio super regem & populum.

Omnipotens Deus charismatum suorum vos locupleter jucunditate, et regem nostrum ecclesiasticæ pacis perfrui faciat tranquillitate. Amen.

Angelum sanctum suum ubique ei custodem tribuat & defensorem tanque vobis quam et sibi virtutum sanctorum confirat vigorem. Amen.

Ambitum regni sui in diebus ejus pax circumdet honesta; et quocunque se vertetur adversariorum vis enervetur infesta; omnisque in nobis religio abundet modesta. Amen.

After

After the archbishop hath communicated himself and those who assist him, the king and the queen come to the steps of the altar, to receive the communion; the archbishop ministereth the bread, and the abbot of Westminster the cup: that done, the king and queen are brought back to their thrones, and there stay till the service is ended.

Then the choir sing this anthem:

Intellige clamorem meum, intende voci orationis meæ rex meus, & Deus meus, quoniam ad te orabo Domine.

The PRAYERS after the COMMUNION.

Hæc nos Domine communicatio purget a crimine, et famulum tuum N. regem nostrum ab omnibus tueatur adversis: quatenus et ecclesiasticæ pacis obtineat tranquillitatem, et post istius temporis decursum ad æternam perveniat hereditatem. Per Dom. &c.

Another Prayer after the Communion, for the King and Queen.

Præsta, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut per hæc mysteria quæ sumpsimus, rex noster N. et regina nostra N. et populus Christianus semper rationabilia meditantes, quæ tibi sunt placita, et dictis exequantur & facias. Per Dominum nostrum, &c.

After the mass and service is done, the king and queen come down from their thrones, in state, and go to king Edward's chapel; and there the king taketh off the crown, and delivereth it to the archbishop; and the queen doth the same; and he layeth them upon the altar there.

The king withdraweth himself into the travers; and the queen waiteth till the king returns, either doing her devotions at her fald-stool, or reposing herself in her seat. Within the travers, the great chamberlain of England taketh off the king's robes, and delivereth them to the abbot of Westminster; and the king putteth on his own robes royal, which are prepared for him to wear that day: he then goeth out of the travers to king Edward's altar, where the archbishop putteth on the king and queen's heads the crowns they are to wear that day.

The king and queen take into their hands again, each of them, their scepter and rod: the train is then set in order, and the king and queen go back to the palace, in most solemn manner, the same way they came.

The king and queen withdrawing themselves after dinner, the scepter and rod (part of the *regalia*) are re-delivered to the abbot of Westminster.

The Principal Officers at the Day of Coronation.*

The lord Richard Bello Campo (or Beauchamp) of Bedford, almoner, to cause the cloths to be spread upon the ground, from the king's palace to the stage in the abbey of Westminster (as before observ'd). As much of which as is without the church belongs to the poor; the rest to the church.

The

* This is from a curious old MS. in my own possession.

The bishops of Bath and Durham, to support the king in the procession, habited in their *pontificalibus*.
 The lord high chancellor of England (if a bishop) in his *pontificalibus*, to go before the king, bearing the cup of St. Edward.
 The lord chief treasurer (if a bishop) also in his *pontificalibus*, to go before the king, bearing the patena.
 Two chief noblemen to go before the king, carrying the one the scepter with the cross, the other the scepter with the dove.
 The earl of Chester, to bear the curtana before the king.*
 The earl of Huntingdon, at the earl of Chester's right hand, and the earl of Warwick at his left, each bearing a sword.
 A chief nobleman, to bear the great gilt spurs, in the procession before the king.†
 A chief nobleman, to redeem the sword of the king from the altar, and bear it during the solemn ceremony.
 The earl of Leicester that day serves the office of high steward.
 The duke of York (or his heirs) serve the office of marshal.
 The earl of Arundel, the office of chief butler.
 The earl of Hereford, the office of high constable.
 The earl of Oxford, the office of chamberlain.
 Lord Richard Hastings serveth the king with table napkins.
 Lord Richard Beauchamp serveth the office of butler.
 Lord Richard de Furnival, to support the king's right arm, when he holds his scepter.
 The barons of the Cinque Ports, to bear the canopy over the heads of the king and queen, in the procession; &c.

Nobility, and their Creation.

Vide vol. 2 In the second volume of this work, I have said as much as concerns my
 of this work, present design, respecting the method of creating noble estates: In this, I shall
 pag. 64. only add the expences for such creations, as in the time of Henry the Seventh;
 MS penes which I copied from a large folio MS. then in the possession of the late worthy
 J. Ives, Esq; gentleman, John Ives, esq; of Great Yarmouth; it is entitled "*An Account
 of the coronation of Henry the Seventh.*"

The

* This is also confirmed by the *Liber Regalis*, "*Comes Cestrise—portabit gladium, qui vocatur curtana.*"—In a MS. in the Cotton library (Nero, D. vi.) in which is a particular account of the offices claimed at the coronation of Richard the Second, 'tis expressly affirm'd that John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, in right of his earldom of Leicester, claim'd the office of bearing the *curtana*; and that his assignee, Henry earl of Derby (his son) bore it for him during the ceremony, while he (the said duke) was busied as steward.—He also, as earl of Lincoln, claimed the office to cut and carve at the king's table, which was granted him, and was performed by his assignee, the earl of Stafford.

† This office, at the coronation of Richard the Second, was claimed by John, the son of John earl of Pembroke; but he being under age, it was assigned to Edmund earl of March.

John Dymmecke, for the manor of Scryvelby, at the above coronation served the office of *champion*.

The Apparel for the Creacon of Eftates, from an Earle upwarde.

Imprimis. For the kirtle, or circote, 14 yardes of crymsen velvet.

Item. For the mantell, 18 yardes of crymsen velvet, furred with white myniver
pur:

Item. The hooe, fcararde of the fwearde, and girdle, to be of the fare
velvet.

Duties to be payed at the Creacon of the Eftates aforefaide.

	£.	s.	d.
To the officer of armes his gowne	10	0	0
To the trumpet	2	0	0
To the gentlemen huiſhiers	2	0	0
To the fewers	0	6	8
To the yomen huiſhiers	1	0	0
To the gromes of the chamber	1	0	0
To the yomen waiters	1	0	0
To the grome porters	0	6	8
To the feller	0	10	0
The buttrie	0	10	0
The kinges largeſſe at ſuch creacon	5	markes.	

Proviſion for the Creacon of an Erle.

Fiſt to appointe the name of the countie;—the daye of creacon;—the place where he ſhall dyne with the noble men;—the robes of ſtate;—the fwearde;—the lettres patents;—three erles, two principall to lead him, one to beare the fwearde;—gartier, to beare his letres patente;—his ſtile to be proclaymed.

Proviſion for the Creacon of a Baron.

Fiſt to appointe the name of the baronnye;—the day of his creacon;—the dyning place;—the robe;—the kirtle;—the hooe;—the lettres patente, to be borne by gartier;—three barons in their robes, two to leade him, one to beare his robe;—his ſtile to be proclaimed by gartier.

Duties

Duties to be paid at the same Creacion.

	£.	s.	d.
To the office of armes his gown, &c.	—	10	0 0
To the trumpette	—	1	1 0
To the gentlemen ushers	—	1	0 0
To the sewers	—	0	6 8
To the yomen husshers	—	0	10 0
To the gromes of the chamber	—	0	10 0
To the yomen waiters	—	0	10 0
To the grome porters	—	0	6 8
To the feller	—	0	6 8
To the buttrie	—	0	6 8
To the minstrells, at your pleaſer	—	—	—

The kinges largeſſe at ſuch creacions five markes.

Laws and Adminiſtration of Juſtice.

MS. in Bib.
Harl. 980.

MS. in Bib.
Cotton. in-
fig. Titus,
C. I.

This was
the Form of
the Ceremo-
ny An. 17.
L. III.

By the laws of this kingdom no man is bound to accuſe himſelf; for though heretofore (in caſes of high treaſon, or the like) torture hath been uſed, yet it was for the diſcovery of the confederates, and not for evidence againſt the delinquent; for no priſoner, in capital matters, is required, or even permitted, to answer upon oath * to his accuſation, except in ſuch matters as could not well be proved, and the which were referred by the court to combat: in caſes of felony † the ceremonies of combat ‡ were as follows; the defendant having pleaded Not Guilty, put himſelf upon his perſonal defence; then the plaintiff (being fo ordered by the court) took the defendant by the left hand, and laid his own right hand upon the goſpels; turning to the defendant, he called him by his chriſtian name, ſaying, "You *Thomas*, whom I *John* do hold by the hand, I do here charge thee, that upon ſuch a year, and ſuch a day; thou didſt feloniously rob me, or kill my brother, &c. (*repeating the full charge againſt the defendant*) and I am ready to aver the ſame by my body, as a good and lawful man, and that my appeal is true, ſo help me God and all his ſaints;" then they diſjoin their hands, and

* In criminal matters, not capital, handled in the Star Chamber; and in cauſes of conſcience handled in the Chancery (for the moſt part grounded upon truſt and ſecrecy) the oath of the party is required; but not where there is an accuſation, or an accuſor, viz. bills of complaint exhibited unto the court, and by proceſs notified unto the defendant: only the Eccleſiaſtical Courts enforce an oath *ex officio*, whereby men are enforced to accuſe themſelves.—Beſides they are ſworn unto *blankes*, and not unto accuſations and charges declared. Vid. Bacon's *Conſiderations of the Church of England*, and MS. in the Harl. Lib. mark'd 980.

† For a full account of combat, in caſes of treaſon, ſee pages 69, 70, Vol. II.

‡ Great part of this article is taken from a large folio MS. of various collections, preſerved in the Cotton Library; it conſiſts of papers written by Whitlock, Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, and various other learned authors; the preſent article is extracted from the papers "*Sub Tit. Duellum*."—The preſs mark of this MS. is Titus C. I.

and the defendant took the left hand of the plaintiff in his left hand, laying his right also upon the book, making his declaration as follows; " You *John* whom I *Thomas* do hold by the hand, have basely and falsely lyed upon me; for that I did not rob thee, or kill thy brother, &c. as thou hast charged me; this I am ready to maintain by my body; and that this my defence is true so help me God and all his saints." The plaintiff, if within three days he found pledges of his battle, was set at liberty; but the defendant was committed to the custody of the marshal, who took care that he should have sufficiency both of meat and drink, as also of rest and quiet. *Bracton* indeed affirmeth, that both plaintiff and defendant should be committed to the marshal's charge until the day of battle, and both should be kept so close that none might be admitted to speak with either of them. When they came into the field, prepared for the combat, they must either of them take an oath that their cause was just, and also to acquit themselves from the suspicion of using any enchantments, or devilish arts, to obtain the victory, contrary to the common course of things.

Bracton,
lib. 3, c. 21.

If the plaintiff (as above-mentioned) was set at liberty, he was obliged, the night preceding the day of combat, to come to the marshal, to be by him arrayed in such armour as was requisite for the occasion; and when the combatants were met in the field, a proclamation was made, strictly forbidding any, on pain of great and grievous punishment, to make any outcry, or use other unlawful means to make the combatants turn their heads, or otherwise interrupt them.

Act made 6
Hen. 4.

The plaintiff had the advantage of having his head covered, while the defendant was obliged to perform his combat bare headed.

The Ceremonies of Combat, in a Writ of Right.

Combat was also allowed in cases of writs of right; but it might not be performed by the parties themselves, but by their *champions* or *substitutes*; which champions were obliged to be free men, and of credit, such as would be esteemed good and substantial witnesses.* The day appointed for the hearing of the cause, the defendant's serjeant doth rehearse to the court the whole

Glanville,
lib. 2, cap. 3.

* The words of *Glanville* are, " talis debet esse campio, qui sit et esse possen inde testis idoneus;" and for this reason the parties might not in their own proper persons perform the combat, quid id fieri non potest, nisi per testem idoneum, audientem vel videntem; and therefore (before the statute pri. West. cap. 40.) the champion did swear, at the time of combat, that he saw the defendant, or the tenant, take espous of the land; or else that he heard his father say, on his death bed, that he saw it, and desired him to testify the same; for the words of *Glanville* are to that effect, where he makes the defendant say " et hoc paratus sum probare per hunc liberum hominem, j— cui pater suus inuxit, in extremis agens, in fide qua filius tenetur patri, quod si aliquando loquelam de terra illa audiret hoc diracionaret sicut id quod pater suus vidit et audivit;" but because the champions were for the most part perjured, in taking this oath, it was abolished by this statute; Des serement des champions est issint perveu, purceo qui remement avient que le champion le demandaunt ne soit perjure en ceo quil jure, quil ou son pere vist la seysine son seignour ou de son aneestre, et que son pieré luy amanda a faire la dereigum qui mesque ne soit le champion le demandant distreynt a ceo jurer, mes soit le serement garder en toutes ses auters pointes.—E. MS. penes author.

process of the matter in dispute; and then the tenant's serjeant maketh his defence, and pleads that he (the tenant) was ready to prove his right, by the body of his free man: then he produced the champion, presenting him to the court, holding him by the right hand, upon which he wore his gauntlet. In the same manner and form the serjeant for the defendant also brought forth his champion openly, with words importing his readiness to undertake the combat; and this was thus done by the serjeants for the parties, although they themselves might be there present in their own proper persons.

When the serjeants had performed these above-mentioned ceremonies, a day was by the court assigned and fix'd for the champions to appear in arms, and the parties on both sides were for the present dismissed.

On the appointed day, the aforesaid parties being come into the court, the chief justice commanded the champions to be set apart; that is to say, the champion for the tenant was placed in the east part of the court, and the champion for the defendant in the west, both being bare-headed, and there they kneeled down; when the justice demanded of the serjeants, if they could shew any lawful reason why the champions should not be allowed to perform the combat? and on their answering No, the justice further questioned, whether the champions were good and sound men; and then the clerks of the court demanded of either champion one of his gauntlets, which was delivered to the chief justice, who examined whether there was a penny put into every finger of each gauntlet; which being found to be so, the gauntlets were again, in the same state, returned to the champions to whom they belonged. Then were they severally questioned by the justice, whether they would duly and truly perform the combat? On their answering that they would, they were again remanded to their places, the one in the east, the other in the west, as before, and then ordered to lay down their gauntlets in the court; when the justices addressing themselves to the serjeants at the bar, who were of the council for the two parties, demanding if there were any lawful cause to be alledged why the combat should be delayed? they answering No, the court called for the champions again, and appointed then to them the day certain for the combat, strictly ordering them that they should be ready to perform the same, at any hour on the day so appointed that they might be called for: the court also gave charge to the two parties, that they should not permit their champions to go into the public markets, fairs, or taverns, until the combat was performed. They also straitly commanded the champions, that they should not, by any manner of means, do hurt or mischief to each other; and then their gauntlets, each having five pence within the fingers, were redelivered to them, and they were ordered to go, the one to St. Paul's church, and the other to St. Peter's at Westminster, that they might there severally offer their five pence, in honour of the five wounds of Christ, and make prayer to God that he would be pleased to bestow the victory on him who undertook the most rightful cause; which charge given, the champions and the parties were dismissed, the one champion going out of the east door of the court, and the other out of the west, that they might not meet or pass each other.

At the day appointed for the combat, the parties and their champions appeared again at the bar; and there the whole charge and process was read,
and

and the names of the champions rehearsed. When this was done, the defendant brought forth his champion, in red leather, with a red target at his back, and a knight held his red baston, or truncheon, of five quarters in length, blunt at the end without a knob:—the tenant also produced his champion, in like manner apparelled; and the chief justice did measure their staves, and caused them to be searched before him, to see if they had any rhyme, charm, or herb, about them; * and if they found any, the court forthwith dismissed the champions for that day: but if, on the contrary, nothing unlawful was found, they proceeded to the place appointed for the combat (which was commonly performed in some open field near Westminster †) where the lifts were railed round, and made of a proper size, to give them room sufficient. The champions were then brought in by two knights, and on their arrival a proclamation was made to the spectators to keep peace, and the oath was administered to the champions; which done, they began the combat, and according to the chance of the field the judgment was finally given.

The loss of members was a frequent and common method of punishment, for various crimes, in ancient ages; but in the latter times that punishment was confined to those only who struck others in the king's presence, or in his court, and they (saith the author of the Description of Britain) were sure, without any hope of mercy, benefit of clergy or sanctuary, to lose their right hands: which dreadful sentence was executed in the following manner:—

At such time therefore as the party transgressing is convicted by a sufficient enquest impanelled for the same purpose, and the tyme come of the execution of the sentence, the sergeaunt of the king's wood-yarde provydeeth a square blocke, which he bringeth to some appointed place, and therewithal a great beetle, ‡ staple, and cordes, wherewith to fasten the hande of the offender unto the sayde blocke, untill the whole circumstance of his execution be performed. The yoman of the scullary lykewyse for the tyme beyng doth provide a great fire of coales harde by the blocke, wherein the searing yrons are to be made ready against the chiefe surgeon to the prince or his deputie shall occupie the same. Upon him also doth the sergeaunt or chief farrouer attend with those yrons, whose office is to deliver them to the said surgeon when he shall be ready by searing to use the same. The grome of the salary for the time beyng, or hys deputie, is furthermore appointed to be readie with vinegar and colde water, and not to depart from the place untill the arme of the offender be bounde up and fully dressed. And as these things are thus provided, so the sergeaunt surgeon is bound from time to time to be readie to execute his charge, and seare the stump, when the hande is taken from it. The sergeaunt of the tellar is at hande also with a cup of red wine, and likewise the chiefe officer of

MS. in
Bib. Harl.
980.

2d Book of
the Descrip.
of Britain,
cap. 9.
Vide Hol-
ling, vol. 1.

G 2

the

* In the 20th Edward III. the champion of the bishop of Salisbury (in a writ of right for the castle of *Therborne*) was found to have rolls of orizons, and invocations wrapp'd about him.

† In the 13th of queen Eliz. a combat was appointed to have been performed in Tothill Fields (concerning a writ for certain manour and demaine lands in the isle of Hartye) where there was erected, in form of a court of justice, lifts properly railed round, twenty yards square, &c.—See the whole form and ceremony then used, in Hollinghead, vol. 2, page 1859.

‡ Or mallet.

the pantry with manchet bread, to give unto the sayd partye after the execution done, and the stomp seared, as the sergeaunt of the ewery is with clothes, wherein to winde and wrap up the arme; the yoman of the pultrie with a cocke to laye unto it*; the yoman of the chaundrie with seared clothes; and finally the maister cooke, or his deputie, with a sharp dressing knife, which he delivereth at the place of execution to the sergeaunt of the larder, who doth hold it upright in his hande untill the execution be performed† by the publicke officer appointed thereunto. And this is the maner of punishment ordayned for those that stryke within the prince's pallace, or limites of the same; and (continues my author) the lyke privilege is almost given to churches and church-yards, although in maner of punishment great difference do appeare. For he that bralleth or quarrelleth in eyther of them is by and by suspended *ab ingressu ecclesie*, until he be absolved; as he is also that striketh wyth the fist or layeth violent handes upon any whome soever. But if he happen to smite wyth staffe or dagger, or any maner of weapon, and the same be sufficiently founde by the verdict of twelve men at his arraignment, besides excommunication, he is sure to lose one of his eares wythout all hope of recovirye. But if he be such a one as hath been twyfe condemned and executed, wherby he hath now no eares, then is he marked with an hote yron upon the cheeke, and by the letter F, which is seared into his flesh: he is from thenceforth noted as a common baratour, and fray maker, and thereunto remayneth excommunicate, till by repentance he deserve to be absolved.

Defer. Brit.
ap. Holling.
pag. 18.

Concerning thieves, &c. who were saved by their clergy, and books, (says an old author) they are burnt in the left hand, upon the brawn of the thumb, with a hot iron, so that if they be apprehended agayne, that mark berayeth them to have been before arraigned of felony; for which cause there is no hope for mercy the second time. I read not (continues my author) that this custom of saving by the book, is used any where else then in England;—neither do I find (after much diligent enquiry) what Saxon prince ordained this law. Howbeit I generally gather thereof, that it was devised at the first to train the inhabitants of this land to the love of learning, who before contemned letters; for if the delinquent, when he was found guilty, could read the certain books by law set forth, he then claimed that privilege of his books, and was excused from punishment.

In imitation also of the antient Hebrew custom, established by that valiant and victorious leader Joshua, there were within this kingdom certain places appointed of sanctuary; to which offenders making their escape, were there protected from the law, while they remained within the limits ascertained:—Also those who fled into the churches to the altar, there taking sanctuary, were under special protection; and if they were by force taken from thence, the

priests

* In the quarto edition of Stow, the preparation made, an. 38, Hen. 8. for the cutting off the hand of Sir Edmond Knevet, knt. for striking in the king's house, it runs thus: "*The sergeaunt of the pultrie with a cocke, which cocke should have his head smitten off upon the same block, and with the same knife:*" but why this ceremony was performed I can get no account.—Vide Stow quart. pag. 978.

† In Stow, "*the sergeaunt of the larder to set the knife right upon the joint.*" Thus it appears the hand was smitten off by the executioner, with a knife, struck upon by a beetle or mallet.

priests and clergy made great outcries, deeming it a violation of the church privileges. Yet in matters of very heinous sort, offenders have been taken from the churches, and sanctuaries, without any great offence given; especially if in such matters it concerned the interest of the clergy to bring the offenders to justice,

There were two famous sanctuaries at London, the one in St. Martin's le Grand, and the other at Westminster Abbey. Of what date the institution of sanctuaries within this kingdom is, I have not been able to discover, but that they are very antient may appear; for *Sebert*, king of the West Saxons, who (ann. Dom. 605.) first founded the abbey of Westminster, granted to the sanctuary privileges; which were increased by *Edgar*, and afterwards renewed and confirmed by the *Confessor*, whose charter runs thus in Stow's Survey:—

Stow's Survey of London, p. 519.

Edward, by the grace of God, king of Englishmen: *I make it to be known to all generations of the world after me, that by especial commandment of our holy father, pope Leo, I have renewed, and honoured the holy church of the blessed apostle, Saint Peter of Westminster; and I order and establish for ever, that what person, of what condition or estate soever he be, from whence soever he come, or for what offence or cause it be, either for his refuge into the said holy place, he be assured of his life, liberty and limbs. And over this, I forbid (under the pain of everlasting damnation) that no minister of mine, or of my successors, intermeddle them with any of the goods, lands, or possessions of the said persons, taking the said sanctuary: for I have taken their goods and livelihood into my special protection; and therefore I grant to every each of them (in as much as my terrestrial power may suffice) all manner of freedom and joyous liberty; and who so ever presumes or doeth contrary to this my grant, I will be loose his name, worship, dignity, and power, and that with the great traitor Judas, that betrayed our Saviour, he be in the everlasting fire of Hell. And I will and ordaine, that this my grant may endure as long, as there remaineth in England either love or dread of Christian name.*

However good the intention of establishing such sanctuaries originally might have been, the dreadful abuse of them in latter years rendered them a nuisance; which may appear from the speech of the duke of Buckingham concerning them, as recorded by our chroniclers, in the life of Edward the Fifth. He there plainly and expressly declares, that they were (these two at London especially) but harbours for all kinds of villainous, shameless, and abandoned miscreants, the nurseries of vice and infamy, &c.

See Holingshead, V. 2, p. 1366. Grafton 770. Stow Chron. pag. 442. Speed. 890.

In the reign of king Henry the Seventh, *Perken Werbeck* (after his defeat) fled to sanctuary; and though the king did not chuse to force him from thence; yet he caused the place to be beset round so strongly with his soldiers, that there was no hope left to *Perken* of escape; so he, seeing the extremity of his condition, came forth of his own accord, and submitted himself to the king.— This politic prince, to prevent such future trouble, in the 17th year of his reign obtained, of pope Alexander, authority to abolish the custom of sanctuary protection for rebels and traitors. P. 1457.

But

But as soon as the protestant religion was introduced, and established in the realm, the final and destructive blow was given to these institutions, which had so many ages continued a succor and refuge for rogues and vagabonds. But to this very day, the yard or street before the abbey of Westminster is called *the Sanctuary*; which is all that remains of the antient establishment.

Torture, as we have observed in the beginning of this article, was sometimes used, though not for witness against the offender, but discovery of his accomplices.

In Fox's Book of Martyrs, vol. 3, page 865, we find that those accused of heresy were put upon the rack; which is composed of two rollers, at about nine or ten feet distant from each other, and between these rollers the man who is to suffer the torture is placed, and his hands made fast to two separate cords, which go round one roller, and his feet in like manner fastened to the other: then two men, one at each end, with levers, put into the holes for that purpose made in the rollers, draw the cords tight, extending and stretching out the limbs of the wretched sufferer in a most dreadful manner.—The cruel and heavy irons, also figured in that book, as well as the stocks and *gyves* (as they are called) in which so many resolute protestants were tormented, during the sharp tyranny of the Romish church, must make every humane man shudder with horror!—How many then, while that zealous bigot *Mary* sat upon the throne, sealed with their blood their love for a just and reasonable religion!—

In the Lollards Tower
Act. Mon.
V. 3. p. 413.

When we look on those horrid instruments of torture, how can we help crying out, Great God of mercies! what ideas must those men have had of thee, who thus could cruelly torment their fellow creatures, and teach others also so to do? What was become of that heavenly doctrine of Christ, Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy? Could this escape them, if they sought for it? Their eyes must surely have been shut to all conviction, and their hearts devoid of every sense of humanity!

In the 20th plate of this volume, I have given some few specimens of this ecclesiastical tyranny. N^o. 11. of that plate, represents a poor man doing penance, at the command of William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury.—

Ibid. Vol. 1.
pag. 723.

There were several others underwent the same fate, because (says Fox, from whose book this figure is taken) they held certain lands of the see of Canterbury, by tenure of which they were obliged to furnish the archbishop's stable with hay, straw, and other litter: now this litter they had lately brought privately in sacks, and under their coats (and not in carts, as they used and ought to do) for which so heinous an offence, and horrible trespass, he, the said archbishop, sitting in his tribunal seat, did greatly threaten them with excommunication, and dreadful curses! “They craving pardon of their trespass, the archbishop absolved them, on their swearing to obey the laws and ordinances of the holy church, and to do the punishment which should be appointed them for their offence:—that is, they should go leisurely before the processione, every one of them carrying openly, on his shoulder, his bag stuffed with hay and straw, in such manner that the said hay and straw should appear hanging out of the mouths of the sacks, which were left open for that purpose.”—Over the print (which we are informed was copied from one of the original figures,

figures, as painted in the archbishop's own register) Fox hath put these lines:—

This bag full of straw, I beare on my backe,
Because my lordes horse his litter did lacke;
If ye be not good to my lord graces horse,
Ye are like to go bare foot before the crosse.

Nº. 10. of the same plate, is a man (James Bainham) doing public A.&M. 17
penance at St. Paul's cross, after he had recanted from his heresies (as the V. 2. p. 300
Christian-like priests called the protestant tenets). He stood there bare-foot in his shirt, bearing upon his left shoulder a faggot,* and in his right hand a taper of a pound weight, before the pulpit, on a stage erected for that purpose; while the priest above made his sermon to the people.

Nº. 8. is another poor protestant, whom, with tortures and threatnings, they had forced to belie his conscience, and declare that he recanted from his errors. He (because perhaps he might have been more obstinate) is handled in a severer manner than the former: he was obliged to go almost naked (except only a sort of canvas breeches about his loins). In his hand he carries a taper of a pound weight, and behind the somner following, administers the cruel discipline.—but others were much more dreadfully treated: for them that force and torment could not prevail with to alter their opinion, they were delivered over to the mercy of the flames. Ibid. Vol. 17
pag. 866.

Some few were hanged before they were burnt, and others, when they were hanged, were so left, as public spectacles, till they dropped to pieces. The manner of hanging them for that purpose, is to be seen plate 20, fig. 9; they had first an iron hoop put round their bodies, with a strong chain, which was made fast to the gibbet, but yet in such manner that it might not support the criminal before the halter (which was made so much shorter) should be cut, or broke; then the body could not fall to the ground, but the iron hoop slipped up to the arm-pit, and so it hung until it was quite consumed. Ibid. Vol. 2.
pag. 302.

Since the time of dismembering, loosing the ears in the pillory, and other severe inflictions of like kind, hanging and transporting have been the most usual method of punishment for capital crimes, except indeed amongst the nobility, who are generally beheaded; though (as in the reign of our late king) the earl of Ferrers, for the murder of his steward, was publicly hanged at Tyburn. The letter of the law to this very day, I believe, condemns a woman, who doth murder her husband, to be burnt alive, but the sentence is always mitigated, for they are first strangled. In the case of Catherine Hayes (who, for the murder of her husband, some few years ago, was adjudged to suffer death at the stake) the intention was first to strangle her; but as they used at that time to draw a rope which was fastened round the culprit's neck, and came through a staple of the stake, ~~but~~ at the very moment that the fire was put to the wood which was set around, the flames sometimes reached the offenders before they were quite strangled:—just so it happened to her; for the fire taking quick hold of the

* This same penance was assigned to two merchants of the Stilyard, in the 17th year of Henry the Eighth, for eating flesh on a Friday.—Hall's Union, in the life of Hen. VIII. fol. 146.

the wood, and the wind being brisk, blew the smoke and blaze so full in the faces of the executioners, who were pulling at the rope, that they were obliged to let go their hold before they had quite strangled her; so that, as I have been informed by some there present, she suffered much torment before she died.— But now they are first hanged at the stake until they are quite dead, and then the fire is kindled round, and the body burnt to ashes.

Char. Lond. Artic. 85. The punishment of bakers or myllars (says the Old London Chronicle) *stelyng paffe or meale is to be drawen upon a hyndel.*

Survey of Lond. 165. And says Stow, I have read, that in the fourth year of Edward the second, Richard Resseham being mayor, a baker, named John of Stratford, for making bread less than the assize, was, with a fool's hood on his head, and loaves of bread about his necke, drawn on a hurdle through the streets of the city of London.

Pier. Plowman Passus Tertius. Thus writes the old poet, author of the Visions of Pierce Plowman :

*Dayres and massers, that meanes be betwene
The kyng and the common, to kepe the lawes
To punyssh on pylaies, and pynnyngge stoles
Butters and bakesters, bouchers and cokers
For these are men on this mould, that most harmen wo-keth
To the pore people, that payrell meale bygh, &c.*

MS. in the Harl. Lib. marked 913. And the same complaint I find in a poem of still antienter date than the above, (being as early as the time of Edward the first at least) the author in a sort of ballad, exposes the deceit used in several crafts and professions;—take the three following verses :

*Hail be ye-bakers, with yur lovis smale,
Of white bryd and of blake, ful mani and fale
Ye pinchet on the rygth wigt, agens goddes lawes,
To the fair pillori ich rede yow take hede,
This vers is wroghte to welle,—that no tung & wis may telle.
Hail be ye brewesters, with yowr galuns,
Wottles, and quateres, ober al the tonnes,
Yur thowines brith moch awai, schame hab the gyle,
Beth i war of the rockyng stole, the lak is dep hori,
Sikerlich he was a clek,—that so stillich wroghte this weke.
Hail be ye hokesters, dun bi the lake,
With candles and golokes, and the pottes blak,
Tripis and kine fete, and schepen hebedes,
With the hoi tromcheti hoi is yure inne,
Ye is lozi of his lif,—that is fali to such a wif, &c.*

But

But Lidgate is still more severe, in a fragment of one of his ballads, preserved in the Harleian library. Take the last verse.

MS. Infig.
2255.

Let mellerys and bakerys gadre hent a gylde,
 & alle of assente, make a fatermyte,
 Under the pillory a litel chapel bylde,
 The place a moystepe, & purchase liberte,
 For alle tho that of thez nombre be,
 What evir it cost assite that they wende
 They may clemene be just aucoyte,
 Upon that Basille to make on ende.

In the year 1383, the 7th of Richard the Second, (says Stow) the citizens of London first imprisoned such women as were taken in fornication, or adultery, in the Tunn (*a prison at Cornhill*) and after caused them to be brought forth in the sight of the world: they caused their heads to be shaven, after the manner of thieves, whom they named *appellators*, and so to be led about the city, in sight of all inhabitants, with trumpets and pipes sounding before them, that their persons might be more largely known. Neither did they spare the men (so caught in the above crimes) in the least, but used them very hardly.

Survey of
Lond. p. 207

Then the same author relates the punishment of a priest taken in adultery. I saw (says he) his punishment to be thus:—He was on three market days conveyed through the high street and markets of the city, with a paper on his head, wherein was written his trespass. The first day he rode in a carry; the second on a horse, his face to the horse's tail; the third he walked, led between twain, and every day rung with basons, and proclamations made of his fact, at every turning of the streets:—he also lost his chauntrie, and was banish'd the city for ever.

Ibid. 208.

Pirates, and robbers upon the sea, were (by the court of admiralty) condemned to be hanged on the sea shore, at low water mark, where they were left hanging until three tides had overwash'd them.

Description
of Britain,
pag. 108.

If the following custom (which the author seems only to report on hear-say) be true, it must indeed have been dreadfully severe, however heinous the offence certainly must be.—“Such as having wals, and bankes neere to the sea, and doe suffer the same to decay (after convenient admonition) wherby the water entrench and drowneth up the country: are by a certayne custome apprehended, condemned, and staked in the breach, where they remain for ever as parcell of the foundation of the newe wall that is to be made upon them (as I have hard reported).”

Ibid.

Certain Acts and Laws against Pedlars, &c.

In the 4th year of Edward the Third, an act was made against forestallers and pedlars. The condition of this act is, that no *merchants strangers*, as

VOL. III.

H

Vid. Act
temp. E. 3.
et MS. in
Bib. Harl.
2252.

galymen

galymen and others, shall sell any ware, but such as is lawful for them. As the *galymen* shall sell no manner of Flanders ware; but only such wares as cometh out of their own native country. Neither shall they go about to *towns*, *boroughs* and *villages*, offering their ware to sell, to the prejudice of other merchants, the king's subjects; and if any such be taken, for the first time he is convicted, he shall be *amerced*; the second time to abide the judgment of the *pillory*, and to forfeit all such ware as he shall have with him; the third time he shall be *imprisoned*; and the fourth time made to forswear the *town*.—The same punishment shall be also assigned to all *foresellers*, and also to them who, either with aid or counsel, are assisting or abetting with them.

Ordynances of the Cete of London.

MS. in Bib. Hart. 2252. Hyt ys ordayne: that the patrones, of the galeys, shall kepe there howlys, & there dogys shutte at the ryngyng of Coberfne of Werkynge Chyche; and that they ne any of theyr felowshyppe be wanderynge abroad; & that they shall in no wyse make retaplynge within the cete of Londone.

Ibid.

In the reign of Henry the Seventh, the foreign merchants offered their humble petitions to the king, complaining that they were not permitted to vend their wares within the city of London, in such places and in such manner as they had been accustomed. The king received their petition graciously, and sent his letters to the mayor and sheriffs of London, desiring them that they would, for the time limited within the said letters, permit the *galymen* and stranger merchants to vend their goods;—"seying" (says he) "that they be come so ferre wyth theyr merchaundyse, and have (as they say) paid the custumes for the same, we desyre ye wyll, for thys season, suffyre them to make sale of theyr said merchaundyse, as they have don of tyme passyd; gevyng unto them a certeyne tyme and season to make their saide utteraunce; and they not to passe or exceede the same; and that ye wyll thuse do at thys tyme, yn avoydyng the clamacions, and daly pursute that they make unto us yn this behalf," &c.—And further, by the same letters it was ordained, that they (the *galymen*, &c.) should keep in such shops as they were accustomed to occupy in the city, the which were set apart on purpose for them, and under great penalty not to offer their wares, on any consideration, in any other places than those so appointed.

Yet it should appear that they often abused this privilege, and used not only to set such their goods to sale at London, but in various other parts of the kingdom: for some time after, I find a petition exhibited to the same king (Henry the Seventh) and his parliament, in the name of the English *merciers*, *grocers*, *drapers*, *goldmythes*, *skynners*, *haberdassers*, *taylers*, *ledyr sellers*, *purfers*, *poynnt-makers*, *glovers*, *pouche-makers*, *sadlers*, *cutlers*, *penwterers*, *cowpers*, *gyrdlers*, *founders*, *cordweeners*, *wyntners*, *sporyars*, *joyners*, &c. against grete multytude of nedy pepulle estraungers, as *Frenchemene*, *Galymene*, *Pysards*, *Flemynys*, *Keterycks*, *Spaynyars*, *Scotts*, *Lumbards*, &c. who, by their unlawful dealing by retail, and continual hawking throughout the whole kingdom,

ruined

ruined the natives. Their petition was, by the king and parliament, properly taken into consideration, and the following statute was the result :—

“ The kyng our soverayne lord, by the advice and assente of the lordys spiritual, and temporal, at the prayer of the seyde commons hys subiectes, in the seyde parliament assemblyd, and by the awtoryte of the same, hath ordeyned, and prevydyd, that no merchaunts straungers, after the feaste of Easter, now nexte comyng, shal bryng into the realme of Ynglond to be soulede, any *mans gyrdylles*; nor eny *barneys* wroughte for *gyrdylles*; *poynnts*; *laces of lede*; *pursses*; *powches*; *pynnes*; *glouys*; *knyvys*; *bangers*; *taylour sherys*; *sesars*, and *yrens*; *cobords*; *tonges*; *fyre forks*; *gyrdyrenes*, *gyrdyrenes stockes*; *cocks*; *keyes*; *hynges*; *garnets*; *sporys*; *paynted paper*; *paynted focers*; *paynted ymages*; *paynted clothes*; any *betyng golde*, or *betyng silver*, wrought in *paper* for *payntes*; *sadylls*; *sadyll trees*; *horse barneys*; *bouch byttes*; *floroppes*; *bokelles*; *chaynes*; *latyn nayles*, with *yren shankes*; *currets*; *standyng candlelickes*; *hangyng candylstyckes*; *holy water scoppers*; *chafyng dyshes*; *hangyng lavers*; *curten rynges*; (*cardys* for *woole*, excepte and *rone cardys*) *claspes for gloves*; *bokelles for shoyes* (*shoes*); *beltes* (excepte *beltes* for *hawkes*); *spones of tynn*, and *lede*; *cheynes of wyre*, as well *laten*, as of *silver*; *grates*; *bures*; *lanterne bornes*; or any of these forseyd wares rede made, and wroughte, perteyneng to the seyde craftes above specified, or any of them; upon peyne of forfetyng of all the wares so brought into thys realme, so it be contrary to this acte; or the valew of them, in whose handes they or any of them shall be founde; the one half of such fynes, forfayture, and penaltes, and eche of them be unto the kyng, our soveraigne lorde; and that othir half to be unto hym, or them of the kinges subiectes, the whyche shall seaze the same,” &c.

Hence we may see, that the trade carried on by these retailing foreign pedlars and hawkers must have been very extensive, to have given cause of complaint to so many different callings.—At the present time indeed, many of the above crafts, or trades, appear as insufficient for the proper support of the tradesman: a *spur-maker*, a *pouch-maker*, a *purse-maker*, a *point-maker*, and a *glover*, one would imagine, must be at least all incorporated in one, to make up a comfortable subsistence for a man and his family; but yet, at that time, any one of them alone (until they were hurt by the pedlars, hawkers, and foreigners above complained of) were esteemed and known to be professions, by means of which such tradesmen might not only live extremely well, but also oftentimes amass very handsome fortunes.

There is not the least doubt, but that the trouble which the hawkers above-mentioned might take, was very well repaid; for afterwards people of our own nation, taking the hint, used also to travel, with such wares as were most wanted, about the country; which continued, and still continues in upland places, notwithstanding the complaints and outcries that have frequently been made by the country tradesmen in the towns and villages: and many of such itinerant merchants have often amassed great gains, especially such as could afford to take a great variety of goods about with them, and were industrious and civil in their profession. Of all others, the Scotch have met with the greatest

success; some of them have been known, from carrying the fardal on their backs, by degrees to have saved and raked up considerable fortunes.

Shipping and Marine Affairs.

MS. in
Bib. Harl.
mark'd 78.

In the Harleian library is a MS. entitled the Bible of English Policy, the author of which (who appears to have lived in the reign of Henry the Sixth) well advises in the following lines :

The true proesse of Englyshe policy,
Is toward to kepe the realme in riske
Of Englonde, that no man maye denye,
The sothe to say it ys one of the beste
For them that saylen southe, weste, northe, or weste,
One englyshe merchandysse & keepe the amynalte,
That we be masters of the nauowe see,

The author then informs us, that the emperor Sigismund told king Henry the Fifth of the importance which the holding firmly the two ports of *Dover* and *Calais* would be to the nation; for, adds he (the emperor) I esteem it impossible for any other to be the master of the ocean, whilst you hold them in your own possession.—How far this may be true, I leave to the more able and experienced judges : but the keeping up a superior fleet, to check the neighbouring powers, is such excellent and sound policy, that I believe no man will be brought to speak against it.

It would be an endless task for me to enumerate all the brave and valiant exploits of the English navies, in this latter æra, I shall not therefore attempt it, but refer the curious reader to almost any chronicle or history of our own country, wherein he will find them fully recorded, to the eternal glory of the English name.*

I shall now add the following inventory of a ship and its furniture, as during the reign of Henry the Eighth; at the same time referring the reader to the ships represented plate 56, of the second volume; by comparing which with the present account, he may be better able to judge of both.

MS. in Bib.
Cotton, in-
fig. Query.
Vitellius.

This is the inventory of the great barke *Vyenwyd*, by youre humble servant Christopher Morres, the 6 day of October, the 23 year of our soverayne king Henry the 8th.

Item in primus. the *shype* with one *overlap* †; Item the *fore castell*, and a cloos tymbre *deck*, from the *mast* forward, whyche was made of *laet* : Item above the

* Thus much I think it my duty to inform the reader, that the noble and memorable action, performed by the English navy against the Spanish armada, in the 21st year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, is curiously wrought in tapestry, and now hung round the wall of the house of peers, at Westminster; engravings from which have been most accurately made.

† *overlap*, or *orlopp*, the deck.—Note, These explanatory notes are from a MS. in the Harleian Library, mark'd 2301.

the fore castell, a decke, from the mayne mast afterward: Item a nyew mayne mast of spruce,* with a nyew staye bound,† and skaroyd,‡ with the same wood; whyche mast ys of length from the bounse, to the step, 25 yards; the mayne mast, about the patnas, ys 23 hands about: Item a nyew mayne yaerd, of spruce, of oon pece.

Item the takyll, pertaynyng to the sayd mayne masse, 6 takells on a syd.

Item 9 shrouds, and a backe staye on either syd.

Item in all the sayd takylles, 6 shyvers § of brasse; that ys to saye 4 shyvers in their pennants, and two in the bowser takylles.

Item a payer of tbyes || and a payer of baylyards; Item a gyver ¶ with 2 brasyn shyvers; Item the mayne parrel, with trussys, and 2 dryughes; Item 2 lyfts;**

Item two bracsys; Item two tregets; Item a mayne kerse; Item a bonnet †† haulf worren, with shoutts, tacks, and hollyngs; Item a nyew mayne top;

Item a top mast, and a top sayle, with all theyr apparrell.

Item a bonaventure mast; and a mayn myssen yaerd, of spruce, of oon pece.

Item a payer of baylyhaerds, and a tye, for the sayd mayne myssen yaerd: Item 5 shrouds on eyche syd; Item a mayne myssen haulf a top; Item a mayne myssen sayle haulf worren.

Item a bonaventure mast; with a yaerd of spruce, of oon pece; with 3 shrouds on a syde.—Item a payer of bayliards: Item a tye, with haulf a top.—Item a bonaventure sayle, fore worren.

Item a foer mast, with 3 takylles, and 7 shroudys on a syd; with a tye, and a payer of bayliards, with 4 brasyn shyvers:—Item a fore sayle yaerd, with the apparrells; 2 trussys;—Item 2 lyfts; 2 bracsys; two top sayll shoutts; 2 hollyngs:—Item a fore staye; Item foer sayll shoutts; 2 tacks fuche as they be:—Item foer sayle koors, with 2 bonnetts, fore worren; Item a foertop mast, with a yaerd, with sayles, and takyll pertaynyng to yt.

Item a bowsprytt of ooke.—Item a sprytt sayle yaerd, skaroyd, with a sprytt sayle fore worren.

Item 4 ankarrs, with 2 old cabulls:—and another old cabull, whyche they saye ys in the water.

Item towre katt bowks ††; and two fische bowks §§;—Item 4 pollys, with brasyn shyvers; Item a snatche polly; a luff boke |||:—Item 2 pollys, for the mayne top sayle; Item 2 great dubbell pollys, with woddyn shyvers:—Item a great syngs polly, with a woddyn shyver;—Item 17 pollys great and small;—Item 4 kuyll of small ropys of roers stuff;—Item 4 boye ropys, good and bad; a syd of yeron

* A sort of fir so called.

† Bound, bound round.

‡ Skaroyd, or scarf'd, one pece of timber let into another, in a firm joint.

§ Shyvers, or sheevers, the pulleys which run in the blocks, whether brasse or wood.

|| Tbyes or ties, the ropes by which the yards do hang.

¶ Gyver, a block in which the sheevers run.

** Lyfts, ropes which belong to the yard armes.

†† Bonnet is belonging to another sail.

‡‡ Katt bowkes, or katt bowks, to fasten the anchor.

§§ Fische bowks, belonging to the fische, therefore so called.

||| Luff boke, a takell with 2 bowks.

yeron* (*iron*) ;—Item a *skype kettell*, of 24 gallons ;—Item a *pytche pott* of brasle ;—Item a *gryndyng steen* ;—Item a *crowe* of yeron ;—Item a *pytche troutb*.

Item a *pompe*, with 3 *boxys* ; and 3 *pompe stavys* ;—Item 3 *compassys*, and a *kennyng glasse*† ;—Item 5 *lanternes*.

Item a great *boat* pertaynnyng to the *skyppe* ; with a *davyd*, with a *shyver* of bras ;—Item xii *owers*, and a *schull*.

Hereafter followeth the *ordenans*, pertaynnyng to the *sayde skype*.

Item inprimis, two brazyn pecys called *kannon pecyes*, on *stockyes* ; which wayith

	C. quart. lb.				C. lb.	
the one	9	3	11	} whole weight	20	28
the other	10	1	17			

Item 2 *payer of shod wheles*, nyew ;—Item 2 *ladyng ladylls* ;

Starbord Syde.

Item, oon port pece of yeron, cast with 2 *chambers* :—Item a port pece of yeron, with oon *chamber*.—Item a *Spanyshe syng*, with oon *chamber*.

Larbord Syde.

Item oon port pece, with 2 *chambers* ;—Item another port pece, with oon *chamber*, whyche *chamber* was nat made for the *sayd pece*.

In the Forecastell.

Item a small *syng*, with 2 *chambers* ; Item another pece of yeron with 2 *chambers*, the oon broken.

Husbandry, and others Matters thereon depending.

MS. in Bib.
Harl. 980.

Before the conquest, the king's tenants, who held their lands of the crown, paid only victuals, wheat, oxen, sheep, hay, oats, &c. And a just note of the quality and quantity of every man's possession was taken, and the ratement made accordingly : and thus it continued till the reign of Henry the First, as we have already seen in the second volume of this work.—The incomes of ready money, before his reign, were raised by mulcts, and out of cities and castles, where agriculture was not used ; but when the husbandmen complained to Henry the First, he settled certain prices to be paid in money.

Vide vol. 2
of this work,
p. 79.

And

* A *fyd* of iron,—an instrument used for splicing ropes.
† *Kennyng glasse*,—a *spy glasse*, or *telescope*.

And though many of the succeeding kings, by very wholesome and just laws, sought to encourage and promote the cultivation of land, and protect the husbandmen, yet that, after all, such culture was much neglected, the many cruel and dreadful dearths of corn, recorded in our annals, may sufficiently evince; and all the acts made in the various reigns (as exhibited in the second Vol. 2, p. 79. volume of this work) were by no means sufficient to put an effectual stop to the ravages of famine. Amongst the other reasons heretofore given, it may not be amiss to add, that those pests to all societies, *forestallors* of markets, and holders up of corn, had often great share in the cause of these destructive scarcities; and that they swarmed at those early periods in the realm, appears very certain, from the numerous acts and proclamations against them.

Amongst the various methods taken to prevent the scarcities of bread-corn, one made use of in the year 1630, the 5th of Charles the First, must (I dare say) have produced a very happy effect:—namely, That no millers were permitted to buy and lay up corn, to sell out at the markets, when ground, at great and exorbitant prices; but all who had mills were constrained to employ them in grinding for the farmers, householders, &c. at reasonable rates, or by taking a certain toll allow'd upon such occasions:—for before this act, the millers (those especially who were rich, and could afford to keep a stock of corn by them) would by no means grind the grain for the housekeepers, as it was brought to their mills, but obliged them to buy the meal of them, at whatever price they chose to set upon it, which (especially in winter, or in consequence of a bad season) was attended with extraordinary charges; by which means the corn, which they had purchased in the plentiful seasons, and laid up, produced extravagant gains; and by which means (unchristianlike means) the poor were often reduced to the last extremities.—But the lamentable cries of the wretched, if not unheard, were generally unregarded.

With singular pleasure I here mention, to the lasting honour of the present age, that few instances can be produced, of larger or more charitable contributions being made, than what we have heard of this very winter, on account of the severity and inclemency of the season. Great were the sums collected, and many the poor and destitute, whose heavy distresses and wretchedness were by these noble, these christianlike donations, relieved and comforted.

Hard must be that man's heart, and devoid of all humanity, who can indifferently look on the sufferings and wants of his fellow-creatures, whilst with cruel hand, he infamously, for his own private ends, withholds from them the blessings that they crave—the staff of human life.

In the year 1630, as before mentioned, by proclamation, it was not only strictly ordered that no wheat should be made into malt, but that “no graine meete for bread, to feede men, be wasted and consumed in stufte called starch.”—Any one who takes notice of the monstrous ruffs, cuffs, and other starch'd linen attire, as represented in the habits of that time, will not wonder at this act being necessary for the preservation of the grain (wheat especially) of which starch was principally made.

Stow informs us, that in the year 1285, it was ordained that millers should have but one halpenny for a quarter of wheat grinding; and so the price increased as the value of money was less, or the grain cheaper or dearer; but

Proclamat.
printed 28th
Sept. 1630.

Survey of
Lond. 546.

of the poor people, that by gleaning, or otherways, might be possessed of small quantities of corn (and who could not pay in money for the grinding) a certain toll or portion of the meal, to the value allow'd, was deducted. This toll about 30 years ago, as taken in some of the country-mills, was $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. in the peck; which, allowing for loss in boulding, was valued at 1d. bran and all: at this rate the quarter of wheat grinding will be 2s. 8d.—In ancient time, the meal was by the bakers sifted through sieves, no other method of taking the bran from it being then invented: but I find by the wood cuts given in an old book, called "The Affize of Bread," that the hand boulding mill was in use in the 16th century; but as yet it was not become the miller's business to make the flour, the bakers always having their own boulding mills for that purpose. But in the 17th century, sundry rich millers caused boulding mills to be set up, which went with horses; others had them also turn'd by hand; either of which sort I myself well remember:—but at last, by some ingenious mill-wright, these boulding mills were contrived to be turned either by wind or water, as the grinding mills themselves might be, within which they were set up; and when the poor people brought their wheat to be ground, and required of the miller to bould it also, he then exacted the bran for his trouble.

A great step to the relief of the poor, was to affize the profits to be gained by the bakers; which profits were ascertained by the king's bakers, and allowed to them, be the grain at what price it would. We have already seen the allowance made in the reign of Henry the Third (vol. 2, pag. 81 and 82). The next assay made was in the reign of his son, Edward the First, as set down in the old Book of Affize (which hath relation to the statute of Henry the Third above-mentioned). The baker was then allow'd

Affize of
Bread print,
at London,
1638.

For Growt and furning	—	—	—	s.	d.
Wood	—	—	—	0	3
The journey man	—	—	—	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Two pages or prentizes	—	—	—	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Salt	—	—	—	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Yeast	—	—	—	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Candles	—	—	—	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
His ty-dog	—	—	—	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
And his bran					
In all				1	1

Anno 1495, the 12th of Henry the Seventh, as the Book of Affize witnesseth, when the best wheat was sold at 7s. the second at 6s. 6d. and the third at 6s. per quarter, the baker was allow'd,

For Furnace and wood	—	—	—	s.	d.
The miller	—	—	—	0	4
Two journeymen and two apprentices	—	—	—	0	5
Salt, yeast, candle, and sack-bands	—	—	—	0	2
Himself, his house, his wife, his dog, his cat, &c.	—	—	—	0	7
And the bran to his advantage					
				2	0

And

And the 2d of June, 1592, the 34th of queen Elizabeth, it was presented by a jury near London, before the clerk of the market of her majesty's household, that when the best wheat was at 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* the second at 18*s.* 8*d.* the third at 16*s.* the quarter, the bakers should have allow'd unto them for the baking a quarter of flour (in and near London) 6*s.* 10*d.* which was then allow'd by the said clerk of the market to be so, in regard of the great charges and prices of every thing, which was then more than in former times, the said allowance being made as followeth :

	s.	d.
For Fewel	0	6
Two journeymen and two boys	1	8
Yeast	1	0
Candles and salt	0	4
Himself, his wife, children, and house-rent	2	0
The miller's toll	1	4
	6	10

Yet this allowance of 6*s.* 10*d.* was afterwards reduced to 6*s.* 4*d.* respectively, as in the Epistle to the last Book of Assize, directed to all magistrates and others his majesty's officers, is at large express'd: the which allowance of 6*s.* 4*d.* was for a long time afterwards continued.—Here it is to be observed, that bread made in the country was obliged to be two ounces heavier in the penny loaf, than bread baked in the city.

Ye shall understand (says Stow) that of old time bakers of bread at *Stratford* were allow'd to bring daily (except Sundays and the principal festivals) divers long carts laden with bread (the same being two ounces in the penny wheaten loaf heavier than the penny wheaten loaf baked in the city) the same to be sold in the *Cbeape*, three or four carts standing there, between *Gutherans-lane* and *Fousters-lane* end, one cart on *Cornhill* by the conduit, and one other in *Gracechurch-street*. But (adds he) these bakers of *Stratford* left serving this city (I know not upon what occasion) above forty years since.

The figures of the bread, as anciently made, are exhibited plate 20, from fig. 1 to 7 inclusive :—1. the farthing wastell ; 2. the farthing symnel ; 3. the farthing white loaf ; 4. the halfpenny white loaf ; 5. the halfpenny wheaten loaf ; 6. a penny wheaten loaf ; 7. a halfpenny household loaf.—In the book intitled *Rules for assizing Bread*, printed 1699, I find the following notes concerning the wastell, the cocket, and the symnel, &c.

Wastell bread, in Latin *libum*, which signifies a cake ; some interpret it to be a cake made with honey, or a cake made with meal and oil, and some others a wafer. Edmund Wingate, in his *Abridgments of the Statutes*, calls it a sort of small bread out of use. It is left out of the assize of queen Elizabeth's reign.

Cocket bread, called in Latin *panis secundarius*, is bread made of flour of a less price than the wastell, and should weigh more by two ounces ; this is also called white bread, and was continually assizable.

Rules for
assizing of
Bread print.
at Dublin,
an. 1699.

The *symnel*, called by the Latins *collyra*, and by Plaut. *panis genus in cineribus cocti*; by others a cracknell, a sop or sippet, and by the statute itself *bread twice baked*, was a sort of small cake made in former times:—"And we (says he) had some very lately made in Dublin, in form of a cup or small porringer, of a hard and brickle nature; which answers very exactly the word cracket, and very fit for a sop or sippet, when filled with good ale, &c. and those who sold it in the streets called it symnel cakes."

So far my author:—but his description, and the form as represented plate 20, fig. 2, do not in the least agree; there it seems only a kind of long cake, like the French roll of the present time. This was also out of the assize.

There was besides, bread of *trete*, or over-weight, and some other sorts, the names of which explain themselves.

But in the reign of queen Elizabeth, there were only, by law appointed, three sorts of bread, namely, White, Wheaten, and Household; which sorts continue to be made to this day.

Before I conclude this article, I shall take notice of the permissions anciently granted by the church, in time of harvest, to the husbandmen:—The catholic church, for more than 500 years after Christ, permitted labour, and gave licence to many christian people to work on the Lord's day, at such hours as they were not commanded to be present at the public service, by the precept of the church; and in Gregory the Great's time, it was reputed anti-christian doctrine to make it a sin to work upon the Lord's day: but in after times, both in the east and west, in France and Great Britain, as well in the days of the Saxons as Danes, rural works and labour, with other civil and secular negotiations, were prohibited and restrained upon the Lord's day, and upon other festival days.

In the reign of queen Elizabeth, by proclamation, all parsons, vicars, and curates, were enjoined to teach and declare unto the people, that they might with safe and quiet consciences (after the common prayer) in time of harvest, labour upon the holy and festival days, and save the things which God had sent them: for if, by any groundless scruples of conscience, they should abstain from working upon those days, that they should grievously offend and displease God, if the grain were thereby lost or damaged.

I can't help here remarking, that at the first beginning of the reformation, under Henry the Eighth, the poor people, and ignorant, imputed every misfortune that happened in the realm to the departure of their priests: thus, in the old ballad of Truth and Ignorance, the latter, who is represented by a country bumpkin, says

Chill tell thee what, good yellowe,
Before the vriers went hence,
A bushell of the best wheate
Was zold vor vourteen pence;
And vorty egges a penny,
That were both good and newe;
And this che zay myself have zeene,
And yet ich am no Jewe.

Nor were they readily persuaded out of their opinion, till custom reconciled them to the alteration.

Some

Bp of Ely's
Treatise,
fo. 217, 219,
220.

MS. in Bib.
Harl. 980.

Proclamat.
an. 20 Eliz.
6.

Reliques
of Ancient
Poetry,
V. 2, p. 290.

Some Collections relative to the different Trades & Occupations, &c.

We have already rehearsed some few verses (page 48, of this vol.) respecting the bakers, brewers, &c.—Take the following stanzas of that old poem there mentioned :

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
marked 913,

Hail, be ye merchans With yur gret packes
Of draperie, aboir de poise, & pur wol sackes.
Gold, silber, stoness riche, markes a ek pundes,
Util gibe ye therof to the wrecch pover ;
Sleigh he was & ful of witte,—That this loze put in witte.
Hail be ye tailleurs, with your schappe schores,
To make wezpunge hodes, ye kuttith lome gores,
Agens midwinter hote beth yur neldes,
Tho yur semes semith fair,—ai lessith little while.
The clekke that this basson wrowgte,—Wel he woke & slepe righte nowgte.
Hail be ye sutlers, with your mani lesses,
With your blope hides of selouth bestis,
And tables & traistules, bochvampe & alces,
Blak & lothlich beth yur teth, hoyi was that route :
His this bassun well thighte,—Ech word him lit be aighte.
Hail be ye skinniers, with yure drauche kibe,
Who so smilith this, to two is him alibe ;
Urban that this thounneith, ye mote therein f—e
Da theit yur curteisie, ye stinketh al the stete.
Worth hit wer that he wer King,—That diid this tye thing.
Hail be ye potteris, with your hole ar,
Fair beth yur baymbatres, yelow beth yur far,
Ye stonidith at the schamil, brod seyllich beznes,
Hleis you solowith ye swolowith y now :
The best clekk of al this tun,—gratefalloch makid this bassun.

I have also added the following ballad of John Lidgate, which gives a perfect picture of London, in the reign of Henry the Sixth. He here shows forth a poor man, who came up to town to make a complaint of some wrongs he had sustained, seeking redress. It is intituled The *London Lyckpeny*.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark'd 367.

I.

To London once my steppes i bent,
Where trowth in no wyle shold be saynt;
To Westmynstre Ware i forthwith went,
To a man of law to complaynt;
I layd for Maries love (that holy saynt)
Pyty the povere, that wold pcedede;
But for lacke of mony, i cold not spede.

2.

And as i thrust the presse amonge,
By stowwarde chaunce my hood was gone,
Yet for all that i staid not longe,
Till at the Kynges Bench i was on,
Before the iudge i kneled anone,
And prayd him for Goddes sake to take herde;
But for lacke of mony, i myght not spede.

3.

Beneth them set clerkes a gret rout,
Whych fast dyd wyte, by one assent;
Ther stode up one, & cryed aboute
Rycharde, Robert, & John of Kent;
I wyl not well what this man ment,
He cryed out thysle, there in dede;
But he that lackt mony, myght not spede.

4.

Unto the comon place, i yode then
Where sat one wyth a sylken hode;
I dyd hym reuerence (for i ought to do so)
& told my case there, as well as i coude,
Howe my goodes were defayded me by fals hood;
I gat not a moue of his mouthe for my mede,
& for lacke of mony, i myght not spede.

5.

Unto the Rolls, i gat me from thence,
Before the clarkes of the Chauncerye,
Where many i found raryng of pense,
But none at all once regarded mee;
I gabe them my playnt uppon my knee,
They lyked it well, when thay had it read,
But lackyng of mony, i could not spede.

6.

In Westmynstre Halle, i founde out owne,
Which went in a longe gown of raye;
I crouched, & kneeled, before hym anon,
For Maryes love of help, i hym praye;
I wot not what thou meanest, gan he saye,
To get me thence he dyd me bede,
For lack of money i could not spede.

7.

Within the halle, neyther ryche nor yet pore
 Would do for me oughte, altho i shoulde dye,
 Which seing i gat me oute of the doore,
 Where flemynge began on me for to crye,
 Passer what wilt you copen or by?
 Fine felt hattes, or spectacles to rede;
 Lay down your sylber, & here you may spede.

8.

Then to Westmynstre gate i presently went,
 When the soun it was at hygh pryde,
 & cokes to me they tooke good entent;
 & preserued me bread, with ale & wyne,
 Rybbs of befe both fat, and ful fyne;
 A sayre cloth they gan for to spede,
 But wanting mony, i myght not be spede.

9.

Then unto London i dyde me hye,
 Of all the land it bearyeth the pyple,
 Hod percode own began to crye,
 Strabery crye, & cherries in the ryle;
 Own bad me draue neze, & by some spyre
 Peper, & saltorne, they gan me bede,
 But for lacke of mony i myght not spede.

10.

Then to the Chepe, i gane me drawne,
 Where mutch people i sawe for to stande,
 One ofred me belbet, sylke, & lawne;
 An other he takes me by the hande,
 Here is Parys thred, the fynest in the lande;
 I never was used to such thynges in dede,
 & wantyng mony, i myght not spede.

11.

Then went i forth by London stone,
 Througout all Danwyke strete,
 Drapers much cloth me ofred anone,
 Then comes in one cryed hot Chepes sete,
 One kynde makerell, pelen grene, an other gan Greete,
 On bad me by a hoode, to cover my heade,
 But for want of money i might not spede.

Then

12.

Then i hyed me unto Eskhepe,
 Down cyles rybbes of bese, & many a pye;
 Pewter pottes, they scatterd on a hepe,
 There was harpe, pyper, & mynstrelle;
 Pea by rock, nay by cock, some began crye,
 Some longe of Jenken, & Julyan for theire mede,
 But for lacke of money i myght not spede.

13.

Then i into Cornhill onon i rode,
 Where was mutch stolen geze, amonge
 I saw where hongge myne owne howde,
 That i had lost amonge the thronge;
 To by my own howde, i thought it wronge,
 I knew it well as i dyd my cride,
 But for lacke of mony i coulde not spede.

14.

The taberner tooke me by the sleve,
 Syr sath he wyll you owe wyne assaye,
 I answered that can not mutch me greeve,
 A peny can do no more than yt maye;
 I dranke a pynte, & for yt did paye,
 Yet soze a hungered from thence i yede,
 & wantyng mony i colde not spede.

15.

Then hyed i me to Welnynggate,
 And owne cryed hoo,—go we hence;
 I prayd a barge man for Gods sake,
 That he would spare me my expence,
 Thou scapst not here quoth he, under 2 pences;
 I list not yet bestowe my almes dede,
 Thus lackyng mony i coulde not spede.

16.

Then i conbayd me into Kent,
 For of the law wold i medle no more,
 Because no man to me tooke entent,
 I dyght me to do, as i dyd before.
 Powd Jesus that in Bethlehem was born
 Save London, & send tiew latwepers there mede,
 For whoso wants money wyth them shall not spede.

Explicit London Lyckpeny.

The

The reader will be pleased to notice, that where he talks of *byeing* to London (verse 8.) from Westminster, that at that time London and Westminster were not joined together, as they are now, but were two distinct cities, the Strand being entirely bare of houses. We may yet observe, that the churches of *St. Martin* and *St. Giles* had added to them "*in the Fields*;" but how improperly they now retain that addition to their names, need not be insisted upon.

Domestic Affairs.

In the reign of king Henry the Eighth, at which time luxury and grandeur was so much affected, and appearances of state and splendour carried to such lengths, we may conclude that their household furniture and domestic necessaries were also carefully attended to: on passing through their houses we may expect to be surprized at the neatness, elegance, and superb appearance of each room, and the suitableness of every ornament; but herein we may be deceived. The taste of elegance amongst our ancestors was very different from the present, and however we may find them extravagant in their apparel, excessive in their banquets, and expensive in their trains of attendants, yet follow them home, and within their houses you shall find their furniture is plain and homely,—no great choice, but what was useful, rather than any for ornament or show.

Begin we with the Gentleman.—In the Cotton library, amongst some miscellaneous papers preserved from the fury of the flames, is one small tract extant, which by the hand appears to have been written early in the reign of Henry the Eighth: it is there called "An inventorye of all the goodes and cattells, late Richarde Fermers in the manor of Estone.—This Mr. Richard Fermer, tho' I find no account of him in history, was, as may be seen from his large possessions, a gentleman of great wealth and distinction, and had, adjoining to his mansion, "a large parke with all sortes of deer therein."—Let us first, in our progress, enter his hall; and there we find,

MS. in a
Bundle
mark. Query
Vitellius, 1

First a pece of tapstre, hanging at the heyght dese;*

Item thre tables, with formes and tressylls, mortefed in the ground; Item a hawkes perche.

The furniture of the hall being thus set forth, we will next enter the "*perlor*."

Furst the seyde perlor celyd † with wenskett;—Item a fayr table; two tressylls, —three joyned formes,—a littell plaine cubbarde,—2 turnyde chaires,—three lyttell chaires for women,—and four foote stooles;—Item 6 cushins of tapstre, with armes in the myddes,—an olde carpet upon the borde, of Turkye saye strypyde,

* The word *dese*, or, as it is sometimes written, *dees*, in Latin *descur*, doth properly signify a canopy over the high table; but here I apprehend it may mean the chief seat, or bench, at the upper end of the hall, which, by the way of distinction, was here covered at the back with tapestry.

† Celyd here doth not respect the top of the room, but means only that the sides were covered with wainscot.

strypyde, 2 lyttell carpettes for cubberdes,—one of Turkye makyng, the other of tapstre :—Item in the chimney two awndirons,*—wythe a fyre forke :—Item hanginge about the faide perlor on the seilinge, two tables;† one the picture of Lucrese,—the other of Mary Maudeleine. Item a payer of tables;—*these were backgammon tables.*

Thus finished the inventory of the parlour;—leaving the rooms of less consequence, let us pass on to the “greate chamber, over the perlor.”

Furst three large peeces of tapstre, of imagery;—Item a trussinge bedde of wenskotte, with cellar, and tester, painyde with blacke velvet, and yellow bandkin; with curtains of blacke, and changeable persnet;—Item a coverlet of tapstre, of imagery, lynyd with canvas; a bedde of downe, with a matterys; under the same bedde a paire of fustians; 2 blankettes; 2 pylowes; and 2 bolsters;—Item a cupberde of wenskotte; one turnyde chaire, with a cushin of verder;—3 curtains of blue buckerom, for 3 windowes, which be celyd with wenskotte.

Before we leave the lodging rooms, let us see the plain furniture of “Maister Fermers owne chamber.”

Item v peeces of newe tapstre, *about the chamber*;—Item a testor, and celor of white lynyn clothe;—Item a fetherbedde; a standyng beddestede; a matterys; a payre of fustion blankettes; a paire of shetes; a Spanishe happer; a quilte of yellow sarfnet;—Item two turnyde chaires; one cushyn; and a cubbarde; with three chests containing various articles of cloths, bed furniture, &c.

From hence it may not be amiss to pass into the offices, and there examine one of the upper servants lodging.

Item, an olde hangynge stainyde, *round the room*; Item a bedstede, a fetherbedde, a bolster, a pair of shetes; 3 blankets, a coverlet of olde tapstre, a testor of redd saye.—But for the lower servants and attendants, I find but a matteres, a paire of shetes, and an old coverlet; whilst those who were still under them in office, were obliged to take up with the “materes, a bolster, and a covering only.”

Thus have we seen the chief furniture and ornaments of a gentleman's house; we will now pass on to the cellar, where I find a puncheon of Frenche wine, and a hoggeshead of white wine, both abroach.—Go we now to the ketchyn, and examine there.

Inprimis, 17 newe platters of the shallowe fassyon;—Item 16 platters of the olde fassyon;—Item 11 dyshes of all sortes;—a charger, and a platter;—
Item

* In the country these *awndirons* are used to this day, and are called *cobb irons*; they stand on the hearth, where they burn wood, to lay it upon; their fronts are usually curved, with a large round knobb at the top; some of them are kept polished and bright, anciently many of them were embellished with variety of ornaments.

† *Tables*, a word constantly used in ancient times for pictures, perhaps because they were painted on flat boards.

Item 16 porengers;—8 saucers of the olde fassyon;—Item a doson new sawcers;—Item a greate brasse potte, a lesse pott, and a lytell pott;—a great kettill;—3 brass pannes, of a myddle syfe;—3 small posnetts;—a chaffer, and 2 chaffing dishes, one after the silver fassyon;—one ladle;—a gret stone mortar;—a lytell spyce mortar, with a pestyle of ierne (*iron*);—2 gret racks of ierne, and a small paire;—un spytte;—a paire of pott hookes;—3 hangers of ierne, for pottes to hang on;—two trevetts of ierne;—a fyer forke of ierne;—a tankarde;—a fryenge panne;—a clew of ierne;—a great owdde bowle;—a paile;—a grate for brede;—a dressinge border;—a cestorne of lede with a coke.

From hence let us pass to the brew-house, and see the utensils there; and that the more especially, because at the end of this article I mean to treat of the ancient method of brewing of beer. The utensils are,

Inprimis a messhe fatt;—Item a great ledde;—Item a brass panne, set in the walle (*this was doubtless the copper for boiling the wort*);—Item 6 wort leeds, callyd coolars; Item a great cling fatt, with 2 other fattes; and other tubbes, and kimmelles.

In the Bake-house.

Inprimis. A knedinge trough;—a boulting huche;—a kneading kimmelle;—a bushell;—a moulding board;—6 meal tubbes, &c.

Over and above what has already been mentioned of bed furniture in the lodging rooms, I find mention made of down pillows, pillow beres, and blanketts of woollen, with coverings of white fryse.—Now, to conclude, we will examine this gentleman's service of plate, which indeed is not very large.

Imprim. A bason and ewer percel (or half) gilte;—Item 2 saltes, with covers gilt;—Item 5 ale potts with covers gilte;—Item 4 goblettes without covers gilte;—Item 16 spones, white;—Item 2 slate booles, one lacking a cover, gilte;—Item a peper boxe, gilte;—Item a chalyce, percell gilte.

His plate, most likely, was used but on particular occasions, for he had a service of pewter, to supply the want of it in common, which in the inventory runs as follows:

2 basons, and 2 ewers of pewter; one ale pott, and 2 wine potts, of the same;—2 dozen of pewter trenchers;—5 chargers;—17 platters;—2 dozen of dythes;—16 sawcers;—2 porringers;—2 plates;—a washing bason;—a salte; and a potte for water; all of the same metal.

From the house of the gentleman, we will now go on to the knight's fair mansion, where we may reasonably expect more grandeur and elegance.

The following extracts are from a tract found in the same bundle of papers before mentioned: it is an inventory taken of the goods and chattels of Sir Adrian Foskewe, at his mansion-house in the country, dated the 30th year of king Henry the Eighth.

This extensive inventory begins with a large and noble service of rich plate, of silver, great part of it gilt, which service must have been worth an amazing

sum of money; and this may serve to prove that the knight himself was exceeding rich, as well as the great quantities of land which it appears he possessed.—I will here also begin with the hall, which I find covered with

“A hangin of greine say, bordered with darneng (or needle-work);—Item 2 grete fide tables, with standinge tressels;—Item a small joyned cuberde, of waynscott, and a short peice of counterfett carpett upon it;—Item a square cuberde, and a large piece of counterfett carpett upon it;—a short piece of carpett in the wyndowe,—and 5 formes,” &c.

In the perler (*the best room for the reception of his guests*).

Imprim: a hangynge of greene say and red, panede;*—Item a table with two tressells, and a greyne verders carpet upon it;—three greyne verders cushyns;—a joyned cupberd, and a carpett upon it;—a piece of verders carpet in one window, and a piece of counterfeit carpett in the other;—one Flemishe chaire;—4 joyned stooles;—a joyned forme;—a wyker skryne;—2 large awndyerns;—a fyer forke;—a fyer pan;—a payer of tonges;—Item a lowe joyned stole;—2 joyned foote stoles;—a rounde table of cipress; and a piece of counterfeitt carpett upon it;—Item a paynted table (*or picture*) of the Epiphany of our Lord.

From hence let us go on to the best chamber, leaving all the rooms of less consequence; and there we shall find,

“First a hanging all around the room, of grene and red say, paynede;—Item one great trussing bed, with 2 fether beds, wherof the one is downe;—with 2 bolsters;—2 pillowes of downe;—Item 3 blankets of woolen clothe;—a coverlet of verder worke, enlyned;—Item a mantill of red;—Item a joyned cupborde, with a counterfet carpet upon it;—Item a short table joyned, with a coarse carpett;—Item 2 chefts;—an old Flemish chaire;—a turned chaire;—Item three cushins;—Item 2 awndyerns, a fyer pan;—a payer of tonges;—Item a chafer† of brasce;—two basons;—2 joyned stools.

Before we take our leaves of this antique mansion, let us see the chamber over the perler, which was the knight's own chamber.

“Fürste an hangynge, of redd and greine say, panede;—Item a sparver of greine and blake say, with courteyns of the same;—a trussinge bed, framed of wensskotte;—2 fether bedds;—one grete bolster;—2 fustians;—2 pillowes of downe;—a large counterpoynnt, of greate verders;—2 joyned formes;—a turned chaire;—a joyned cupberde, with a counterfet carpet upon it;—Item a wyndowe clothe of payned sey;—2 small awndierns;—a pair of tonges;—Item a greate standarde, with dyvers appariell belongynge to the lady Roskewe.”

Having

* The form and manner of the tapestry and other hangings, at that time usual in the houses of the gentlemen and nobility, to be hung round the wall, may be seen plate 15 of this volume.

† This I take to be a warming pan.

Having thus surveyed the furniture of the country house of this wealthy knight, let us, before we leave him, run over some few rooms of his house "beside the Black-Freeres, in London."—The which inventory, taken at the same time, is also contained in the bundle before-mentioned.

His "hawle" is indeed but very plain, and sparingly furnished: for "furste 2 pieces of stayned clothe;—Item a long table, with 2 trefills,--and a short joined forme," compleat the whole survey. But enter we the parlour, and see what there may be found:

"Furste in the perlar ther is a hangyng of yelow, and greine say, pained;—Item a cupberd, with a Flemish chayre;—Item a longe table, with 2 trefills; Item 6 joynede stollis;—Item a little pece of say, hangyng before the wyndowe, yelow and greine, panede;—Item a longe settell;—Item 2 awndyeras,--a fyer forke,--a payer of tonges;—Item a pair of tables."

We will now see what is "in Sir Adrians Foskewes owen chamber," and then conclude.

"Furste a trussyng bedde, a feither bed, and a mattris;--a bolster;--a pair of blanketts;--a coverynge of vardures;—Item a sperver,* with courtaynes to the same, of yelow and greine;—Item the hangynges round the room of red saye;—Item 2 awndiarnes, and a pair of tonges;—Item a joyned forme;--a cheste at the beddes feet with writings, Item a cheft of napery.

Thus have we seen the household stuff of two people in very opulent circumstances; by which we may observe how plain and homely they were in their houses.

Here note once for all, that we ought not to be surprized at the plainness of the furniture here set forth, for all the chroniclers confirm the same.—Harrison, in the Description of Britain (writing in the reign of Elizabeth) informs us, that amongst the various improvements which had happened in the memory of men at that time living, that of household furniture was one of the most considerable; "for now (says he) the furniture of our houses is growne, in maner even to passing delicacie: and herein I do not speake of the nobilitie and gentrie onely, but even of the lowest sorte that have any thing at all to take to. Certes in noblemens houses it is not rare to see abundance of arras, riche hangings of tapistry, silvor vessell, and so much other plate, as may furnish fundrie cupbordes, to the summe often times of a thousand or two thousande pounce at the least: wherby the value of this and the reast of their stuffe doth grow to be inestimable. Likewise in the houses of knyghtes, gentlemen, marchauntmen, and some other wealthie citizens, it is not geson to beholde generallye their great provision of tapistrie, Turkye worke, pewter, brasse, fine linen, and therto costly cupbordes of plate woorth five or sixe hundred pounce, to be demed by estimation. But as herein all these sortes doe farre exceede their elders, and predecessours, so in time past, the costly furniture stayed there,

K 2

whereas

Tract MS.
in Bib. Cor.
infig. Query
Vitellius.

Holingshead
Vol. 1. B. 2.
cap. 10.

* This appears to be the frame at the top of the bed, to which the curtain rods were made fast, for the support of the curtains:

whereas now it is descended yet lower, even unto the inferiour artificers and most fermers, who have learned also to garnish their cupbords with plate, their beddes with tapistrie and filke hangings, and their tables with fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie doth infinitely appeare. Neyther do I speake this in reproach of any man, God is my judge, but to shew that I do rejoyce rather to see how God hath blessed us with hys good giftes, and to beholde howe that in a time wherein all thinges are grown to most excessive preece, we do yet finde the meanes to obtayne and achieve such furniture as heretofore hath benee impossible."—And says Stow, in his Chronicle, in the life of king James the First, "Cushens, and window pillowes of velvet, and damask, &c. in former times were only used in the houses of the chief princes, and peers of the land; though at this day those ornaments of estate, and other princely furniture, be very plenteous in most citizens houses, and many other of like estate."

Stow's Chr.
pag. 867.

But, least our ideas should be sunk too low, it may be necessary here to remark, that the *turned chairs*, the *joynd stools*, the *awndyerns*, &c. which we find mentioned in the above inventories, are, 'tis true, such sorts of furniture as at this day can only be seen in the houses of the poorest and meanest people; but at that time they were oftentimes made extremely grand, enriched with carve work and gilding, insomuch that they composed part of the furniture, not only in the houses of the chief nobility of the realm, but also in the palace of the king himself: and of the *awndyerns*, or, as they are called by the moderns, *cob irons*, myself have seen a pair, which in former times belonged to some noble family; they were of copper highly gilt, with beautiful flowers enamelled with various colours, disposed with great art and elegance.

But before we bid adieu to the domestic furniture of our ancestors, let us look into the palace of the king himself.—In an inventory taken of king Henry MS. in the the Eighth's palace, at Hampton-Court, I find this description of the king's Harl. Litr. own bed:

1419.

"Item a bedstede; the posts and heade curiously wroughte; painted, and guilte; having as well foure bullyeons of timbre gilte, as foure vanes of yron painted, with the kinges armes: haveing cellar;--tester;--double vallaunces;--and bases, of cloth of golde tissue, and cloth of silver paned together, embroidered upon the seames, with a worke of purple vellat; haveing the kinges armes, crowned with the crown imperial;--within the garland upon the celar, and tester;--and also with roses, and floures deluce, likewise crowned within the garlande, upon the said clothe of silver:—The said celer toke in lengthe, two yardes and a quarter; in breadth 2 yardes, and 3 quarters; lined with yellow bucker (perhaps *buckram*.)—The double valunce, every one of them, took in depth one quarter of a yarde, with a deepe fringe of gold, silver, and silke:—The tester fringed upon bothe sydes, with a fringe narrow of Venice gold, and silver, touke in depthe one yerde 1 quarter 3 nailes; in height 3 yardes, lined as aforesaide:—the 3 bases fringed at the endes, and at both sides, with a narrow fringe of lyke gold, and silver as aforesaide, together with 5 curtaines, took 23 paines of taphata, pained purple and white, garnished upon the same, on bothe sydes, with passamyne late of Venice gold, and fringed

fringed upon the edge, and at the lower parte with a narrow frindge of lyke gold, and silver; every curteyne touk in depthe, 2 yerds 1 quarter.—Also a counterpointe of the same taphata, embrauded with the kinges armes, within a garlonde, holden by his majesties supporters; and four badges, within garlands, lykewise embrowdered with cloth of golde, lozenged all over with cordaunte of Venice gold, and silver; fringed rounde aboute with a narrow fringe of Venice gold, and silver; lined with purple sarcenet; touke 3 yardes 1 quarter square:—One bedde of fustian, filled with downe; being of foure breadthes wide, of the same fustian, and in length 3 yardes.—The bolster of one bredthe wide, of fustian, filled with downe; and in lengthe 3 yerdes goode:—the 2 pillowes, being of one bredth wide of fustiane filled with downe, either of them in lengthe on yerde 1 quarter,—foure quiltes of linnen clothis filled with wool (*that is, perhaps, wool quilted in thinly between them*) whereof 3 took in length the piece, 3 yardes good and in breathe 3 yardes; and the 4th in length 2 yard 3 quarters, and in breadth 2 yerds 3 quarters.”

The other furniture of the bed-chamber was as follows:

“Two joined cupbords.—Item one joyned stoole,—Item two awndyrons with fire fork, tonges, and fire pan; Item a steel glasse covered with yellowe vellat.”

In the inventories of several other of the kings palaces, as well at Westminster as other places, I find mention of “blankets of redd Yrish freeze, with embrauded borders; also white Spanish blankets, of various colours: the general length is 3 yards 1 quarter, and breadth 2 yards 3 quarters;—and sheets of fine Holland, 5 breadths wide, and 6 yerdes long; with pillow beres of fine Holland of one bredth, and 1 yerde long good.”

Large Folio
MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
1419.

It is very remarkable, that in all the inventories above-mentioned, of the palaces of Henry the Eighth, I meet with but few (and those very small) looking glasses; they generally using mirrours, or steel glasses as they then stiled them.

In the account of the secret stuff (as it is called) at Westminster, is a catalogue of “the glasses to looke in.” The most considerable one is set down as follows:

“A faire greate lookinge Steele glasse, sette in crymson velvette, richly embrowdered with damaske pirls with knots of blew;—and a curtain to the same of blew tafata, embrowdered with Venice gold, and cordiauntes of the same gold.”

Here we may note, that in the former inventories, as well of the knight's as of the gentleman's houshold furniture, we find no mention made either of looking glasses, or mirrours; but the reason perhaps may be this:—Glasses, or mirrors were at that time used only by the ladies, being always kept in cases, and (as for the most part they were very small and portable) they might be constantly kept in their pockets, or lock'd up with their other trinkets, for fear of damage done to them. Large pier glasses, or mirrours, were never used for ornaments, and hung up in the rooms uncovered, as at this period, but entirely

entirely confined to the bed-chambers and dressing closets, where they might be useful.

I cannot here help taking notice of the vast number of clocks which I meet with in all the inventories of the palaces above-mentioned. At Westminster, amongst a great variety, I find the three following most remarkable.

Item a rounde clocke of iron, with sondrye doores of copper, graven, shewing how the sea doth ebbe and flowe, with a case of glasse, set in iron, gylte, standinge upon a foote or case of wode, with 3 great counterpoyses (*weights*) and two smalle of copper; the 3^d small one being lede.

Item another clocke, shewing the course of the planets,—also the dayes of the year;—this was very elegant, being gilt and enamelled, and richly ornamented with the king's coat of armes, having a chime.

Item a laume (*perhaps larum*) or watche of iron, in an iron case, with 2 leaden plumets.

Before the invention of clocks (the date of which cannot be ascertained) we have already seen the contrivance of king Ælfred the Great; but because it also gives us another excellent invention (namely that of lanthorns) I will here speak of it again.

Vitæ
Ælfridi.

He (Ælfred) caused six tapers to be made, for his daily use, of 72 penny weight of wax, every taper containing in length 12 inches, 12 penny weight, and of equal proportion in breadth, mark'd by 12 inches; every inch thereof to burn an hour, the whole taper therefore 4; so that all the 6 tapers lighted one after the other, might continue to burn exactly the four-and-twenty hours: by which contrivance he divided every day and night into six parts, and every part into twelve smaller divisions, whereby he could distinguish and know the time of the day, and night. But when the wind, through the windows or doors of the chapel, or the chinks of his walls, or the cloth of his tents, wasted these tapers that they burnt at no certainty, he invented lanthorns of ox or cow horns cut into thin plates, which defended the tapers from the wind, that it could not waste them. The very words of Asserius are these:—"Lanternam ex lignis ꝑ bovibus cornibus pulcherrime contrivene imperavit; bovina namque cornua alba ac in una tenuitate dolabuo epara non minus vitreo varculo elucet; quæ itaque lanternna mirabiliter ex lignis ꝑ cornibus ut ante diximus facta," &c. &c.

The English, like their ancestors, were very fond of bathing; many of the nobility had baths for that purpose in their own houses, besides these there were public baths in different places, to which those who could not afford to have them in their own houses usually repaired. The ladies apprehended that bathing contributed to, and preserved their beauty; for I find in an old MS. book of prognostications (written as early as the reign of Richard the Second) the following advice to the ladies;—that in the months of March, and November, they should not "goe to the bathe for beuty."

It was the constant fashion for the guest, invited to a banquet, to wash before they sat down to table. This, with some other customs, are explained in the following

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
1882.

following speech of Sir Giles Overreach (from a Play of Massenger's); he meaning to prepare a rich banquet, says

Comedy,
called New
Way to pay
Old Debts,

———— Let my choicest linen be got forth;
Perfume the room; and, when we wash, the water
With pretious powders mix, to please my lord, &c.

Having thus taken a general view of the principal people of the realm, let us now examine the furniture of the poor man's house. The following I find in an old song, written in the reign of queen Elizabeth, by W. Warner, which speaks of an earl who had lost his way:—He

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark, 6910⁹

Did house him in a peakish graunge, within a forrest great,
Where knownen and welcomed (as the place and persones might afforde)
Browne bread, whig,* bacon, curds and milk were set him on the borde;
A cushion made of lists, a stoole halfe backed with a hoope
Were brought him, and he sitteth down beside a forry coupe.†
The poore old couple wisht their bread were wheat, their whig were pery,
Their bacon beefe, their milk and curds were creame, to make him merry.

I cannot help here taking notice of the state of gentlemen, and their extravagant customs, a century and half past. In Johnson's Staple of News, Peny Boy the elder, complaining of the reigning luxuries, says

Staple of
News, acted
1625.

———— Time ago
Men, good husbands, look'd unto their stocks;
Had their minds bounded; now the public riot
Prostitutes all, scatters away in coaches,
In footmans coats, and waiting womans gowns,
They must have velvet haunches!

And afterwards, -

———— Who can endure to see
The fury of mens gullets now a days,—
What fires, what cooks, what kitchens might be spared?
What stews, ponds, parkes, coups, garners, magazines;
What velvet, tifues, scarfs, embroideries,
And laces might they lack?—What need hath nature
Of silver dishes, or gold chamber potts?
Of perfumed napkins, or a numerous train
Of lazy waiting men to see her eat? &c.

And

* Butter milk.

† A coop or pen for poultry.

The Witts, And in the Witts, a Comedy of Sir William Davenant, knight, the elder
Comedy. Pallatine says
print. 1665.

Believe me to be an arrant gentleman,
Such as in's scutcheon gives horns, hounds, and hawkes,
And hunting nags,—with tall eaters in blew coats.
Sans number, &c.

Cynthia's Revels. 1600 had their carroches, pages, monkies, and parachitoes, or *parroquets*, &c.

Vide Hol- In former times our ancestors used to strew their houses with rushes, which
ling. vol. 2, were carefully spread over the floors, till the use of carpets came in fashion.
pag. 1706. But the modern method (where carpets cannot be afforded) is to use sand in
place of rushes, which, in my opinion, is a very disagreeable custom; for the
dust arising, when the sand is thoroughly dry, is very inconvenient and trouble-
some.

I have now to remark, that so lately as the beginning of the 16th century,
the city of London was but ill supplied with water; there were several conduits
erected it is true, but yet it was not conveyed from house to house; for there
were at that time people, whose only occupation was that of bearing water to
the houses of the citizens;—such we see is the employment of Cob, a character
in Every Man in his Humour.—But about 1614 (says Baker) a memorable act
was performed by Sir Hugh Middleton, citizen and goldsmith of London, and
born in Denbighshire, who having an act of parliament for his warrant, with
infinite cost and indefatigable labour, brought water to the city of London,
from two great springs at Chadwell and Amwell in Hertfordshire, having
cut a channel from thence to Islington, wither he conveyed it into a large
pond, and from thence in pipes of young elms to all places of the city.

Some time after, the water-works at London Bridge were erected, which
with great water-wheels, turning with the tide, move large pumps, and force
the water up into cisterns, from whence it falls down through pipes to supply
the surrounding houses. And since them have been engines invented, which,
by the force of steam from boiling water, produce the same effect.

The method of brewing of beer, before the use of hops, is set down as
MS. in the Harl. Lib. follows, in an old MS. in the Harleian Library:
mark. 6816.

“To make a Hogshed of strong Ale.”

It was necessary first of all to make the *groust*, which was thus done:—9 gal-
lons of water was to be well boiled, and put into a brewing vessel; when it
was a little cool, there was put therein 3 pecks of malt, which was left standing
for an hour and half, and then it ought to be drawn off into a cooler;—when
it was near cold, it was put into a vessel provided for that purpose, perfectly
clean, and having a cover to stop it down close;—being therein, it was closely
covered down, that it might there stand to sharpen;—if the weather should be
cold, it might require about 18 hours, but if it was hot not quite so long.—It

was

was the brewer's task carefully to examine it, and judge when it had work'd, and was ripe enough; (yet he ought as seldom as possible to open it, lest by the frequent uncovering, the spirit should evaporate).—When it was ripe enough, upon the sudden opening of the vessel, the strength of the fume arising from the liquor would near, if not entirely, extinguish a lighted candle, which ought to be provided short on purpose, and holden over for the proof thereof:—also it is to be remark'd, that when the liquor was ripe enough, it would constantly be of a sharp taste, and a yellowish cast.—When by these proofs the brewer was satisfied that the grout was properly ripened, he poured it forth into the copper and boiled it moderately, upon a slow fire, for about an hour, constantly stirring it all the while; and to know when it was boiled enough, he provided a small ashen stick, which being alighted at the fire, he thrust suddenly into the boiling liquor, drawing it forth as quick as possible,—when, if the fire on the stick remained still unextinguished, it was well boiled, but not if it were otherwise. This being done, the liquor was put into a vessel of 20 gallons, or thereabouts, and yeast put to it, that it might work, which when it had sufficiently done, it was ready for the wort to be put to it.—The wort might be brewed of what strength the brewer should please, so that it did not exceed 60 gallons to the above proportion of grout. The brewer ought to be very careful, to have this wort ready at the proper time, to mix with the grout before it should grow too sharp; also that his wort should be quite cold, when it is poured upon the grout.—The grout being now properly ripe, and having work'd enough, a quantity of the wort sufficient to fill up the 20 gallon vessel, into which the grout is put, must be pored upon it; and then the whole drawn off into the *yeeling fass*, and there being mix'd with the remainder of the wort, is left to work together; which when it hath sufficiently done, it must be strained off into the hogshedd, through a hair sieve made for that purpose, where it must also work like other beer or ale.

Note that if the wort be made the day after the grout, they will be both ready together, except perhaps in the depth of winter, when the excessive cold may prevent the grout from sharpening so quickly;—in that case, take a fire-shovel full of clean wood ashes, and put into the vessel with the grout, and they will cause it to sharpen much sooner.

I read here also of head malt, which is the kernels grossly broken, and cleared from the flour; also of wheat malt, and in default thereof wheat grossly ground; and also of bean flour, as used in brewing of beer.

The *metbeglin*, or mede, was, as now, made with honey, &c. but at this period they used vast quantities of almost every sort of herbs, which were not unwholesome or disagreeable, the which were also brewed up with the liquor. This was much esteemed amongst our ancestors, and was a very common drink; but the more costly was *ypocrass*, which was served at the king's own table.

In Deker's Comedy of the Honest Whore, Roger receives three shillings and sixpence for a pottle of *ypocrass*, and a manchet.

The Honest
Whore, a
Comedy, by
Tho. Deker.

Chronicles
of London.

In Arnold's Chronicle of London I find the following receipt, intituled

The Crafte to make Pyocras.

"Take a quarte of red wyne, an bunce of synamon, and halfe an bunce" (ounce) "of gynger, a quarter of an unnce of greepes, & longe peper, & half a pounce of suger, and boyle all this (not too small) & than put them in a bage of wullen clothe, made therefore" (or for that purpose) "with the wine, & lete it hange ober a vessel till the wyne be rone thorow."

Now, whether the wine should be poured hot upon the spice, or whether the spice should be first boiled in the wine, before it be strained, I am not able to determine; yet it appears to me, that the bare putting the spice to the wine quite cold, and only philtering it through a cloth, can never communicate a strength sufficient of the spice to make any very great alteration in the taste of the wine.

Another drink, very much esteemed, was the *clarey*, or *clarre*. The receipt for making the same, from the above-mentioned book, is as follows:

The Crafte to make Clarey.

For 18 gallons of good wyne, take half a pounce of ginger, quarter of a pound of long peper, an unnce of saxon, a quarter of an unnce of coliaunder, 2 unnces of calomole diomatrys; & the third part as much honey that is claryfied, as of young wyne;—steyne hym through a cloth, & do it into a cleane vessel.

The common people made a sort of drink, thus called, of ale; but a liquor much regarded by them was *braket*, which was thus made:

For Braket.

Take a pot of good ale, & put thereto a porcion of hong, & peper, in this maner. Within thou hast good ale, lete it stonde in a pott 2 dayes, & than drawe out a quart or a pottell of that ale, & putt to the hong; & set it ober the fyre, & let it seide well, & take it of the fyre, & scume it cleane; & than set it ober the fyre, & scume it agayne, & then lete it keele a while, & put ther to the peper; & then set hym on the fyre, & lete hym boyle well to gyder, with chy fyre—but cleare.—Take 4 galones of good ale,—a pynte of syn tyed hong, & about a saucer full of pounce of peper.

Book of
Kervynge,
print. 1508.

By the way of concluding this chapter, take the following extract from the Book of Kervynge, printed by Wynken de Worde; it treats of the office of

The Chaumberlayne.

The chaumberlayne muste be delygent, & clenly in his offyce, with his heed kembed, & so to go before his soverayn, & se that he have a cleane sherte, breech, petycote, and doublet; than brushe his hosen, within and without, & se his shone, & appere he made cleane; & at mozne when your soverayne wyll arise, wayme his sherte by the fyre, and se ye have a fote shete made

in this maner; first set a chayne by the fyre, with a cuspshen, an other under his fete, than spreade a shete over the chayne, and se there be redy a kercher, and combe; then warne his petycote, his doublet, and his stomachere, and then put on his hosen, & his shone or flyppers, than stryke up his hosen mannerly, & tye them up; than lace his doublet hole by hole, & laye the necke clothe, & kembe his heed; than loke ye have a basyn & an ewer, with warme water, and a towell, walshe his handes; than knele upon your knee, and aske your soverayne what robe he wyl weze, & byynge hym suche as he your soverayne commaundeth, & put it upon hym; than do hys gyrdell aboute hym, & take your lebe mannerly; & go to the chyrche or chapel, to your soveraynes closet, and laye carpettes & cuspshens, & laye downe hys boke of prayrs; than drawe the curtynes, and take your lebe goodly; and go to your soveraynes chambere, & rasse all the clothes of hys bedde, and bete the fedyrbedde & bolster, but loke ye waste no feders; than shake the blankettes, and se the shetes be sayre & swete, or elles loke ye have cleane shetes; than make up his bedde mannerly, than laye the hed shetes, and the pillowes, than take up the towell and the basyn, and laye carpettes aboute the bedde, or wyndowes, and cuspborder, layde with carpettes and cuspshens.

Also loke there be a good fyre brennyng bright; and loke ye have basyn and ewer with water, and a towell for your soverayne, than take of his gowne, and byynge him a mantell to kepe hym fro cold, than byynge hym to the fyre, and take of his shone and his hosen, than take a sayre kercher of reynes and kembe his heed, and put on his kercher and his bonet, than spreade downe his bedde, laye the hed shete, and the pillowes; and when your soverayne is got to bedde, drawe the curtynes, than se there be moztar, or waxe, or perchours be redy, then drybe oute dogge, or ratte, and loke there be basyn and mynall set nere your soverayne; than take your lebe mannerly, that your soverayne may take his rest moztly.

DRESS and HABIT.

In the reign of Edward the Fourth, we have seen abundance of different habits, exhibited in the various plates relative to the life of Beauchamp earl of Warwick, given in the second volume of this work. The same also may well serve to elucidate the early part of the reign of Henry the Seventh; for during the short reign of Richard the Third, both the nobility and commons were too much taken up with the interesting matters then on the carpet, to attend to any considerable alteration of their dreis, and the introducing of many new fashions.—Plate 1, of this volume, contains a variety of figures, all of them in the habit of the times, at the latter end of the reign of Henry the Seventh:—N^o. 1. exhibits a noble personage, as also does N^o. 10; the front of the last's garment is all the way down to the waste laced over a stomacher, like a woman's stays:—to this sort of habit (which was only worn by the nobility) the author of the Book of *Kervynge*, in the office of the *Chamberlayne*, plainly alludes, where he says, “warne your soverayne hys petycote, his doubler, and his stomachere; and then put on hys hosen, and then his schone or flyppers, then stryke up his hosen mannerly, and tye them up, than lace his doublet hole by hole,” &c.—N^o. 6, as well as N^o. 9, of the same plate, are figures of gentlemen of distinction, the latter of which has his dagger hanging from his girdle; their doublets

The originals were made. Ann. Dom. 1508.

See above;

are short, reaching only to the knee, with broad borders of furr.—N^o. 3 is a counsellor, and 4 the serjeant at law, with the coife upon his head. These serjeant counteurs, being clerks or religious men (says Sir Henry Chauncy) were bound by their order to shave their heads;* they were, for decency, allow'd to cover their bald pates with a coif, which was a thin linen cover for the head, gathered together in the form of a skull cap, or helmet,† and by which the serjeants at law are known, who are of the highest degree in our law.

The word *coifu* cometh from the French word *coife* or *coiffe*, otherwise *scoffion*. These coifes were soon after turned into coifes of white silk, whence these *serjeant counteurs*, or pleaders, were called *serjeants of the coife*, and every serjeant was clothed in a long priest-like robe, with a cape about his shoulders furred with lamb-skin, and an hood with two labels upon it, a white coife of silk upon his head, and party-coloured robes, that the people should shew the greater respect, as well to their persons as their profession.—N^o. 2 and 7, of the same plate, are gentlewomen; 5 and 8, the rustic man and woman.—The figures exhibited N^o. 110, are, the one a gallant *a la macaroni*, according to the preposterous taste of that age, and the other is a fool, the pop's constant and close companion.

Barclay, in the "*Ship of Fools of the Worlde*," exclaims greatly against the excess of apparel, as used in his time.—Pinson, who in 1508 printed this book, has, to the satirical verses on dress, subjoined the present two figures cut in wood: over the design is written,

Of newe Fashions, and disguised Garmentes.

Who that newe garmentes loves, or devises,
Or weareth by his simple wit and vanitie,
Geveth by his folly, and unthrifty guises,
Much evil example to yonge commontie,
Such one is a foole, and scant shall ever bee;
And commonly it is seene that nowe a dayes,
One foole gladly folowes anothers wayes.

And underneath the following severe lines, containing the ship-man's invitation to the fops of the age to come aboard his ship:

Drawe nere ye courtiers, and galants disguised,
Ye counterfait caitiffs that are not content
As God you hath made, his work is despised,
Ye thinke you more wiser then God omnipotent.
Unstable is your minde, that sheweth by your garment;
A foole is knowen by his toyes, and hys cote,
But by their clothing, now we may many note.

Some

* The reason why they shaved their heads is, because they originally were priests: but when the priests were forbid to intermeddle in secular affairs, these still continued to shave their heads, but wore the coife for distinction.—See MS. in the Harl. Lib. infig. 980.

† Signifying (says the MS. quoted in the former note) that, as helmeted soldiers ought to be bold in time of war, so ought these to be in their client's cause.

Some time after are these words in the same poem :

Some of their necks charged with collars, and chaines,
As golden withes ; their fingers full of rings ;
Their necks naked almost unto the raines,
Their sleeves blazin like unto a crane's winges.

And again,

Come neare with your shirts bordered and displaid,
In forme of surplois.

Shirts thus bordered with lace, and curiously adorned with wrought needle-work, continued long time in use amongst the nobility and gentry.

Ben Johnson, in his Comedy of the Devil is an Afs, speaks of cut-work smocks and shirts.—In the inventory of the apparel of king Henry the Eighth, we meet with shirt-bands of gold, and ruffles to the same; and in the same king's reign, in the act made for the reformation of apparel, I find it forbid to any person, under the degree of a knight, to wear pinch'd shirts, or pinch'd partlets of linen cloth, or plain shirts garnish'd with silk, or gold, or silver.—And that these adorned shirt-bands, &c. by degrees were worn by people of mean stations of life, is very certain. This we find in the old play of George a Green, written about the year 1589.

Jenken, George's man, speaks thus to his master, concerning his own sweetheart :

Jenk.—And she gave me a shirt collar,
Wrought over with no counterfiet stuffe.

George.—What, was it gold?

Jenk.—Nay it was better than gold!

Geo.—What was it?

Jenk.—Right Coventrie blue.

The same may be said of the embroidered shifts worn by the ladies. Thus in the Four Plays in One, of Beaumont and Fletcher, *Craft* speaks of smocks seamed through with cut-works; and in the old ballad of Lord Thomas and Fair Annet, Annet says

My maids, gae to my dressing room,
And dress me to my smock;
The one half is o' the Holland fine,
The other o' needle-work.

And that great sums of money were laid out for these fineries, we may justly conclude from the speech of Proud Girtred, in the play called Eastward Hoe, where she says, " Smocks of three pound a smock, are to be born with all "

Neither were the clergy cleare from the pride of extravagant habits; says Camden). Albeit *Polydor Virgil*, and the late archbishop of Canterbury *D. Parker*, noteth " that the cleargy of England never ware filke, or velvet, untill the time of the pompous Cardinall *Wolsey*, who opened that dore to pride

The Devil
is an Afs,
acted 1616.

AG Parl. an.
24 Hen. 8.
cap. 13.

George a
Green, Pin-
ner of
Wakefield.
Vide Dod-
ley's Collec-
tion of Old
Plays.

Four Plays
in One.

Reliques
of Ancient
Poetry,
V. 3, p. 244.

Eastward
Hoe, by
Johnson,
Chapman &
Mastenger,
pr nt. 1605.
Camden's
Remains,
among pag. 235.

among them, which hitherto cannot bee shut."—But we have heretofore seen, that they were as much besotted in this excess as the laity. Pierce Plowman also lashes them for their love of pomp; and the following ballad (which was written in the reign of Henry the Sixth) although it speaks of this vice in general, yet it is more particularly aimed at the clergy themselves, by whose bad examples the laity were led into excess and bad habits.

From a
MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark'd 372.

Ye proud gallontes hertlesse,
With your high cappis witlesse,
And your schort gownys thriftlesse,
Have brought this londe in gret hevynesse.

With youre longe peked schone,
Therefor your thrift is almost done,
And with your longe hare into your eyen,
Have brought this lond to gret pyne.

Ye poepe holy preftis, ful of presomcone,
With your wyde fueryd hodes, voyd of discrecion,
Unto your owyn prechyng of country condicione,
Whch causith the people to have lesse devocone.

Avauncid by symony in cetees and townys,
Make schorter your taylis—and broder your crownys;
Leve your schort stuffide dowbelettes, and your pleytid gownys,
And kepe your owyn howfyng, and passe not your boundys.

Reprove none other men, I schall tell you whye,
Ye be so lewd youre selfe there settiche no man you bye
Yit is not but aschame ywold be callyd holly,
And worse dysposyd people levyth not undir the skye!

Firft make free your selfe, that now to fyne be bounde;
Leve syne and drede it,—thane may ye take on hond
Othir to reprove, and that I undirfonde
Ye may amende all other, and brynge pese to londe.

In the inventory of the robes and apparel at the castle at Windfor (taken in the reign of Henry the Eighth) amongst vast variety of other matters, I find—
MS. in the Harl. Lib. Robes lately prince Arthur's, eldest son to our late soveraigne lord kinge
No. 1419. Henry the Seventh.

Robes for the Order of St. George.

A mantell of blew velvet, lynyed with white saten damaske :—a kirtell, and a hoode of crimson vellat, lynyed with white damaske.

For the Order of Tofion d'Or.

A mantell of crimfon velvet, embroydered, and lyned with white fatten:—a kirtill, and hoode of crimfon velvet, lyned with black fatten.

For the Order of St. Mychaell.

A mantell of cloth of filver, lyned withe white fatten, withe scalloppe shelles; Item a hoode of crymfin velvet, embraudeard, with scalloppe shelles, lyned with crymfon fatten.

Early in the reign of Henry the Eighth, the fashon of wearing trawfes was much affected: thefe were breeches (fays *Randle Holme*) which fat fo tight upon the thighs, that they difcovered the whole make and fhape. But this fashon was by no means now newly invented; for its firft appearance was, I believe, in the middle of the reign of Edward the Fourth. An inftance of this fort of habit may be feen in the 47th plate of the *Regal and Ecclefiaftical Antiquities of England*, which I publifhed heretofore; and that the fame fashon was alfo common in the beginning of the reign of Henry the Seventh, the plates of the fecond volume of the prefent work may evince.*—But indeed fome additions were made; for (fays *Holme*) the lower parts were never fo fcaunted, but the upper made ample amends for that fault,—for the doublets were fo bombafted with linnings, and the fleeves fo ftuff'd out, that they were cumbersome both to the body and the armes. A figure of this fort (improv'd from his delineation) is to be feen N^o. 7, plate 12. And indeed we may fee, that the fleeves are very much ftuff'd out, and full, in the figures N^o. 1, 2, and 8, of the fame plate, which, together with N^o. 3 and 4, are all representations of the habit of that reign. They are taken from the frontifpiece and other parts of the Great Bible, publifhed 1540.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 2014.

Some of the apparel of king Henry the Eighth himfelf, we meet with in the inventory of his fecret wardrobe, at Weftminfter.

Cramner's
Bible, with
Wood Cuts,
print. 1540.

Amongft the Gowns,

Item a gowne, with a fquare cape of crimfon vellat, and crimfon fatten, all over embrauded with pirls of damafke golde and filver; having a riche border, and gaurde of crimfon vellat, embrauded with damafke golde and perles, faced with crimfen fatten, alfo alover embrauded with the fame damafke golde, and perles; with a like border cut the length of the faid facing;—being upon the fleeves of the fame gowne, 26 diamonds fet in buttons of gold;—the fame gowne is lined throughout with crimfen fatten.

Another was of purple fatten, and had on the fleeves 10 butttons, and 28 pair of agletts of gold.

Among

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 1419.

* See the attendants, plate 15,—the man going up fteps, plate 16,—and the nobleman delivering the child to the earl of Warwick, plate 51,—all in the fecond volume.

Among the kirtles,

The foreparte of a kirtle of crimson fatten, all over embraudered with damaske peepe, and perle; with a pair of sleeves of the same work, having perles set in golde.

Among the Robes.

A mantle for the parliament, of crimson vellat, partly furred with powdered ermyns.

Two mantles for the order of St. George, one of blue the other of purple vellat, lined with white farcenet;—a crimson vellat hood, lyned with white farcenet.

Cotes and Doublettes.

A cote of *shamerwe*, of purple clothe, with goldsmithes work, furred with fables gaurded with purple vellat, and enbraudered with gold.

One doublett of crimson vellat, embraudered with gold; the same doublet set oute with camerike.

Various other things:

Shirt bandes of golde, with ruffles to the same:—a cloake of tawny fatten, of 2 yardes, enbraudered with Venice gold, and lyned with tawny farcenet.—Sumptous sleeves (Note, this part of the dres was separate from the gownes and kirtles, being buttoned on to them).—Stomachers; some of purple, silver tiffue, others enbraudered with gold, and perles.—Frontlettes of crimson fatten, embraudered with perles;—plumes of feathers for helmets, of white ostrich feathers, richly garnished with passemayne, and fringes of Venice gold, and gold spangles intermix'd, with small copper ones, and either of the plumes having a toppet of herons fethers.—Large plumes of feathers for horses, of all colours, chiefly herons feathers, garnish'd with spangles and toppets.—(Of these sorts of plumes, both on the helmets and horses, see the plates 5, 6, and 7, &c. of this volume.)

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
1419.
At Hampton Court, I find mention of “a payer of sweete gloves, lined with white vellat, each glove trimmed with 8 buttons, and 8 small aigletts of gold enamelled; also knitte gloves of silk, and handkerchers edged with gold and silver, others with needle-work. These handkerchiefs, wrought with gold and silver, were not uncommon in the after times. In the ballad of George Barnwell, it is said of Milwood,

Reliques of
Anc. Poetry,
V. 3. p. 252.

A handkerchief she had,
All wrought with silk and gold,
Which she, to stay her trickling tears,
Before her eyes did hold.

How sumptuous king Henry the Eighth was in his habit, as well indeed as all his train of lords and courtiers, at every public show and tournament, our historians will testify, but more especially the faithful Hall, who was often an eye-witness of their splendour and expensive magnificence.

Henry

Henry the Eighth's habit, when he rode from the Tower of London, the day preceding his coronation, as also that of his queen, &c. are thus set down by Hall:—"His grace wared in his upperst apparrell, a robe of crimfyn velvet, furred with armyns; his jacket or cote of raised gold; the placard embrowdered with diamonds, rubies, emeraudes, greate pearles, and other riche stones; a greate bauderike aboute his necke, of large balasses; the trapper of his horse damaske gold, with a depe purfell of armyns; his knights and esquires for his body, in crimofyn velvet; and all the gentlemen, with other of his chappell, and all his officers, and houthold servauntes, wer appareled in skarlet.

Hall's Union
in the Life
of Hen. 8.
fol. 2. b.

"The quene (Katheryne) sitting in her litter, borne by two white palfries, the litter covered, and richely appareled, and the palfries trapped in white cloth of gold: her persone appareled in white fatyn embrodered, her haire hanging downe to her backe, of a very great length, bewtefull and goodly to behold, and on her hedde a coronall, set with many riche orient stones."

lb. fol. 3. a.

In this king's reign there were made four severall acts for the reformation of apparel; the purport of them were as follows:

Acts made
in the Reign
of H. 8.

None but the king, the queen, the king's mother, the king's children, brethren and sisters, might wear any cloth of gold of purple colour, or silk of the same colour, or furr called furr of black genetts; upon pain of forfeiting of the same, and 20*l.* every time they so offended.

None under the estate of a duke, or a marquis, might wear himself, or put upon his horse harness, any cloth of gold, or tiffue, on pain of forfeiting the same, whether it should be guarded or brouded, and to pay 20 marks for every offence.

None under the degree of a duke's son and heir apparent, marquis, or an earl, might wear any furrs of sable, under the aforesaid pain of forfeiture of the same, and payment of 20 marks every time of offending.

None under the degree of a baron might themselves wear, or put upon their horse harness, any cloth of gold or silver,—no such apparel mix'd, guarded, or embroidered with gold or silver; upon the above pain, and payment of 10 marks.

None under the degree of an earl, baron, or knight of the garter, might wear any woollen cloth made out of the realin of England, Ireland, Wales, Calais, or the marches of the same (except in bonnets) on the above hazard, and payment of 10 marks.

No man, under degree of a knight of the garter, to have for himself, or horse, any velvet, crimson or blue; upon pain not only of forfeiting of the same, but for every offence to pay the sum of 40*s.*

None but knights, esquires for the king's body, his cupbearers, carvers, and sewers, the same officers belonging to the queen and prince, also the treasurer of the king's chamber, and other officers, having land, &c. to the amount yearly of 200 marks,—as also justices of the Bench, &c. master of the Rolls, barons of the Exchequer, the king and queen's physicians, and the lord mayor of London, might wear any velvet in their coats, gowns or jackets,—or furr of martins, either mix'd, joined, guarded or broided; on penalty of paying 40*s.*

and forfeiting such their apparel.—the sons and heirs of barons, and knights, are also, with the above, excepted from this penalty.

No man under the degrees above-mentioned, except gentlemen who might have 200 marks yearly value over all charges, to wear any chain, or collar of gold, or gilt, or any gold about his neck, or in bracelets, on pain of forfeiting the same; except certain officers so appointed to do, by their offices in the king's, the queen's, the prince's, or the most honourable households.

None but persons above-mentioned, except gentlemen yearly possessed of 100 marks, to wear sattin or damask in their gowns, under pain to forfeit all such apparel, and pay 40*s.* every time they so offended.

None but such as above-mentioned, or gentlemen having yearly value of 100*l.* over all charges, to wear in their doublets sattin damask, or silken chamlet, under the forfeiture as above, and the payment for every offence 40*s.*

No man under the degree of gentleman, possessed of 10*l. per annum*, or goods and chattels to the amount of 100*l.* (which goods are to be proved by oath) to wear any furr which is not got in the kingdom.

No man under the degree of an earl, marquis, or knight of the garter, to wear embroidered apparel, broched or guarded with gold, silver, or goldsmith's work, under the above penalty, and the payment of 40*s.*

No man under the degree of a knight (except spiritual men, serjeants at the law, or a graduate at the universitie) to use more cloth in a long gown than three yards, on pain of forfeiting of the same.

No serving man, under the degree of a gentleman, to wear in a gown, or coat, more than three broad yards, nor any chamlet, or any manner of furr, (lamb's excepted,) nor any cloth in his hose above 20*d. per yard*, unless it be the gift and leaving of his master, on pain of forfeiting the same, or the value thereof, and paying 3*s. 4d.*

No man, under the degree of a gentleman, to wear any silk, or chamlet, or any points in any apparel of his body, ornamented with aiglets of gold or silver, gilded, or buttons, or broches of gold, or silver gilt, or any goldsmith's work, except it be the badge of his lord. The offender shall forfeit such ornaments, and pay 10*s.*

None, under the degree of a knight, to wear gowns of velvet, pinch'd shirts, or pinch'd partlets of linen cloth, or plain shirts garnished with silk, or gold or silver, under the penalty of forfeiting all the same apparel, and to pay 10*s.* for every offence.

No husbandman, shepherd, or common labourer to any artificer, out of cities or boroughs, (having no goods of their own above the value of 10*l.*) shall use or wear any cloth, the broad yard whereof passeth 2*s. 4d.* or any hose above the price of 12*d.* the yard, upon pain of imprisonment in the stocks for three days.

Act 24 H. 8. This act was last confirmed, with some few exceptions and additions, the cap. 13. 24th year of his reign.

MS. in the Harl. Lib. In this king's reign (says Randal Holme) began several sorts of apparel, which (adds he) are now in use in our own days [he wrote in the reign of Charles the mark. 2014, Second]; for, before his time, we read not that either bands, cuffs or ruffs, &c. were.

were usually worn; neither (continues he) was the hat found out, till about this time [that is, the latter end of his reign] caps, both round and cornered, being the only head-cover both of men and women.—But in this last particular he must have been mistaken, for we find the hat as early as the reign of Henry the Fourth; witness the figure at the left-hand of plate 39, of the *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*;—and in the ballad of *Lidgate*, called the *London Lickpeny*, (given page 61 of this volume) verse 7, mention is made of “*fyne felt hattes*,” which were then sold by the Flemish traders.

Howe, in his *Continuation of Stow's Chronicle*, says, “in the reign of Henry the Eighth was begun the making of Spanish felts in England, by Spaniards and Dutchmen, before which time, and long since, the English used to ride and goe, winter and sommer, in knit caps, cloth hoods, and the best sort in throid hatts.*”—This might lead *Holme* to his mistake: they about that time began to be made in England, though they were known long before.

In this king's reign also (adds *Holme* to his former account) the high winged doublets and gowns (something like the figures, N^o. 8, 11 and 12, plate 22.) with trailing curtilles and troutes (see N^o. 9, of the same plate) with such-like fashions, did begin, which were kept up for many years without any great variation, and were also much in use even some time in the reign of Elizabeth.

Before I pass over this reign of King Henry, I will just take notice of that abominable and beastly custom of wearing the cod-pieces (as they are called) sticking out from the hose, or breeches. This may be seen in the figure of king Henry the Eighth (as painted by *Holbein*) seated on his throne, granting the charter to the barbor-surgeons: this picture is engraved by *Vertue*, and published by the Society of Antiquaries,—to which print I refer the reader; the same is represented in the figure of the somner whipping the man, plate 20, N^o. 8; and this filthy fashion was long used, for it is very often alluded to in the old plays and ancient histories. In the old History of *John Newchombe*, the famous clothier of *Newbury* (in Henry the Eighth's reign) we meet with his dress described, when he went to meet the king: “he had on a plain russet coat, a pair of kerseie breeches, without welt or gaurd, and stockings of the same piece sowed to his slops, which had a great cod-piece, on which he stuck his pins.”—Also in the Play of the *Honest Whore*, the servant says to *Bellafront*, because she was habited in man's apparel, “Slid, you are a sweet youth to wear a cod-piece, and have no pins to stick upon it.”

Stow's Chr.
pag. 870.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 2014.

The History
of Jack of
Newbury.

The Honest
Whore, a
Comedy, by
Tho. Dekker;

Now then go we on to the reigns of Edward the Sixth and queen Mary; and there we find that most of the fashions which were chiefly affected in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, were still continued. Various figures of this age may be seen in the plates of this work,—as the figure, N^o. 6, on plate 12.—all the figures on plate 13,—N^o. 1, 2, 3, and 4, plate 13,—and N^o. 5, plate 17. Here we find, indeed, that the cutting of the doublets begins to appear very common.

M 2

* But afterwards they were only worn by the very commoner sort of people, for in the droll History of *George Dobson*, printed A. D. 1607, the dress of a country ale-wife is thus set forth:—“She put on her fairest smocke, a petticoat of a good broad red, her gown of grey faced with buckeram, and her square *thrum'd hat*, and before her hung a clean white apron.”

common.*—The stand-up cape to the cloaks, as represented upon the gentlemen, No. 3 and 4, plate 14, is extremely singular; as also the curious wrought hat-bands, and the feathers. In those times the nobility and gentlemen of distinction were chiefly noted by their scarlet cloaks, the hat and the feather, and the hat-band; which last continued long in use. They were often made of goldsmith's work, and set with precious stones, and generally of great value.—Thus in the *Witts* (a Comedy) the elder Palatine speaks of his hat-band, saying, "My hat-band—a row of diamonds—worth a thousand marks." And the gallant *Fastido* (in every Man out of his Humour) speaking of his dress, has this of his hat and band: "I had on a gold cable hat-band, then new come up, of massie goldsmith's work, which I wore about a murrey French hat, the brims of which were thick embroidered with gold twist and spangles."

The *Witts*,
a Comedy, by
Sir William
D'Avenant.
Every Man
out of his
Humour, by
Johnfon.

Pedigree of
the English
Gallant,
pag. 548.

In the time of queen Mary (says Bulver) square toes were grown in fashion, insomuch as men wore their shooes of so prodigious a bredth at the toes, that, if I remember aright, there was a proclamation came out, that no man should wear his shooes above fixe inches square at the toes. (See the gentleman, plate 17, No. 5.)—After these the picked pointed shooes came also up again; and in the latter end of the last century, and the beginning of the present, the square toes were again brought into fashion. But sure, of all customs, the present (when men have their shooes made to their feet, without pinching) is the best, and most decent in appearance.

Early in the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, the wearing of great breeches was carried to very absurd and ridiculous lengths, together with the pascod doublets, as they were called. (See the figure, No. 8, plate 22.—These sloops or breeches, or trunk hose, they used to stuff out with rags, or such-like stuff, till they brought them to an enormous size. Bulver, in his *Pedigree of the English Gallant*, speaks of a man whom the judges accused of wearing breeches contrary to the law (for a law was made against them): he, for his excuse, drew out of his sloops the contents; as first a pair of sheets, two table-cloths, ten napkins, four shirts, a brush, a glass, and a comb, with
night-

Bulver's
Man Trans-
formed,
pag. 548.

* All these fashions of the noblemen and grandees were, by degrees, followed by the very meanest people of the realm. Camden relates a remarkable instance:—"I will tell you (says he) how Sir Philip Calthrop purged *John Drakes*, the shoemaker of Norwich, in the time of king *Henry the Eighth*, of the proud humour which our people have to be of the gentlemen's cut. This knight bought on a time as much fine French tawney cloth as should make him a gown, and sent it to the taylor's to be made. *John Drakes*, a shoemaker of that town, comming to the said taylor's, and seeing the knight's gown cloth lying there, liking it well, caused the taylor to buy him as much of the same cloth, and price to the same intent, and further bad him to make it of the same fashion that the knight would have his made off. Not long after the knight comming to the taylor's, to take measure of his gown, perceiving the like cloth lying there, ask'd of the taylor whose it was? Quoth the taylor, it is *John Drakes*' the shoemaker, who will have it made of the self-same fashion that your's is made of. Well (said the knight) in good time be it! I will (said he) have mine made as full of cuts as thy shieres can make it. It shall be done, said the taylor; whereupon, because the time drew neer, he made hast to finish both their garments. *John Drakes*, when he had no time to go to the taylor's till Christmas-day, for serving of customers, when he had hoped to have worne his gown, perceiving the same to be full of cuts, began to swear at the taylor for the making his gown alter that sort. I have done nothing (quoth the taylor) but that you bid me; for as Sir Philip Calthrop's garment is, even so have I made your's. By my latchet (quoth *John Drakes*) I will never wear gentleman's fashion again!"—Camden's Remains, pag. 236.

night-caps and other things of use, saying, "Your worships may understand, that, because I have no safer a store-house, these pockets do serve me for a roome to lay up my goods in,—and tho' it be a straight prison, yet it is big enough for them, for I have many things of value yet within it." And so was his discharge accepted, and well laugh'd at.

I met with a remarkable note, concerning these great breeches, in a MS. preserv'd in the Harleian Library, which I cannot pass over in silence; it is this:

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
980.

"Memorandum, that over the seats of the Parliament-house, in the 43 year of queen Elizabeth (when some repairs were there done) were to be seen certain holes, about 2 inches square, in the walls; in which formerly were placed posts to uphold a scaffold, round the inside of the house, for those to sit on who (in the beginning of the reign) used the wearing of great breeches, stuffed with hair like wool-sacks; which fashion, in her 8th year, being left off, the scaffolds were taken down, and never since put up."

But though this ridiculous fashion was then dropp'd, it was but for a time, because in the year 1614 it was again revived, as may be seen in the figures N^o. 3 and 4, plate 19; which breeches were then also chiefly stuff'd with hair, as we may conclude from the satirical rhimes in a ballad of that age: it is intituled "A lamentable Complaint of the poore Cuntry Men, agaynste great hose, for the loss of their cattelles tales." I have selected some of the most striking stanzas, the whole of the song being too long to obtain a place entire in this work.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark'd 367.

11.

For now of late in lesser things,
To furnyſhe forthe theare pryde,
Wyth woole, with flaxe, with haire also,
To make thear bryches wyde.

12.

What hurt, what damage doth ensue,
And fall upon the poore,
For want of wool and flaxe of late,
Whych monstrous hose devoure.

13.

I will not speake, for that I think
Eache man doth knowe the same;
And chiefly those that till the ground,
The husbände menne by name.

14.

But haire hath so possess'd of late
The bryche of every knave,
That none one beast, nor horse can tell,
Whiche way his taile to save.

And

And after he thus concludes :

I woulde that suche as weare thys haire,
Were well and truly bound,

30.

With every haire a louse to have,
To stuffe their bryches oute ;
And then I truste they would not weare,
Nor beare such bagges aboute :

And the ladies also, that they might not be behind-hand with the gentlemen in their fantastical taste, invented the large hoop farthingales, as a companion to the trunk hose or breeches. Those women who could not purchase the farthingales provided for themselves the bum-rolls, which they put up under their petticoats and gowns, to make them stick out.—“ I was a lady (says Chloe, in Johnson's Poetafter) before I debased myself from my hood and my farthingale, to these bum-rolls, and your whalebone bodice.”—But yet even these were not used by the very common people; for this sort of habit had its distinction, as we find in the Parson's Wedding, where Jolly, speaking of a bawd, says, “ Those virtues raised her from the flat petticoat and kercher, to the gorget and bum-roll.”—I find that the most esteemed farthingales, were those which were called Scotch farthingales, with the French fall.

Poetafter,
by Johnson,
first acted
A. D. 1601.

Parson's
Wedding,
by Killegrew

Vide East-
ward Hoe—
the Speech
of Girtred.

Queen Elizabeth, like her father, affected much pomp and grandeur of dress, as may be seen by the various portraits of her,* especially one engraved by Crispan de Passe, in which print she is represented in a most remarkable rich and superb habit, curiously ornamented with diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones. There is also a good portrait of her given by Vertue, attended by various courtiers and ladies, in her procession to visit Lord Hunsdon : her dress is there extremely rich, as also the habits of the attendant lords and ladies. Lady Hunsdon, copied from that print, is to be seen Plate 14, N^o. 6.

A portrait also of the same queen (Elizabeth) is represented plate 15, of this volume. The person kneeling before her, is *Gascoigne* the poet, who is presenting a book to her (see the account of the plates at the end of the volume).—She is here seated upon her throne, under a canopy of state, in a large room covered with hangings; her habit is a rich embroidered gown and kirtle, with the robe of state; in her right-hand she holds a scepter, and in her left the mound or globe.—The dress of Gascoigne is fantastical enough; one half of his habit is like that of a poetry professor, and the other half is the dress of a soldier, to which the motto holden by a hand above alludes, “ *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio;*” by which he meant to signify, that he was ready to take up either his pen, or his sword, in the defence of his sovereign mistress.

In

* Also from the account of her wardrobe, in which she had such an incredible number of changes of garments.

In a MS. which seems to have been written about the middle of this queen's MS. in the reign, I met with the following orders for reformation of the head-dress for Harl. Lib. gentlewomen: mark. 1776.

First, None shall wear an ermyne, or lettice bonnet, unless she be a gentlewoman born, having armes

Item, A gentleman's wife (she being a gentlewoman born) shall wear an ermyne, or lettice bonnet, having one powdring in the top; and if she be of honourable stock, to have two powdrings, one before another, in the top.

An esquire's wife to have 2 powdrings.

An esquire's wife for the body, to wear 5 powdrings; and if she be of great blood, two before, which maketh 7.

A knight's wife to wear on her bonnet 7 powdrings, or 8 at most, in respect of her higher blood as before.

A banneret's wife to wear 10 powdrings.

A baron's wife 17.

A viscountess to wear 18.

A countess to wear 24 powdrings.

Above these estates, the noble ladies may wear the number convenient, at their pleasures.

Dukes daughters (says Stow) in the reign of Henry the Eighth, wore gownes of fatten of Bridges, upon solemn days.

Stow Chron.
fol. 867.

In the second year of queen Elizabeth, says Stow; (1560) her silk woman, mistress *Montague*, presented to her majestie a pair of black knit silk stockings, for a new-year's gift; which, after a few days wearing, pleased her highness so well, that she sent for mistress *Montague*, and asked her where she had them, and if she could help her to any more?—who answered, saying, "I made them carefully on purpose for your majesty; and seeing they please you so well, I will presently set more in hand." "Do so (said the queen) for I like silk stockings so well, that I will not henceforth wear any more cloth hose."—For (continues he) you shall understand that king Henry the Eighth did wear only cloth hose, or hose cut out of ell-broad taffaty; or by great chance there came a pair of silk stockings from Spain.—King *Edward* the Sixth had a pair of long Spanish silk hose sent him for a great present.

Ibid.

But in the year 1599, William Lee (master of arts of St. John's college, Cambridge) invented a steel loom, or engine, for the weaving of silk stockings, pieces for waistcoats, and various other things; but even then, they were confined to the nobility.—Upwards of thirty years before that time, one William Rider (near the foot of London-bridge) seeing a pair of knit worsted stockings in the lodging of an Italian merchant, which came from *Mantua*, borrow'd them for a time, and caused others to be made like them. These were the first worsted stockings which were made in England, which being approved of by the commoners, the sale of them became very great, and in a short time the kingdom was well supplied them. At their first appearance, even the nobles themselves used to wear them.—The earl of Pembroke is set down in the Chronicle, as the first nobleman that ever wore any worsted stockings in England.

Stow's Chr. fol. 868. In the third year of the reign of the same queen (says Stow) began the wearing of *lawn* and *cambrick*, which was then first brought to England in small quantities; and when the queen had ruffs made thereof, for her own wearing, there was none in England who could starch and stiffen them; for before this time the kings and queens of England wore fine Holland in their ruffs; but the queen procured some Dutch women, who could starch, to do the same; and *Guillan's* wife was the first starcher the queen had, as *Guillan* himself was the first coachman.

Ibid. 869. But afterward, in the year 1564, (the 16th of the same queen) one mistress *Dinghen Vanden Plasse*, born at *Teenen in Flanders*, daughter to a worshipful knight of that province, with her husband, came to London, and there professed herself a starcher, wherein she excelled; unto whom her own nation presently repaired, and employed her, rewarding her very liberally for her work.—Some of the curious ladies of that time, observing the neatness of the Dutch, and the nicety of their linen, made them cambrick ruffs, and sent them to mistress *Dinghen* to starch; and afterwards they made them ruffs of lawn, which was at that time a stuff most strange and wonderful (says my author) and thereupon rose a general scoff, or bye word, that shortly they would wear ruffs of a spider's web. Soon after they began to send their daughters and kinswomen to mistress *Dinghen*, to learn how to starch: her usual price was, at that time, four or five pounds to teach them to starch, and twenty shillings to learn them to seeth starch.—This Mrs. *Dinghen* was the first that ever taught starching in England.

Artificial Changeling, fol. 535. Bulver, in his Pedigree of the English Gallant, quarrels much with these thin ruffs. "It is indeed (says he) hard to derive the abominable pedigree of cob-web lawn—yellow starched ruffs, which so much disfigured our nation, and rendered them so ridiculous and phantastical: but (adds he) it is well that fashion died at the gallows with her who was the supposed inventrix of it." *

The yellow tinge in the starch was much admired, as may appear from several passages in the old Plays. Thus in the *Blind Lady*, Peter says to the Chambermaid, "You had once better opinions of me, though now you wash every day your best handkerchief with yellow starch, and your laced quioiff." (They used saffron to colour the starch).—In the old Play of *Albuzazer*, *Armellina* says to *Trincalo*, "What price bears wheat and saffron, that your band is so stiff and yellow?"—Yet in *Charles the Second's* days it was out of fashion; for *Wanton*, in *Killigrew's Play* of the *Parson's Wedding*, has this speech: "One that has payed for sin, ever since yellow starch and the wheel fardingales were cryed down."

That they used to pay great and extravagant prices for ruffs, and the ridiculous lengths to which they were carried, may be concluded from the outcries made against them, not only in the old plays and poems, but also by the historians themselves.—In the *Dumb Knight* (written in the reign of *Charles the First*) a woman boasting of her dress, and ruff in particular, informs us, that the one she has on is but shallow, and that she has one at home which is a full quarter deep.

* Hence it appears that she was hanged. But I do not remember to have read this in any other book; neither can I positively determine whether mistress *Dinghen* is here meant, but I fancy not. Yellow starch for ruffs, first invented by the French, was introduced by Mrs. Turner, a Physician's widow, who had a principal hand in poisoning St. Thomas Overbury. She went to be hanged in a ruff of that colour. The fashion began to decline upon her execution. *Granger's Biographical History*. Vol. 2, page 68.

deep. And in the Match at Midnight, a Comedy (wrote about the same time with the former) the Widow particularly questions her Maid, “ if she bid the sempstres hollow her ruff in the French fashion cut? ”—By this we may be led to believe that this fashion came from France; but let us hear what an old chronicler says thereon: “ Noble personages, and other of special note, made them ruffs, a full quarter of a yard deep, and 12 lengths in a ruff; this fashion in London was called the *French fashion*, but when Englishmen came to *Paris*, the French knew it not, and in derision called it the *English monster*.”

Vide
Stow's Chr.
fol. Edit.
pag. 869.

When these ruffs came first in fashion, the Dutch merchants only sold the lawn and cambrick, by ells, yards, half ells, and half yards; for there was not then one shopkeeper amongst forty durst buy a whole piece, either of lawn or cambrick; and at that time there was not so much lawn and cambrick to be had in all the merchants houses in London, as at this day may easily be purchased in one linen-draper's shop.

Ibid.

“ Milleners or haberdashers had not (says Howe) any gloves imbroydered or trimmed with gold or silk, neither gold imbroidered girdles and hangers;—neither could they make any costly wash or perfume, untill, about the 14th or 15th year of queen Elizabeth, when the right honourable *Edward de Vere*, earle of *Oxford* came from Italy, and brought with him gloves, sweet bagges, a perfumed leather jerkin, and other pleasant things; and that year the queen had a paire of perfumed gloves trimmed onely with four tuftes, or roses of coloured silke.” The queen took such delight in those gloves, that she was pictured with them upon her hands.—But if perfumed gloves were then first introduced into the realm, what shall we say of the “ *sweete gloves* ” mentioned in the inventory of the wardrobe of king Henry the Eighth, at Hampton Court? Not only gloves, but various other parts of their habits were perfumed; and we frequently meet with mention in old plays of civet boxes, boxes of sweet powders, and pots of perfume, &c. as part of the lady's toilet.—In the Comedy of the City Madam, the principal lady asks her maid for her shoes, that she gave orders to be made of Spanish perfumed skins. And the beaux were none behind-hand; as, in Johnson's Comedy of the Staple of News, the Taylor informs the spruce young Penny Boy, “ that his pockets were right good, with true Spanish perfume, the *Lady Elifania's*; they cost 12 pound a pair.” *Lady Elifania* is also, in the Devil is an Ass, set forth as very curious and choice in her perfumes, &c. even to a proverb.—Beaumont and Fletcher have often, in their plays, made mention of the expensive perfumings, &c. Thus, in the Four Plays in One, Craft makes this answer to Desire,

Vide
Return from
Parnassus, in
Collect. of
Old Plays,
Vol. 3.
City Madam
a Comedy, by
Massenger.
Staple of
News, a
Comedy.

The Devil
is an Ass,
act 1. sc. 1.
Moral Re-
present. of
Four Plays
in One.

— Vain delight
Hath ruin'd you, with clapping all
That comes in for support, on cloaths, and coaches,
Perfumes, and powdered pates, &c.

John Tice (says Howe in the Continuation of Stow's Chronicle) somewhere about the fourteenth or fifteenth year of queen Elizabeth, attained to the perfection of making all sorts of tufted taffaties, cloth of tisse, wrought velvets, branched fattins, and all other kinds of curious silk stuffs.

Stow's Chr.
fol. 869.

The 4 Pee's of John Hey-wood, wrote about 1560. For the woman's trinkets at that time, take the following speech of the Pedlar, as it stands in an old interlude :

Dost thou not knowe, that every pedlar
In all kinde of trifles must be a medler ?
Specially in woman's triflings, &c.

Which he afterwards specifies to be

Gloves, pinnes, combes, glasses unspotted,
Pomanders, hooks, and laces unknotted ;
Brooches, rings, and all manner of beads ;
Laces, round and flat, for womans heads ;
Needles, thred, thimbles, and such other knacks,
Where lovers be no suche thinge lacks ;
Silkers swathbonds, ribands, and sleeve laces,
Girdles, knives, purses, and pin-cases.

Some time after the Pardoner asketh why

Women after their uprising
Bee so long in their appareling ?

The Pedlar answers,

Forsooth women have many lets,
And they be masked in many nets,
As frontlets, fillets, partlets and bracelets,
And then their bonets, and their poynets.
By these lets and nets, &c.

Lingua,
written by
Ant. Brewer

Yet these are but modest accounts, to what we find in the old play of *Lingua*, written in the year 1607, the 4th of James the First, where Tactus (or *Touching*) says, " 'Tis five hours ago I set a dozen maids to attire a boy like a nice gentlewoman ; but there is such doing with their looking-glasses, pinning, unpinning, setting, unsetting, formings and conformings ; painting blue veins and bloomy cheeks ; such a stir with sticks, and combs, calcanets, dreslings, purls, falls, squares, busks, bodice, scarfs, necklaces, carcanets, rabatoes, borders, tires, tanns, palisadoes, puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muffs, pulles, fuses, partlets, frilets, bandlets, fillets, croslets, pendulets, annulets, amulets, bracelets, and so many lets, that yet she's scarce drest to the girdle ; and now there is such calling for fardingales, kirtles, busk points, shoe ties, &c. that seven pedlars shops, nay all Stourbridge fair, will scarce furnish her. A ship is sooner rigg'd by far, than a gentlewoman made ready."

Four Plays
in One, of
Beaumont &
Fletcher.

To the same purpose is the following speech of Craft, in the Representation of Four Plays in One, quoted above :

I went (*says she*) to Vanity, whom I found
Attended by an endless troop of taylors,
Mercers, embroiderers, feather-makers, fumers ;
All occupations opening like a mart,

That

That serve to rig the body out with bravery;
 And through the room new fashions flew like flies,
 In thousand gaudy shapes Pride waited on her,
 And busily surveying all the breaches
 Time and decaying Nature had made in her,
 Which still with art she piec'd again, and strengthen'd.—

————— She shew'd me gownes, head tires,
 Embroider'd waistcoats, smocks seam'd through with cut-works,
 Scarfs, mantles, petticoats, muffs, powders, paintings,
 Dogs, monkies, parrots—all which shew'd me
 Which way her money went, &c.

The reader, I hope, will excuse these long quotations; but as they convey to us several parts of drefs not elsewhere to be found, I have thought the insertion of them absolutely necessary.

At the beginning, and before the reign of Elizabeth (says Howe) the making or wearing of silk buttons was very little, or not at all known to the common people, they having their buttons constantly made of the same stuff with their doublets, coats, and jerkins.—The honourable personages, as well women as men (continues he) did wear borders of great chrystal buttons about their caps or hat-bands, to distinguish between the gentry and others: but in the 10th year of queen Elizabeth, many young citizens and others began to wear chrystal buttons upon their doublets, coats and jerkins; and then the former wearing of borders, and hat-bands set with chrystal buttons, ceased. And within a few years afterwards buttons of thread, of silk, of hair, and of gold and silver twist, became common, and were chiefly worn.

Howe also informs us, that about the same time, nay even before, they began to wear buckles in their shoes; the gentlemen wore them either of silver, or copper gilt, whilst the common people wore them of copper only: but (says he) shoe roses, either of silk or stuff, were not then used, or even known; nor were scarfs above the value of four nobles, or thirty shillings at the most, worn by any persons whatsoever; nor garters above the price of six shillings a pair. But at this day (that is, about the latter end of the reign of James the First) men of mean rank wear garters and shoe roses at more than five pounds price each [see the figure of the earl of Somerset, Plate 16, N^o. 4].—But even these were but very moderate prices, if we may believe the words of Satan, in the Devil is an Ais, who there crying out at the extravagances of the age [this play was first acted anno 1616] says, that they had

The Devil
 is an Ais,
 by Johnson,

————— Tissue gowns

Garters and roses, fourscore pound a pair;
 Embroidered stockings, cut-work smocks and shirts, &c.

But perhaps, as the Devil is the father of lies, he may here have stretch'd a little beyond the truth.—And some (continues Howe) wear scarfs from ten pound a-piece to thirty, nay and more. The same may be truly said concerning wrought waistcoats: time was when no workman knew how to make a wrought waistcoat worth five pounds, nor did any of the first lords of the land wear any

at that price, although at this day many milleners shops are stored with rich and curious embroidered waistcoats, of the full value of ten pound apiece, twenty pound, and some even forty pound.*

Every Man out of his Humour, by Johnson. In Every Man out of his Humour is a passage which may perhaps throw some light upon the prices of a gallant's dress, towards the latter end of Elizabeth's reign. Fungoso therein thus reckons up the cost of the beau Fastidio's habit: "Let me see (says he) the doublet; say fifty shillings the doublet, and between three and four pound the hose: then the boots, hat, and band; some ten or eleven pound will do it all."—And the above-mentioned Fastidio, describing a duel between him and another, mentions these particulars of his dress: "I had on (says he) a gold cable hat-band, *then new come up*, [this play was first acted in the year 1599] of massive goldsmith's work, which I wore about a French murrey hat that I had, the brims of which were thick embroidered with gold twist and spangles; I had also an Italian cut-work band round my neck, ornamented with pearls, which cost me three pounds at the Exchange:—he (*the antagonist*) making a reverse blow, falls upon my embossed girdle, (I had thrown off the hangers a little before,) strikes off a skirt of a thick doublet I had, lined with four taffataes, cuts off two panes of embroidered pearl, rends through the drawings-out of tissue, enters the linings, and skips the flesh; and not having leisure to put off my silver spurs, one of the rowels catch'd hold of the ruffle of my boot, which being Spanish leather, and subject to tear, overthrows me, and rends me two pair of silk stockings that I had put on (it being a raw morning) of a peach colour and another."—The dress of a beau of that age is also, in the same play, described by Asper in these words: "That a rook by a py'd feather,—the cable hat-band, or a three piled ruff,—a yard of shoe tye, or the Switzer's knot upon his French garters, should affect a humour!"

Stow's Chr. tol. 1038. Until the 10th or 12th year of queen Elizabeth, there were but few silk-shops in London, and those only kept by women, not by men as they now are; and at that time there was not so much silk in all the silk-shops, or so many sorts of gold or silver thread, and lace, as at this day are to be found in several various particular shops in Cheapside, and other places. At which time above-mentioned, and for three or four years afterwards, the citizens wives in general were constrained to wear white knit caps of woollen yarn, unless their husbands were possessed of great value in the queen's books, or could prove themselves gentlemen by descent. And then (adds Howe) ceased the wearing of *minevor* caps (otherwise three-cornered caps) which in former times was the usual head-dress for the ladies and matrons.*

And here, perhaps, it may not be improper to insert some few particulars relative to the dress amongst the citizens, which seems to have been peculiar to them.

* These *minevor* caps were white, and three-square, and the peaks thereof were full three or four inches from the head. But the aldermen's wives, and people of such stations, made themselves *bonnets* of velvet, after the fashion of the *minevor* caps, but larger, which made a great show upon the head. But these (adds my author) are now (An. Dom. 1631) almost forgotten.—Vide Stow's Chron. page 1039.

them. In the London Prodigal (written towards the latter end of the 16th, or early in the beginning of the 17th century) Civet the citizen says to Frances,

London
Prodigal,
thought to
be Shake-
spear's.

No Frank;—I'll have thee go like a citizen,
In a guarded gown, and a French hood.*

But Delia thinking this too fine, advises him to let her go like his own mother.—He returns, “There's a jest indeed! Why she went in a fringed gown, a single ruff, and a white coat; and my father in a mocado coat, a pair of fatten sleeves, and a fatten back.”—This also confirms the historian's account (above quoted) that the children could not be content to go as their fathers had done, but were constantly aiming at something still more grand and pompous.

In the comedy of Eastward Hoe, the affected Girtred speaks to her modest sister with disdain, of her city habit:—“Do you wear (says she) your quioff; with a London licket; your flamen petticoat, with two guards; the buffin gown, with the tuckstiffie cap, and the velvet lace?” And afterwards she expresses her contempt that her sister should be married in a taffata hat.

Eastward
Hoe, first
print. 1605;

In the City Madam, Luke says to his sister, who is wife to a wealthy merchant,

The City
Madam, by
Massenger.

————— You wore
Sattin on solemn days, a chain of gold;
A velvet hood, rich borders,—and sometimes
A dainty minever cap,—a silver pin
Headed with a pearl, worth three-pence;—and thus far:
You were privileg'd:—no man envied it,
It being for the city's honour; that
There should be a distinction made between
The wife of a Patrician and a Plebeian.

But (continues he) ever since your husband was knighted, the case was entirely alter'd;

The reverend hood cast off—your borrow'd hair,†
Powdered and curl'd, was by your dresser's art
Form'd like a coronet, hang'd with diamonds—
And richest orient pearls; your caskanets

That

* The French hood was not indeed peculiar to the city alone, though much affected there. I am not able to ascertain its date, but I read of it as early as the reign of Henry the Eighth; for Hollinghead informs us that lady *Ann of Cleves*, the day after her arrival into England, was attired after the English fashion, with a French hood, which became her exceeding well. (Hollinghead, vol. 2, fol. 1577.)—Yet they seem to have been out of fashion when Massenger wrote his play of the City Madam, about the middle of the 17th century; for the maid-seeing her young mistress in French hoods, &c. cries out, “My young ladies in buffin gowns and green aprons! tear them off!—What, and a French hood too, now 'tis out of fashion! a fool's cap would be better!”—The lady, plate 22 of this vol. fig. 9, has the French hood upon her head.

† About the middle of the 17th century the ladies used to cut off their hair, and instead thereof wore perukes. We find many instances of this in the old plays. In the *Blind Lady*, written about that time, she (*the Blind Lady*) while she is dressing herself, calls for her *perriwig*; and in the *Mad World my Masters*, Sir Penitent Brothel speaks of Mrs. Hairbrain's *perriwig*.

That did adorn your neck, of equal value;
 Your Hungerland bands, and Spanish Quellio ruffs:
 Great lords and ladies feasted to survey
 Embroider'd petticoats: and sickness feign'd,
 That your night-trails, of forty pounds apiece,
 Might be seen with envy of the visitants;
 Rich pantables, in ostentation shewn,
 And roses worth a family:—you were serv'd in plate,
 And stirred not a foot without a coach, &c.

This was (as he observes) transplanting the court fashions into the city, where they seem'd wond'rously to thrive; as we may gather not only from the speech just quoted, and various hints in the same play, but also from the continued complaints of almost all the Comedies of the 17th century. But to go on, and shew the City Madam in all her perfection, Luke farther adds,

————— And when you lay
 In child-bed, at the christning of this minx—(*one of her daughters*)
 I well remember it—as you had been
 An absolute princess, (since they have no more)
 Three several chambers hung; the first with arras,
 And that for the waiters; the second crimson fatten,
 For the meaner guests; the third of scarlet,
 Of the rich Tyrian dye;—a canopy
 To cover your brat's cradle;—you in state,
 Like Pompia's Julia.

City Match,
 by Jasper
 Maine.

In the old play called the City Match, Timothy, a rich citizen's son, complains that his father will not let him be gallant and fine in his habit; for, says he, "I never durst be seen, before my father, out of durette and serge.—And in the same play Mrs. Scruple says to Susan Seathrift, a rich merchant's daughter (who was habited like a court lady)

See, now you have not your wire,
 Nor city ruff on, mistress Sue, how these
 Clothes do beguile! In truth I took you for
 A gentlewoman.

How would good Mrs. Scruple's speech be taken in the present age? It would, I believe, be esteemed an unpardonable affront, to inform the daughter of a wealthy citizen, that, notwithstanding her fine cloaths and affected grandeur, she only resembled, and was not really a gentlewoman:—for now indeed all distinction in dress is laid aside, and the wearing of gold lace, rich silks, fattins, and every sort of finery, as well amongst the men as the women, is become so common, that it requires some acquaintance with a person, before you can possibly be able to conceive or know what their real station of life may be, as many people in the present times not only dress themselves out to the full

full extent of their circumstances, but too often go far beyond them, by which means they frequently ruin themselves, their families, and their friends.*

There were also some particularities of dress even amongst the apprentices of London; for, says Howe, "in the reign of Mary, and the beginning of queen Elizabeth's, all the apprentices in London wore blue cloaks in the summer, and in the winter blue gowns; but it was not lawful for any man, who was a servant, to have his gown lower than to the calves of his legs, except he were upwards of 60 years of age: but as the length of their cloaks was not limited, they used to wear them so long that they reached down to their heels: their (the apprentices) breeches and stockings were commonly of white broad-cloth; their slops or breeches were round, and their stockings sewed close upon them, as if they were all of one piece; they also wore flat caps, and not only they, but the journeymen also.—When (continues my author) prentices or journeymen attended upon their masters and mistresses in the night, they went before them, carrying a candle and lanthorn in their hands, and a long club on their shoulders; and many of the apprentices, bordering upon manhood, used to wear long daggers in the day-time, either at their backs or by their sides."

Stow Chron.
fol. 1039.

Ibid. 1040.

Yet, e'er we take our leave of the reign of Elizabeth, let us remark the gallantry of the beaux of that age, with the jewels and other ornaments in their ears, which was esteemed a mark of their polite taste.—Master Mathew, in Every Man in his Humour, proposes (among other things mentioned, to raise money for the warrant against Downright) "to pawn *the jewel* which was in his ear:"—and Fastidio, in Every Man out of his Humour, boasting of favours receiv'd from his mistress, says, "as this scarf," or "this *ribband* for my ear," or so; or "this feather grew in her sweet fan," sometimes, &c.—This ridiculous fashion, Bulver, in his Pedigree of the English Gallant, exclaims against.

Man Trans-
formed,
pag. 535.

Take the following speech of a gallant to his mistress, as it is found in the old play of George a Green, Pinner of Wakefield:

To dignify those haïres of amber hiew,
I'll grace them with a chaplet made of pearle,
Set with choice rubies, sparkes, and diamonds,
Planted upon a velvet hood, to hide that head,
Wherein two saphires burne like sparkling fire, &c.

About the 40th year of Elizabeth (says Randal Holme) the old fashions, which were used in the beginning of her reign, were again revived, with some few additions made thereto, as *guises*, *double ruffs*, &c. The men likewise (beside the common use of the cloak) had a certain kind of loose hanging garment called a *mandevile*, much like to our jackets or jumps, but without sleeves,

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
2014.

only

* Hollar has given engravings of several various habits, as well of the nobility and gentry, as of the citizens and common people. So also Speed (in his Prospect of the most famous Parts of the World) round the sides of his map of England, has given the habit of the nobleman, the lady,—the gentleman, the gentlewoman,—the citizen, the citizen's wife,—the country man, and the country woman, as habited in the year 1631, the 6th year of Charles the First, when his book was published.

only having holes to put the arms through; yet some were made with sleeves, but for no other use than to hang on the back.

These above-mentioned were the principal habits which, with their several cuttings and dressings, wore out her time, but with constant alterations; for sometimes they were broad and standing out, at other times narrow, and close to the body; now long, then wide, and then again short, never standing at one stay.

Patternes
for Lace,
printed by
John Wolfe.

Now, by way of conclusion, take the following pattern of lace, extracted from a book printed at London, by John Wolfe, 1591, intituled "New and singular Patternes and Workes of Linnen, serving for Patternes to make diverse Sortes of Lace; wherein are represented unto us the seven Planets, and many other Figures."—This which follows is for a representation of Apollo, or the sun:



Apollo is here figured leaning with his left-hand upon his lyre, having the rays of the sun round his head, with a cloud over it, and a rain-bow, which arises from a large vase on either side, standing upon an ornament of flowered work; and each of the upper corners is ornamented with a light cloud.—The above book contains a vast variety of other figures; to which I refer the curious reader.

When

When king James came to the crown, many, nay most of the old fashions used in the days of Elizabeth, came up again one after another, as we shall hereafter see.

In 1614, the great breeches were again revived, as may be seen by the figures N^o. 3 and 4, plate 19; and indeed the same appears from N^o. 1, 2, 3, and 4, plate 16, all of which are early in the reign of James the First. Here we may see the expensive garters and curious shoe roses, as mentioned in the preceding reign.—Nor were the women exempt from these expences. In the City Madam a lady says, “these roses would show well, and ’twere the fashion for the garters to be seen.”

But of all the ridiculous fashions, that of the men wearing stays (as the earl of Somerset, N^o. 4, plate 16) is perhaps the most so. The large monstrous farthingale, the ruff, and expensive head-dress, may also be seen in the lady, his wife.

Mrs. Otter, in the *Silent Woman*, standing much on her gentility, talks of her black sattin gown, her wire ruff (the wire ruff I take to be the standing-up ruff worn by the ladies, as represented N^o. 6, plate 14, N^o. 4, plate 16, and N^o. 10, plate 22) and then she speaks of her new suit, namely, a crimson sattin doublet with black velvet skirts.

*Silent Wo-
man, by
Johnson.*

But from the grandees pass we on to the middling sort. Take the habit of a rich clothier's widow:—“She came out of the kitchen, in a fair train gown stuck full of silver pins; a white cap on her head, with cuts of curious needle-work under the same, and an apron before her as white as the driven snow.”—And here I note also the dress of a spruce master taylor, who was a suitor to the fore-mentioned widow, which was “a new russet jerkin, and a tall sugar-loaf hat clapp'd on one side of his head.”

*The History
of Jack of
Newbury.*

The pretty description of the maidens habits (who were working in their different occupations, as spinning, winding, &c. of the wool for the loom) in the clothier's song, I shall (as far as concerns the present design) set forth; it runs as follows:

And in a chamber close beside
Two hundred maidens did abide,
In petticoats of stammel red,
And milk white kerchers on their head;
Their smock sleeves like to winter's snow
That on the western mountains flow,
And each sleeve with a silken band
Was fairly tied, at the band:
Which pretty maids did never lin,
But in that place all day did spin, &c.

At this time a silk gown and the French hood, with chains and bracelets, were only worn by people of rank: for in the History of John Newchombe, a clothier of Newbury,—when he, by his profession, had amassed considerable wealth, and was so much respected that he was elected a member of the house of commons, he purchased the above habit and ornaments for his wife, which was

Ibid.

much wondered at by the neighbours, as something very strange and uncommon. And when he (the said John Newchombe) was desirous of passing his maid for a lady, upon a knight who had ruined her, he purchased for her a fair taffaty gown and a French hood.—And that this sort of habit commanded respect, we may learn from Johnson's Tale of a Tub, where Dame Turfe rebukes her man

Tale of a Tub. for his familiarity with Lady Tub, saying, "How now, you saucy puppy! to use no more reverence unto a lady in a velvet gown!"

Hist. of Geo. Dobson. The young gentleman was distinguished by his good suit of apparel, his cloak and his rapier.—The merchant's dress, at that time, was a plain grave suit of print. 1607. clothes, with a black cloak.

Tale of a Tub. In the Tale of a Tub, by Johnson, we meet with the habit of a rustic, upon his intended wedding day;—"a leather doublet with long points, and a pair of breeches pinn'd up like pudding-bags, with yellow stockings, and his hat turn'd up with a silver clasp on the leer side."

Pass we on now to the reign of Charles the First; and the reader is referred to N^o. 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, of plate 16, together with N^o. 1 and 2, plate 17, all which are representations of the habits during his reign.—Here we seem almost entirely to have lost the large ruffs, both in the dress of the women as well as the men, and instead thereof they have substituted large bands, and kerchers (falsely so named) of rich point and curious lace; and the almost universal custom with the men of wearing boots and spurs, inasmuch that they were seldom seen without them; which fashion also prevailed during great part of the succeeding reign.—In the Lost Lady, written by Sir William Barclay, Ergasto, a court gallant, is thus described, "He wears a deep band, a short cloak, and great boots, so that he looks three stories high."—The wearing boots for riding, and indeed for ornament, I see is at least as ancient as the latter end of the reign of Richard the Second; for where he resigns his crown to Henry

Reg. & Eccl. Antiquities of England. earl of Hereford (represented plate 32 of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities) there is a figure who has a boot on one leg and a shoe on the other; which extraordinary specimen of gallantry was all of a piece with the wearing of their hose of different colours on each leg, of which there are several instances in the work above quoted: and we meet with boots frequently worn by the heralds and messengers, who are supposed to be much on horseback (see in the life of Beauchamp, vol. 2, plate 19, 33, 34, &c.)—They were also much affected in the reign of Elizabeth, and of what constructions they were, we may learn from

Vid. Vol. 2. Bobadil, to whom (when he takes off his silk stockings to pawn, for the obtaining of a warrant against Downright) Master Matthew says, "Pull up your boots, and the want of your stockings will not be observed."

Every Man in his Humour, by Johnson. Amongst the commoner sort of people, as farmers, labouring men, and the like, high shoes were usually worn, though not so much for ornament as on account of their usefulness. In the old play of Albumazar, Trincalo the Farmer, being turned gallant, says "his high shoes are changed into strait boots."—High shoes are also frequently (in country places) worn by the poor people to this day; they have a leather, the which comes up to the middle of the leg, and laces all the way down before, to the instep.

Albumazar.

Amongst

Amongst the other enormities of shoes, before mentioned in this work, Bulver exclaims against those which the women wore in his days; namely, a sort of shoes raised up to a great height, with thick soles and very high heels (see fig. 7, plate 17, of this volume).—Of a worse species we may reckon those of the present age, so very high at the heels, whilst the sole are of a moderate thinness, insomuch that, from the vast rising of the heel, the women are obliged almost to walk upon their toes.*

Pantofles, or slippers, were much worn by the ladies in the morning, whether in their chambers, or when they walked out; which were often very richly ornamented. Thus, in the Guardian,

The Guardian, by
Massenger,

A thin night mantle, to hide part of your smock,
With pearl embroid'rd *pantofles* upon your feet.

I should also suppose that they are a sort of slippers which Gascoigne the poet (plate 15) has upon his feet: if they are not, I confess I know not what name to give to them.

The gentleman, N^o. 5, plate 16, I rather think is in a riding habit; and I am sure that nothing can be said against the decent apparel of the lady, N^o. 6 of the same plate; nor indeed of her N^o. 8. The hair, so hanging in loose curling ringlets, is extremely picturesque and elegant. The last lady has her stomacher adorned with two knots of ribbands, and wears about her neck a handsome kercher of rich point lace.—These elegant and pretty fashions Vandyke, that king of portrait painters, has improved, and varied according to his fancy, in the multitude of his beautiful paintings of many of the chief personages of the realm; and though he has taken the liberty allow'd to all painters, of giving the draperies a loose and flowing air, yet he has, generally speaking, attended very closely to the habit of the times, in which there is something extremely pleasing and striking.—The figure of the gentleman, N^o. 7, plate 16, has the bottom of his breeches ornamented with points, or ribbands tied up in knots; and the figure, N^o. 9, has a sort of lace bound round at the bottom of his knees. Perhaps to this ornament the old blunt Lord in Cupid's Revenge alludes, when he says to a beau,

Cupid's Revenge, by
Beaumont &
Fletcher.

The wars will hurt thy face; there's no sempsters
Shoemakers, nor taylors, nor almond milk i' th' morning,
Nor poach'd eggs, to keep thy worship soluble.
No man to warm your shirt, and blow your roses,
Nor none to reverence your *round laced breeches*, &c.

* Add to these another sort, mentioned by the Country Girl, in Willy Beguiled, where she says, "Upon the morrow after the blessed new year, I came trip, trip, trip, over the Market-hill, holding up my petticoat to the calves of my legs, to show my fine coloured stockings, and how finely I could foot it in a pair of new cork'd shoes I had bought." This play of Willy Beguiled was written in the early part of the reign of James the First.—See Hawkins's collection of old plays, intituled "The Origin of the English Drama," vol. 3, page 356.

The Hog
hath lost his
Pearl.
The Honest
Whore, by
Deker.
The Devil
is an Afs,
by Johnson.

We now begin to find silk stockings so very common, that none who would pretend to the least gentility could make a decent appearance without them; insomuch that, in an old play, a person saith, "Good parts, without habiliments of gallantry, are no more set by, in these times, than a good leg in a worsted stocking."—The women also wore stockings of silk as well as men. Peter (in the Honest Whore) when Bellafront his mistress calls for him, answers that he is drawing up a hole in her "*white silk stockings*;" and Satan, in the Devil is an Afs (heretofore quoted) tells us, that they wore *embroider'd stockings*. But whether this was at the clocks, as in the present age, I am not able to determine. Of which species of finery we have seen many specimens, amongst the finish'd gallants of late years; oftentimes the clocks of the stockings wrought with silk of different colours, and sometimes also with gold and silver thread:—and I fancy that I may pronounce the before-mentioned embroideries were of the same kind; for it is most certain that wrought clocks, with great staring flowers, &c. were very much affected in the last century.

New Inn, a
Comedy, by
the same.

Johnson, in his comedy of the New Inn, which was first acted in the year 1631, the 6th of Charles the First, has given the following lines, as descriptive of the finished beau of that age:

I would (*says he*) put on
The Savoy chain,—about my neck the ruff;
The cuffs of Flanders; then the Naples hat,
With the Rome hatband, and the Florentine agate;
The Milian sword, the cloak of Genoa, set
With Brabant buttons;—all my given pieces;
My gloves the natives of Madrid,—&c.

Puritan, or
Widow of
Watling-
Street.

About this time, and long before, the common wearing of gold chains by the gentry was in fashion. In the Puritan, Sir Godfrey, an old knight, when he has lost his chain, cries out, that it had at least 3000 links, and cost full 300 crowns.—Various other instances may be brought, but let what is said suffice.

Vide
Reliques of
Anc. Poetry,
V. 2. p. 309.

Stewards in great mens houses wore chains of gold, or else of copper gilt, as also certain other of the domestics, as may appear from the old ballad of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury; one verse of which song runs thus:

A hundred men, the king did heare say,
The abbot kept in his house every day,
And fifty *gold chaynes*, without any doubt,
In velvet coates, waited the abbot about.

Every Man
out of his
Humour, by
Johnson.

And in Every Man out of his Humour, Carlo, advising Soligardo how he should appear like a court gallant, tells him, he must have a fellow with a *great chain* (though it be copper) to bring him letters, feign'd from such a nobleman, knight, or lady, and also keep men gallant at the first, in fine pyed liveries, laid with gold lace.

Here we may also speak of rings, which are of very antient date, nay they were used in this kingdom as long as we have any records, and were always worn

worn by every sort of people who could afford to purchase them, not only women, but men also.—In ancient times those made of chrystal were esteemed; for in the antique ballad of King-Estmere, his daughter is thus described :

Reliques
of Ancient
Poetry,
V. 1, p. 67.

The tallents of gold were on her head sette,
Hunge lowe downe to her knee;
And everye ryng on her smalle finger
Shone of the chrystall free.

The Aldermen were distinguished by the thumb ring, as may appear from various passages in plays, ballads, &c.—Thus Falstaff, speaking of his youth, First Part of K. Hen. IV. adds, that then “he was so thin, that he could have crept through an alderman’s thumb ring.”

The ladies in general used to wear a vast number of rings, and also upon either hand. In the Witts, one speaking of his mistress’s extravagances, says, “I’ll waste her to her wedding smock, and her *single ring*, bodkin, and velvet muff.”—In the verses before quoted in this chapter, from Barclay’s “*Ship of Fools of the Worlde*,” is also, “*their fingers full of rings*,” &c. And surely in the present age we lose no ground in this old and lasting fashion; for the fingers of our modern ladies often sparkle with set stones, and gems in rings of gold, to a vast amount. Vid. pag. 76

In the reign of Charles the Second, the fashions sustained many various alterations, every one of them for the worse, being each more absurd than the former.—In 1648, the first year of his reign, we find some alteration in the doublet, (see N^o. 3, plate 17,) and the breeches have the knees loose, and bound round with ribbands, puff’d on, and little tags pendant from each puff; the stockings are loose upon the legs, and the boots remarkable short, with a sort of ruffle within-side of them.—The next figure (N^o. 4) is the poor man, in the habit of that same time: he (in the print from whence both these figures are copied) is opposed to the other, (N^o. 3,) who appears to be a rich man, and person of distinction.

In 1649 we find an alteration in the habit from the former figures; see the gentleman, N^o. 6 of the same plate. This figure represents John Lilbourne, as pleading at the bar: he wears a kind of waistcoat, with short sleeves, and large cuffs coming but little below the elbow; and from thence to his wrist appears another closer sleeve, over which his ruffle or linen cuff is turned up. His breeches, or rather trowsers, are not so wide, nor so loose, as those of the former; they are ornamented down the side, upon the seam: round the bottom, at the knees, the ribbands are much in the same fashion with the former. His boots are still higher, and also have within them, at the tops, an appearance of a ruffle, or loose lining.

In the year 1658 we meet with great alteration (see N^o. 8, plate 17). Here we see the open sleeve and the short-waisted doublet, with the petticoat breeches, the lining of which (says Randal Holme) came lower than the breeches, and tied above the knee. The sides of these breeches were ornamented with ribbands from the bottom to the pocket-holes, on either side, half the breadth of each thigh;

thigh; and all round the bottom ran a single row of ribbands. Some space was left between the bottom of the doublet and the waistband of the breeches, so that the shirt might be seen hanging out over it, all round. The stockings were gartered below the knee.

In the same year also was worn the large stirrop hose (or stockings) two yards wide at the top (see N^o. 14, plate 22) which, with points through several iletholes, were made fast to the petticoat breeches, at bottom of which there hung a single row of pointed ribbands. This fashion (says the above-mentioned author) first came to Chester with Mr. William Ravenscraft, who came to thence from France, in September, 1658.—See also the habit of the common man at that time, N^o. 9, plate 17; and N^o. 10, of the same plate, exhibits the figure of a gallant in the year 1659. He also has the short jacket with the open sleeves, and the petticoat breeches, tied with points to the jacket. These breeches are ornamented with two rows of ribbands, the one near the top, the other near the bottom; the lining comes lower than the bottom of the breeches, and ties round just below the knee, where the stockings are also fastened.—About August in the same year, men wore the large stirrop hose, fastened to the breeches with points, (see N^o. 13, plate 22,) and another pair of hose drawn over them to the bottom of the knee, and so turned down.

About the same time was worn a cap of velvet (like that represented N^o. 7, plate 22) which had what were called ears, turn'd up, and tied with a ribband on either side to the crown. These could be occasionally let down in cold weather, to keep their own ears warm.—The hose bagging over the garters also were worn much about the same time (see N^o. 22, plate 22).

Take the truly ridiculous habit of 1662 from the figure of Charles the Second himself (see N^o. 2, plate 19).—From his short jacket, the shirt hangs a little over the waistband of the breeches, which is ornamented with a double row of ribbands; and at the side appears another double row of ribbands hanging down. His curious wide-topp'd stockings are gartered just below his knee, and so turn'd down; the tops of these stockings are ornamented with curious work and flowers. His square-toed shoes are tied with ribbands in four bows.

His queen (who is represented with him) has nothing very particular in her habit, except the slit sleeves of her gown, and the nakedness of her breast, which is without any handkerchief; and the tucker, instead of standing up round her neck, is turn'd down upon her stays. This custom of bareing the bosom was much exclaimed against by the authors of that age.

In the year 1672 a book was published, intituled “New Instructions unto Youth for their Behaviour, and also a Discours upon some Inovations of Habits and Dressings; against powdering of Hair, naked Breasts, black Spots, and other unseemly customs.”—On the back of the title page, the author has given two ladies heads, the one representing Virtue, and the other Vice. Virtue is represented by a lady modestly habited, with a black velvet hood, and a plain white kercher, on her neck with a border. Vice, on the contrary, is set forth without any handkerchief, and her stays cut low, which discovers great part of the breasts, and various black spots or patches upon her face.

Bulver also, with several others, cries out lustily against these fashions; and I believe, they prevailed at last with the ladies to cover their breasts. Yet the patches

Printed for
Wm. Lee,
at London,
1672.

Pedigree of
the English
Gallant,
fol. 535, &
543 & 4.]

patches stood out a long time, and bid them all defiance; for they continued to be used by the ladies till within these fifteen or twenty years.

There yet remains a still more abominable custom, namely, painting of the face, together with using washes and various arts to improve and heighten the complexion.—These curious arts the moderns must not arrogate to themselves the invention of, for assuredly they are of very ancient date; though the first mention that I remember to have seen of painting being used in England, is in a very old MS. which is preserv'd in the Harleian Library, which I should suppose is full as old as the 14th century;—wherein I find a recipe

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 1605.

For to make a fayr Face.

Ȓeing to gyder the milk of an asse, and of a blak kow and brimstone, of eberyeh y lucke mothe (of each a like quantity) and anoynte thy face, so thu shalt be fayr and hwyte (white).

To make a red colour; the face was first to be anointed with a certain mixture, the name of which is so obliterated in the MS. that I could not make it out; that done, the person was to "be in a bath, that he mighte sweete Wel, and after wasch hye face Wyth Wyne, and so schulde he be (both) fayre and rody."

Another recipe I find perfect.

For to make thy Face hwyte.

Tak a pounde of alum, the plume and the hwyte of 20 eyzen (that is, the white and yolk of 20 eggs) raw, and meng tham togyder, and after tak the rote of sayze, and bray hit yn a moyster, and meble hit togyder, and do theto 4 ounces of enyot, and after distille hit by a leimbyk, and the Water maketh the fyfthe, and yongleth, and hwyte.

In the old play called the Honest Whore, Bellafront, the courtezan, being about to dress herself, her toilet is set forth; to wit, "a table, a cushion, a looking-glass, and a chafing-dish, with a small phial of white mixture, and two little pots, one of white, the other of red paint." But I should here remark, that the chafing dish seems to be for the heating of the irons wherewith she curls her hair.—In the City Madam, a damsel exclaims against her doctor, for sending her cerusses to paint with, which were too common: "He ought (adds she) to have let me had some fresh oil of talc."—And in Johnson's Comedy of the Devil is an Ass, a woman is recommended to the ladies, who has excellent recipes for the face:—"such oils, such tinctures, such pomatums, such perfumes, medicines, quintessences, &c."

The Honest
Whore, by
Tho. Dekker.

City Madam

The Devil
is an Ass.

Nor were the beaux of that age (namely, the beginning of the 17th century) exempt from this abhorrible custom, as may appear in the old Comedy of the Widow. Valeria says therein to Ricardo, "Are you painted? One painted beau has just been here!"—He replies, "Here! a pox, I think I smell him! 'Tis vermillion, sure; ha! and oil of Ben." &c.

The Widow
Vid. ut supra

The figures represented plate 18, of this volume, exhibit the habit of the year 1663, or thereabout, N^o. 1, 2; and 6 are gentlemen, the two first in their hunting and hawking habits, the last in the common dress; 3, 5, 7, and 9,

are

are rustics; 4 is a huntsman, and 8 the falconer, or keeper of the hawks: These last were a sort of people that noblemen and principal gentlemen were never without, but kept them constantly in pay, to attend them when they went a sporting.

In the year 1667 the women wore a sort of garment called Saviarde (see N^o. 17, plate 22) which had four side laps, which were usually of a strip'd silk of various colours, with short sleeves; and in 1670 they wore linen sleeves, with ribbands above the elbows and at the wrists, as is seen N^o. 19, plate 22: and in the reign of king William and queen Mary, that enormous high head-dress (see N^o. 15, of the above plate) was in fashion; and when that was done with, another (as represented N^o. 16, of the same plate) was introduced, which, with little alteration, was worn by the ancient ladies, even in the memory of man. About the same time were in fashion, petticoats with gold or silk fringe at the bottom: some ladies of taste used to have three, four, five, and sometimes six rows in the height, which was called by them so many feet; others had the fringes not in strait rows, but scollop'd, and in various other fashions, as they pleased.—Then also their gown sleeves, with long ruffles and ruffle-cuffs, began, as may be seen N^o. 20, of the same plate.

But to return to the reign of Charles the Second. In 1667 the men wore such a habit as is represented N^o. 18, of plate 22. The tunic was long, reaching down below the knees, bound round the waist with a zone or girdle; and the vest, or outward coat, was loose, with large sleeves, exactly like the great coat of the present age.

At the latter end of Charles the Second's reign, the habit was as is represented on plate 19, N^o. 1, 5, 6 and 7. The first is a baronet, N^o. 5 the knight, N^o. 6 the gentleman, and 7 the groom or commoner.—These habits, with very little alteration, continued during the whole reign of James the Second, and great part of William and Mary's time.

Here we have traced through the various dresses of this realm, till we at last have come to the coat, the waistcoat, breeches, &c. which, with various shortenings, lengthenings, cutting and contriving, hath remained to this very day.—In the figures above-mentioned, we see the breeches are tied below the knee: about thirty years ago they were buttoned above (for buttons were then used, instead of the ties, and a knee-buckle fastening with a strap) and now again they are got below the knee, as they were before.

We may here observe, that in the reign of Charles the Second men did first begin to wear wigs, and those most enormous ones; but they were made still larger in his brother James's reign, and more especially in that of William and Mary, at which time not only men, but even children and young lads, also wore large wigs. And though in the reign of queen Anne this latter custom was not so common, yet the young men had the want of wigs supplied by artificial curlings, and dressing of the hair, which was then only performed by the women.

In the large collection of title pages, &c. in the Harleian Library, I meet with the two following Bills:

The first had the queen's arms, with A. R. at the top; and under it the contents of the bill run thus—

Next Door to the Golden Bell, in St. Bride's-Lane, Fleet-Street,

Lyveth LIDIA BEERCRAFT,

Who cutteth and curleth ladies, gentlemen and childrens hair.—She sells a fine pomatum, which is mix'd with ingredients of her own makeing, that if the hair be never so thin, it makes it grow thick; and if short, it makes it grow long. If any gentleman's or childrens hair be never so lank, she makes it curl in a little time, and to look like a perriwig.

Another fair tonforefs promises to cut and curl all ladies and gentlewomens hair extremely fine, after the *French* fashion: she also dresses the hair as fine upon caps, which is the nicest way of dressing, and is not performed by all that profess cutting of hair.—She cuts and curls all boys hair, after so fine a manner, that you shall not know it to be their own hair.

The Reader must excuse the Coarseness of the English.

Oh monstrous! that counterfeiting what is unnatural should be esteemed a beauty. This reflects but little honour to the taste of our grandfathers.—Surely in this one instance we are greatly improved; for wig-makers now in their advertisementes boast, on the contrary, of making the fine natural wigs, so like a person's own hair that the difference shall hardly be discovered.—It is very just and natural, that one who has by any cause lost his own hair, should so wish to supply that defect as it may be least observed. But alas! (though in this one circumstance our taste is improved, do not the *macaronies* and *fops* of the present age fully equal, if not exceed, the preposterous patterns of their gallanting forefathers? Do not the ladies now, who hang all all sorts of fruit upon their heads, nay some who place thereon a sow and pigs, with other curious animals, almost, nay quite equal the broad-wheel waggon, the coach and horses, and various other pretty inventions of the ingenious milleners, about fifty years ago?—This custom Dean Swift has sufficiently ridiculed. Oh that he were now living, what a fund of matter is there at present set forth for his satirical abilities to work upon!

During the whole of the last century, and even in the beginning of the present, it was the fashion for the ladies, when they walked or rode abroad, or went to the play, or other places of diversion, &c. to wear masks, which in general covered only part of the face, reaching down to the bottom of the nose, so that the mouth and chin might be seen, as also part of the forehead.

About fifty years ago the ladies wore large broad hoops, with petticoats so short that half their legs were discovered; which fashion being justly censured and ridiculed, at last was altered, and such habits as now are worn were introduced in their stead.

But to what a length have I unavoidably spun out this chapter; yet, lest I should tire my reader, let it here finish, and go we on to the

BANQUETS, &c.

Before I proceed with the continuation of this subject, I beg leave to make some few additions to what has already been said in the two former volumes, especially some quotations which will elucidate certain of the curious obsolete customs and ceremonies thereto relating, which I have lately met with.—The first addition is from an ancient MS. in the Cotton Library, written on vellum, as early as the reign of king Henry the Sixth at least. It respects the old customs and state of the king's household, at chief feasts. I have faithfully copied it from the MS. where it runs as follows :

MS. in the
Cotton Lib.
Nero C.IX.

“ At all principall festes the tresorer of the housholde aught to wayte upon the kynge by hys office, to delyver hym hys offoyng (*perhaps offering*) and to kys it. Also the styward of housholde by his office, may sitte in the halle, undyr the clothe of astate, at dyverse festes; seyng that the seide cloth be rolled up higher than his hiede: and shall be served covered, by the kinges servaunts and officeres: In his absence the tresorer of housholde, to be served in the hall, &c.; and in the absence of the styward and tresorer, the countroller may be served in the hall, &c. Also the aforefaide styward aught, when he is in the kynges house, to calle before hym twyse or thryse an a weke, or elles every other day, the husbondes of the kynges house and foursears, that is to say the sergeauntes of every office, and principall officers; that doone, the styward for the tyme beyng, or ellis the tresorer of householde, in hys absence, shall comaunde bothe wyne and ale, and their comaundement aught to be kept and fulfilled; and they of the *pecher house* ought, or oone of them by their office, to be withinne the cupbord, purveyde of the same, that the service may be redy whan they ar comaunded.—The 4 marchalls of the halle, or elles 2 of them for the tyme beyng, aught to be wise, discrete, and personable; to have undyrstondyng of such persones as be honorable, and straungers to besett at theyr boorde; and therfor theyr service is ordeyned, to be *barnes serwyce* and the more large, and in abundaunce ar theyr comaundementes, &c. The yomen ushers aught to bee walking in the halle, and the gromes in lykewyse to ovyr see the sittyng of the halle, and to have recourse to the marchalles, if need be.—Whanne the hall is sett, the tresorer aught to be served furst; which tresorer, if he be a knyght, oweth to be in his fercote of velvet, at pryncipalle festes; and if he be a squyer, he oght to have upon hym a fercote of sad morrey, furred with gray; the wampeles that hangyn upon hys shulders, aught to be furred with the same, and above the purfyle to have a rebond of sylver, as a knyght and an officer hath of golde: state shall he kepe noone but in the halle. The kervers aught to be knyghted; where evyr they be, they sitte as banrettus, and aught to be served therafter; and a questyone it is to make, wether the chief juge shulde be in degre above them, or they above hym: The questyone may soone be assyloed, &c. As for the grete chambre, there aught to be 2 boordes, the oone for the byfshoppes, and the secunde for the chaumberleyne; the byfshoppes
owen.

owen to have at their boorde the kynges chaplyns; the chamberleyne ought to sitte in the inner side of hys boorde, and to be pryncipall at the boorde; next hym the lordes, knyghtes, and squyers for the body;—the ushers of the chambre, next the dore to the kyng; the fergeaunte porter aught to be loged next the gate, and to have hys service dayly at the gate, for hym and for all such officers as wayte upon the kyng at the gate, for fewrte of the same, and to be served *barnys service* largely, and often tymes at hys comaundements, for bycause of lordes, knyghtes, and squyers, that sitten with hym, for the tyme beyng, or other straungers. And when the kyng is servyde of the fyrst course, all men aught to voyde the chambre, but such officers as is assigned to wayte upon the prynce.—And as for such pryncipall dayes, as ony bisshoppe seith masse, he owith to walshe when the kyng doth walshe, and to sitte at the kynges boorde, on the kynges right hand, and to be served covered.—Whanne the secunde course is servid inne, anoone aftyr the marchalle of the melodye aught to goo to the chamberleyn, or elles to the ushers of the chambre, that they may understande the kynges pleasure of their entrynge; and the melody doone, the kyng of armes, and the herawdes ought to go to oon of the seyde officeres, to undyrstonde the kynges pleasure, for their meryment; which ought to be doone as wisely, and as dyscretely, and as worshipfully, as it can be doone. That doone, they (*the heralds*) ought to come to the kynges chambre doore, and to remember wele the kynges tytle, and hys astate, and the crye of larges;—that doone they aught to goo, and crye larges in the kynges halle, in the presence of them all such as sitte in the halle;—and that doone, they may goo to the wyne celler, and comaund wyne.—The trompettes aught, at pryncipall festes, to blowe at every course, both at the gate, and throughe the halle, &c.”

Our ancestors (that is, such of them as were rich and opulent) used constantly to have music at their feasts and grand entertainments. This old Chaucer, in his *Parson's Tale*, maketh note of in the following words:—“Also in yressse of divers meates, & drinkes, & namely such maner bake meates, & disse meates, brenninge of wilbe fire, printed and casselled with paper, & semblable wast; so that it is abusion to thynk: & also in too great preciousnesse of bestell, & curiositie of minstrelcie.”

Chaucer's
Canterbury
Tales.

And after him, Pierce Plowman makes Sloth say,

Could I ye to do men laughe, than lacher I shoulde
Oþer mantill or money, amonges lordes minstrels;
And for I can neither taber, ne trumpe, ne tell no giffes,
Froten ne fissen at feastes, ne harpen,
Jape ne juggle, ne gentilly pype,
Ne neither saylen, ne saute, ne synge to the gyttreine,
I have no good giffes of the great lordes, &c.

Pier. Plow-
man Passus
Decimus
Tertius.

The same is also confirmed by the old songs and ballads; this being the chief occupation of the minstrels, who then used to play upon the harp, and sing thereto the popular stories and romantic rhymes of the ancient heroes, amongst which the British Arthur stands in great repute.

The next addition which I shall here subjoin, is from an old printed book intituled "The Booke of Kervynge," printed by Wynkin de Worde, Anno Dom. 1508. It contains the directions necessary for the butler panter, or yeoman of the sellar, concerning the manner in which they should spread the king's table, &c.—It runs thus :

"Serve your soverayne with wafers, and ypocras. Also loke your composte be fayre and clene, and your ale fyve dayes olde before men drynke it, and be curtoys of answere to eche persone; and whan ye laye the clothe, wpe the borde clene with a cloute (*cloth*); then lay a cloth* (a couch it is called) take your seluwe, that one ende, and holde you the other ende, then drawe the clothe straught, the bought on the utter edge, take the utter parte and hange it even, then take the thyrde clothe, and laye it bought on the inner edge, and laye estat with the upper parte halfe a fote brode, the cover thy cupborde, and thyn ewery with the towel of dyaper; than take thy towell about thy necke, and laye that on syde of the towel upon thy leste arme, and thereon laye your soveraynes napkyn, and on thyn arme seven loves of brede, with thre or foure trenchour loves, with the ende of the towel, in the leste hande as the maner is; then take thy salte seller in thy leste hande, and take the ende of the towell in your ryght hand, to bear in spones and knyves; than set your salte on the ryght syde, where your soverayne shall sytte, and on the leste syde the salte set your trenchoures; than laye your knyves,† and set your brede one lufe by another; your spones, and your napkins, fayre folden besyde your brede; than over your brede, and trenchours, spones, and knyves, and at every ende of the table set a salte seller, with two trenchour loves, and yf ye wyll wrappe youre soveraynes brede stately, ye must square and proporcyon your brede, and see that no lufe be more than another; and then shall ye make your wrapper manly; than take a towell of reynes, of two yerdes and an halfe, and take the towell by the endes double, and laye it on the table; than take the ende of the bought a handfull in your hande, and wrape it harde, and laye the ende so wrapped betwene two towells, upon that ende so wrapped laye your brede, bottom to bottom syx or seven loves; than set your brede manerly in fourm, and when your soveraynes table is thus arrayed, cover all other bordes with salt, trenchours, and cuppes; also se thyn ewery be arrayed with basyns, and ewers, and water, hote and colde; and se ye have napkins, cuppes and spones; and se your pottes for wyne and ale be made clene, and to the turnape make curtesy, with a clothe, under a fayre double napry; than take the towelles ende nexte you, and the utter ende of the clothe, on the utter syde of the table, and holde these three endes atones, and folde them atones, that a plyte passe not a fote brode; than laye it as it shoulde lye :

* Table-cloths anciently were made of great value, for the-use of the nobility and opulent gentry. In Johnson's Silent Woman, Mrs. Otter mentions her damask table-cloth, which cost eighteen pounds.

† I find here no mention of forks.—It is strange that so useful and cleanly an utensil should not have been of more ancient date; but of certainty, in all the old delineations of feasts, &c. I find knives and spoons, but never either forks, or any things which might seem likely to supply their place.

lye: and after mete washe with that, that is at the ryght ende of the table, ye must guyde it out and the marshall must convey it; and loke on eche clothe, the ryght syde be outwarde, and drawe it streyght; than must ye reyse the upper parte of the towell, and laye it without ony grouyng, and at every ende of the towell, ye must convey halfe a yerde that the sewer may make reverently and let it be. And whan you soverayne hath washen, drawe the furnape even; than bere the furnape to the myddes of the borde, and take it up before your soverayne, and bere it into the ewery agayne; and whan your soverayne is set, loke your towell be aboute your neck; than make your soverayne curtesy; than uncover your brede, and set it by the salt, and laye your napkin, knyfe, and spone, afore hym; * than knele on your knee, till the purpayne passe eyght loves; and loke ye set at your endes of the table foure loves at a messe; and fe that every persone have napkyn and spone, and wayte well to the sewer, how many dysches be covered, that so many cuppes cover ye; than serve ye forth the table manerly, that every man may speke your curtesy.—Here endeth of the butler, and panter, yoman of the sellar, and ewery.”

In the same book we are told that the waiters should serve fasting, “butter, plommes, damesons, cheryes, and grapes; after mete, peres, notts (*nuts*), strawberyes, myrtleberyes, and hard chese, also brandrels, or pepyns, with caraway in confetes.”

Here also we may add the terms of carving, as then in use, from the same book above quoted.

Ibid. Lib. fol. 1. B.

“The Termes of a Kerver be as here followeth:

“Breke that dere,—lesche that brawne,—rere that goose,—lyste that swanne,—saue that capon,—spoyle that hen,—fruche that chekyn,—unbrace that mallard,—unlace that conye,—dysmembre that heron,—display that crane,—disfygure that peacocke,—unjoynt that bytture,—untache that curlewe,—alaye that selande,—wynges that partryche,—wynges that quayle,—mynce that plover,—thye that pygion,—border that pasty,—thye that woodcokke,—thye all maner smalle byrdes,—tymbre that fyre,—tyere that egge,—chynne that samon,—strynge that lampreye,—splat that pyke,—saue that plaice,—saue that tench,—splaye that breme,—syde that haddock,—tuske that berbell,—culpon that troute,—fyne that cheven,—traffene that ele,—trance that sturgeon,—undertraunche that purpos,—tayme that crabbe,—barbe that lopster.—Here endeth the goodly termes of kervynge.”

In.

* Thus also, even at common tables, the master was distinguished. In the History of John Newcombe, we find that when his mistress had married him (for he was journeyman to her former husband) she caused him to be set “in a chaire at the table’s end, with a fayre napkyn layde before him upon the table, lyke a master.”

Christmas
Carolls, by
Wynkyne
de Worde,
1521, 4to.
Vide Vol. 2,
of this work,
pag. 19.

In the former volumes we have spoken of the boar's head, as a dish highly esteemed by our ancestors : take the following extract from an old book intituled *Christmas Carolls*, printed in the year 1521.

A Caroll at the byngynge in the Bores heed.

Caput afri differo,
Reddens laudem domino.

The bores heed in hande bynge I,
With gaylens gay & rosemary,†
I praye you all synge meely.

Qui estis in convivio.
The bores heed, I understande,
Is the chefe serpyce in this lande,
Loke wher eber it be fande.

Servite cum cantico.
Be gladder, lordes, both more & lasse,
For this hath ordeyned our stewarde,
To cheere you all this Christmasse,
The bores heed with muslard, &c.

As Hall,
Stow, Hol-
linghead,
Grafton,
Speed,
and others.

Whoever has leisure sufficient, and is desirous of consulting the old chronicles of this kingdom, will find, by the many profuse and expensive banquets made in the reigns of Henry the Eighth, queen Elizabeth, and the succeeding reigns, that our great grandfathers lost no ground with their ancestors in bountiful house-keeping, which in the days of Elizabeth, as well as during the reign of her father, was as firmly adhered to as the most sound and important article of faith could be.—In those days, when coffee and tea, with various other like sops, were not known, it was no uncommon thing for the chief lords and ladies of the court to breakfast upon a fine beef steak broiled, with a cup of ale, and that at eight, or perhaps nine o'clock in the morning at farthest : they then usually dined at mid-day, or one o'clock ; and such as eat suppers most commonly sat down to meat about seven, or a little before, in the evening. Indeed, in queen Mary's reign, the hour of supper at court seems to have been still earlier, for in Fox's Martyrs, Weston promises Bradford that he would go and say evening song before the queen, and speak to her in his (*Bradford's*) behalf : but (adds he) it is to be thought that the queen had almost supped at that present, for it was of past six of the clock.

Vide Hol-
ling. vel. 2,
pag. 1706.

Fox's
Acts & Mo-
numents,
in the Life of
Bradford.

The

† This custom of garnishing the dishes for the table with rosemary was very common in former times, especially at a wedding feast. Thus in the Knight of the Burning Pestle (by Beaumont and Fletcher) the rich Merchant, meaning to make a private dinner at his daughter's wedding, says, "We will have a capon in stewed broth, with marrow ; and a good piece of beef stuck with rosemary."—Act. 4th.

The common methods of housekeeping, as usual with the great tradesmen, and the manner of their servants living, we may learn from the History, before quoted, of John Newchombe, the wealthy clothier of Newbury, wherein a gossip reproaching his wife of unthriftiness, says, "You feed your folks with the best of beef and the finest of wheat, which is an oversight; neither do I hear of any knight in this country that doth it: and to say the truth, how were they able to bear that port which they do, if they saved it not by some means? Come thither, and I warrant you that you shall see brown bread upon the board; if it be of wheat and rye mingled together, it is a great matter, and bread most highly commended: but most commonly they eat barley bread, or rye mingled with pease or such-like coarse grain, which is doubtless of small price, and there is no other bread allowed except it be at their own board: and in like manner for their meat, it is well known that necks and points of beef is their ordinary fare; which, because it is commonly lean, they seeth therewith now and then a piece of bacon or pork, whereby they make their pottage fat, and there with drive out the rest with more content: and this you must do. And besides that, the midriffs of oxen, and the cheeks, the sheeps heads, and the gathers, which you give away at your gate, might serve them well enough: this would be a great spareing to your meat, and by this means you would save much money in the year, whereby you might much better maintain your French hood and silk gown."—Thus we may see, that as soon as the passion for dress became general, by degrees the noted, the boasted hospitality, dwindled away; for so much was then laid out upon their apparel, that they were obliged to make many, and those great savings, elsewhere, to support that additional expence.

The History
of Jack of
Newbury.

Yet a specimen of the extravagances of the last century we meet with in the City Madam, wherein Holdfast exclaims against the profuse feasting in the city.

The City
Madam, by
Mallenger.

"Men (*says he*) may talk of country Christmases, and court gluttony,
Their thirty pounds for butter'd eggs, their pies of carps tongues,
Their pheasants drench'd with ambergrise;* the carcasses
Of three fat weathers brused for gravy, to
Make sauce for a single peacock:—yet their feasts
Were fasts, compared with the cities."

One dish he in particular inveighs against, which may justly serve as an example to the rest.

"Three sucking pigs, serv'd up in a dish,
Took from the sow as soon as she had farrow'd,
A fortnight fed with dates, and muscadine,†
That stood my master in twenty marks apiece;
Besides the puddings in their bellies, made
Of I know not what," &c.

The

* Thus in *Albumazar*, an *old Comedy*, Albumazar asks for "some boxes of white confites, march-pance, and drye fucket, macaroons, and diet bread;" and to compleat the banquet, "some dozen ounces of *ambergrise*, as grey as can be got." By this it follows that colour was esteem'd the best.—And again, in the *Antiquary* (written by Shakerly Marmion, Esq; in the reign of Charles the First) Petrucio wishes the cooks (at a banquet) to have in the middle of the table "an artificial hen, made of puff paste, with her wings display'd, sitting upon eggs of the same materials, where in each of them shall be enclosed a fat nightingale, seasoned with peper and *ambergrease*."

† This was a sort of wine, or drink much esteem'd.—After, in the same play, *Luke* says to his company, "But that a tavern's near, you should taste *muscadine* at my house to wash down sorrow."

Parson's
Wedding,
by Killlegrew

The champion in the play of the Parson's Wedding, being desired to chuse the dishes he prefers for the supper, in the evening says, "Provide me then chines fry'd and the salmon calver'd, a carp and black sauce, red deer in the blood, and an assembly of woodcocks and jack-snipes so fat, you would think they had their winding sheets on; and upon these as their pages, let me have wait your Suffex wheat ear, with a feather in his cap; over all which let our countryman, general chine of beef command: I hate your French pottage that looks as if the cook-maid had more hand in it than the cook.

Match at
Midnight,
by J. Rowley

But the widow's dinner in the Match at Midnight, is plain and homely enough;—"I am set (says she to some guest just entering)—but pardon our rudeness,—you see a Fridays fare for myself,—a dish of eggs and a rabbit;—I look'd for no strange faces."

No doubt there were then, nay always were and will be, some sober people to be found (however advanced an age may be in luxury and vice) who will not sacrifice their health and estates to the cravings of a brutal and depraved appetite; yet on the other hand, every age has been pestered with high pampered gluttons, who determine to gratify their unnatural and preposterous desires with the most profuse and expensive dainties.—Even in our own age, (amongst variety of other cruelties and detestable practises) we have heard of whipping young pigs to death to make them tender—and bleeding fowls till they die, by cutting them under the tongue, to make them white. But no more of this subject;—No, rather let the remembrance of such vices be buried in oblivion than set forth a lasting monument of national disgrace!—I shall only add, that the turtle and venison feasts, &c. of the present age, will most likely some time hence by our successors, be thought as extravagant as we can possibly conceive the banquets and superb feasts of our own ancestors to have been. For certain it is that high living is now more followed than it was in former times, and tho' at the tables of the ancients there was always great abundance, it was constantly much plainer food: for indeed, such a variety of made dishes and sauces so highly seasoned (which are the ruin of the constitution) were not known to them. It is strictly speaking in the quality more than in the quantity, that the great difference is now made between the banquets of the present age, and those of our ancestors.

This Poem
was printed
at London,
1609.

On Sundays and holidays, the youth of London of almost all degrees, the citizens also and their wives, used to repair to Pimlico, Hoxton, Islington, and Newington, &c. places then famous, for the fashionable resort thither to drink ale and eat cakes; a noted house also of like sort was at Tottenham-Court, as appears from an old play of that name: and such was the fame of Pimlico, that a bard in the beginning of the 17th century, wrote a poem, entitled "*Pimlico, or Runne Red Cap*," in which he has delineated several curious characters, and with some humour described the manners of the time: and in the old play, entitled "*Green's Tu quoque*" Sir Lionel the citizen declares, that he has sent his daughter in the morning as far as "Pimlico, to get a draught of Derby ale, that it might fetch a colour in her cheeks."

Ipocras, clarry, bracket, &c. as we have seen already (page 74 of this vol.) were drinks much esteemed in former times; besides which we read of muskadine; the which was greatly affected when brewed up with eggs. In the

the Picture, a comedy of Massenger's, the maid tells Honoria that the courtier "is drinking by himself to her ladyships health, in muscadine and eggs, (and adds she) the rather to draw the liquor down, he hath got a pye of marrow-bones, potatoes, and eringos." In the London Prodigal, mention is made of "a pottel of Rhenish wine, brew'd with rose water:" and in the play of Tottenham Court, I find mortified claret; add to these the sack and sugar, so much talked of, and so much commended by the gormondizing Falstaff.

The clergy themselves were not behind-hand with the laity, in frequenting such places as were noted for good liquor; for in the old humorous comedy of Gammer Gurton's Needle, the old gammer, wanting the aid of the Parson, calls *Cock* the boy and thus gives him his orders,

———— Come hither *Cock* anon,

Hence swithe to doctur Rat, hie the that thou were gone,
And pray him come speke with me, cham not well at ease,
Shall find him at his chamber, or els at mother Bees,
Els seek him at *Hobfilcher's* shop; for as charde it reported
Thers is the *best ale in the town, and now is most rejoyced.*

The boy goes forth to seek him as he is ordered; and when he returns, Gammer thus enquires;

Gammer—Where didst thou finde him boy? was he not wher I told thee?

Cock—Yes, even at *Hobfilcher's* house, by him that bought and sold me: A cup of ale had in his hand, and a crab* lay in the fier, &c.

Some few Notes relative to the prices of Provision.

In the reign of king Edward the third, it was enacted by proclamation, that no poulterer should sell one of the best swans, for more than 4s. and that he should sell the best *porcelle* † for 8d.—the best *ewe* for 6d.—the best capon for 6d.—the best hen for 4d.—the best pullet for 2d.½—*the best poucyn* for 2d.—the best *conynge* (*perhaps* coney) or a peel for 4d.—the best teal 2d.—the best river mallard 5d.—the best mallard of the fynes 3d.—the best snipe 1d.—four *allowes* 1d.—the best woodcock 3d.—the best patridge 5d.—the best plover 3d.—the best pheasant 1s. 4d.—the best *curbi* 10d.—13 of the best thrushes 6d.—12 eggs 1d.—12 small birds 1d.

Farther discovery of the prices of provision, as in the reign of Henry the 8th. I meet with in a MS. account of the preparations, made for the funeral of Sir John Rudstone, who had lately been mayor of London. He died A.D. 1531, Vol. III.

Q

and

* Or apple.

† Note here that the whole of this proclamation, in the original MS. is in old French; such names as I could not well understand, I have left in the same manner which I found them, and caused them to be printed in *italics* for distinction sake.

The Picture,
Comedy.

London
Prodigal.

Tottenham
Court.

Parts of K.
Hen. 4. &c.

First printed
A. D. 1551.
See the Ori-
gin of the
Eng. Drama,
V. I, p. 208.

E. Libro MS
in Bib. Cott.
mark'd
Nero A. VI.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 1231.

and the following are the bills of the proviſions which were provided for the dinner, &c. at his burial :

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Item. in prymys—for the ſpyce brede	7	5	60 egges	-	0 7½
7lb. of ſugar for the ſame	-	4 1	7 dyſhes of butter, at 4¼d.	-	1 3¾
2 unces of ſaffron	-	2 0	the gallone	-	-
2 unces of clovys and mace	-	1 8	Manchett brede	-	1 0
7 unces of peper	-	0 10½	Four hundred of peers	-	2 4
2 gallons of milk	-	0 3	1lb. of byſketts	-	0 8

And here folowes the coſtes done on the morowe for the dynner :

	To the Pyke-monger.	£.	s.	d.
Item 16 pykes, at 1s. 4d. a pece	-	1	1	4
8 roundes of ſturgeon	-	1	2	0

	To the Pulter.	£.	s.	d.
Item 6 roundes of brawne	0 11 8	22 capons	-	0 12 10
10 ſwannes, at 6s. a pece	3 0 0	9 doz. of pygeons, at 10d. per dozen	-	0 7 6
2 doz. of quayles	0 10 0	4 geſe	-	0 2 8
3 doz. of rabbitts	0 6 6	300 eggs	-	0 3 9

In another bill for what was provyded at the month's mind, is

A doz. of chekyns and 2 capons - 2s. 8d.

	To the Bowcher.	s.	d.
Item—A furloyne of beffe	2 4	4 Mary bones	0 8
Half a velle (<i>calf</i>)	2 8		

	To the Mylke Wyffe.	s.	d.
Item 2 gallons and 6 dyſhes of butter	4 2	8 gallons of creme	4 0
		12 gallons of curdde	1 6

	To the Brewer.	s.	d.
Item 3 barrells of ale	11 0	For double bere to the tabull	0 4
A kylderkyne of bere	1 0	Yeft	0 4

Alſo in another bill paid to the brewer, for what was had of him for the month's mind, is as follows :

One ſtande of good ale, and 3 of three-halfpenny ale - 4s. 6d.

To the Vyntener.

£. s. d.

Item	32 gallons of redde and clarett wyne, at 10d. per gallon	-	1	6	8
	3 gallons of makerey	- - - - -	0	0	4

In the vyntner's bill at the month's mind, is for

A rundlett of muskadell (*perhaps the same with muskadine*) - 6s.

The Grocer.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Item. 6 unces of pepper	-	0 9	6lb. of dates	-	2 0
4 unces of clovys & mace	2	4	1lb. of bysketts	-	0 10
2 unces of saffrone	-	1 10	12lb. of sugar	-	7 0
18lb. of pruenes	-	3 0	5 unces of cyminion	-	1 3
8lb. of corans	-	1 8	4 unces of gynger	-	0 6

The Baker.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Item. 4 busshelles of chete, at			For fyne flower	-	0 11
1s. 10d. the busshelle }	7	4	For basterde flower	-	1 10
For hot brede	-	4 0			

The Chaundeler.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Item. A peck and a half of salt	0	6	For packthrede and mustarde	0	2
For candells	-	0 4	For cappys (<i>perhaps capers</i>)	0	2
For venyger	-	0 4	For lofs of pottes	-	0 8
For vergeys	-	0 6	For hyer of pottes	-	0 4

The Cooke.

s. d.

Item. For hys labor and hys companye for 18 messes of meate	15	0
Item. For yerbys	0	8
Item. A quarter of a hundrede of fagottes	1	2
Item. For coles	-	1 6
Item. Paide the turners of broches and skulyans, foure of them	1	4

Add to these the bill found in Falstaff's pocket, which runs as follows:— First Part of
 “Item a capon 2s. 2d.—Item sauce 4d.—Item sack two gallons 5s. 8d.—Item K. Hen. IV.
 anchovies and sack after supper 2s. 6d.—Item bread $\frac{1}{2}$ d.”—But as these are sup-
 posed to be the tavern charges, we may reasonably conclude that they were very
 extravagant; as were also the following, selected from the comedy called
 Tottenham Court. The waiter gives the particulars as follows: “Cakes 2s. 0d.,
 —ale as much—a quart of mortified claret 8d.—stew'd prunes 1s. 0d. (which
 prunes the waiter says cost 1d. per lb.)—and a quart of cream 1s. 0d.” But he
 confesses that he had over-charged in his reckoning:

MS. in Bib. Harl. In a MS. in the Harleian Library, I find a fragment of the Household Book, which book did contain "the Orders of Prince Henryes Howse, as it was by him signed the 9th of Maye, an. 1610."

The Pryses of Fleshe, as the Prince Henrye payethe, as they are agreed for with the Purveyors.

"An ox should waye 600lb. the fowere quarteres, and commonly costethe 9*l.* 10*s.* or thereabouts;—a mutton shold waye 44lb. or 46lb. and they cost by the stone 2*s.* 3*d.* each stone beyng 8 pound:—vealles (*calves*) go not by wayght, but by goodnesse only; their price is commonly 17*s.* or thereabouts:—lambs at 6*s.* 8*d.* the peece."

M U S I C.

Who pleythe on the harp, he should pley trew;
 Who syngythe a song, let hys voyce be tunable;
 Who wrestythe the clavycorde, mystunynge eschew;
 Who blowthe a trompet, let hys wynd be mofurabye;
 For instruments in themself, be ferme and stable,
 And of trowthe, woulde trouthe to every man's song,
 Tune them then trewly, for in them is no wrong.

MS. in *ibid.* Thus says an old MS. book of instructions for music, as old as the reign of
 Bib. *infig.* Henry the Fourth, preserved in the Harleian Library. And in another MS.
 43. namely the inventory of the palaces belonging to Henry the Eighth, I find the
 MS. in *ibid.* following instruments of music mentioned:

Bib. *infig.* 1419. First a pair of double *regalles*, with 2 stoppes of pipes, very richly ornamented.—
 (The *regall*, as Sir John Hawkins kindly informed me, is a small kind of *organ*; its figure may be seen in the Nuremberg Chronicle, fol. 10.)
 Print. A.D. 1493. A pair of single *regals*, 3 stopys of pipes;—after followeth it hath but 2 stopes
 of pipes; the other 2 is but a *cimbal*.—This instrument here mentioned,
 "had one stoppe pipe of tin, one *regal* of tin, and a *cimbal*.
Vyregynalles.—One single *vyrgynall*, and single *regall*, with a stoppe of timber
 pipes of woode:—a double *virgynall*, and a double *regall*, three stopes
 of wooden pipes; (these instruments were join'd together, and besides these
 there were single *virgynalls* without the *regalls*):—a pair of *claricordes*;—
citterons, or *Spanisb vialles*:—*citteron* pipes of ivory, called *cornetts*;—*vialles*,
 great and small;—a *lute*, being in a case, with a *citteron*;—*flutes*;—*flutes*,
 called *pilgrims flaves*;—*crumborns* (I do not know but that these were of the
 same sort with those now called *French horns*);—*recorders*;—*base recorders*;
 —*recorders* of oaken bowes (the *recorder* was a sort of pipe not much unlike
 the *hautboy*; it was blown into, and stopp'd with the fingers);—a pipe for a
taberde;—*shalmes* (a *shalma* was a sort of wind pipe);—a *bagpipe*;—a *flute* of
 glasse;—a short instrument called *dulcerisse* (the same perhaps with *dulcimer*).

The reader will not be much surprized at this great variety of instruments of music belonging to the above-mentioned prince, when he is inform'd from Hall, that he (Henry the 8th) was very fond of music, often amusing himself with "playing at the *recorders*, *flute*, *virginalls*, and in setting of songes, or making of balattes: he did (continues my author) set 2 goodly masses, every of them 5 partes, which were songe oftentimes in hys chapel, and afterwards in divers other places.

Hall's Union
sub Vit.
Hen. 8.

Stow informs us, that in the fourth year of queen Elizabeth, "John Rose, dwelling in Bridewell, devised and made an instrument with wyer strings, commonly called the *bandora*, and left a son, far excelling himselve in making *bandores*, *voyal de gamboes*, and other instruments." Michael Drayton, in the following verses, speaks of the various sorts of music, as used in England:

Stow's Chr.
fol. 86g.

—Their height of skill might liveliest be exprest;

The trembling *lute* some touch, some strain the *viol* best

In set which there were seene, the music wondrous choice:

Some likewise there affect the *gamba* with the voice,

To shew that *England* could variety afford.

Some that delight to touch the sterner wyerie chord,

The *cythron*, the *bandora*, and the *theorbo* strike:

The *gittern* and the *kit* the wand'ring fiddlers like.

So were there some againe, in this their learned strife,

Loud instruments that lov'd; the *cornet* and the *phise*,

The *bobby*, *sagbut* deepe, *recorder*, and the *flute*;

Even from the shrillest *shawme* unto the *cornamute*.

Some blow the *bagpipe* up, that plaies the country round;

The *taber* and the *pipe* some take delight to found.

Poly-olbion
Song the 4th
fol. 63.

In the play of *Ferrex* and *Porrex*, each act is preceded by a dumb show, and before that was begun there was some particular music performed. before the first dumb show, "the music of violins began to play;" the second, "the music of cornets;" the third, "the music of flutes;" the fourth, "the music of hautboys;" and lastly, before the fifth show, "the drums and flutes began to found."

Vide Origina
of the
Eng. Drama
Vol. 2.

In the *Sad Shepherd* (by Johnson) mention is made of "the *bells*, the *pipes*, the *tabors*, and the *timburines*;" and in the same play Robin Hood says,

Sad Shep-
herd, by Ben
Johnson.

"The woodman met, the damsels and the swaines,

The neatherds, plowmen, and the *pipers* loud;

And each did dance, some to the *kit* or *crowd*,

Some to the *bagpipe*, some the *tabret* mov'd."

Concerning the horns, used by the huntsmen and game-keepers, I meet with the following account in a MS. entitled the *Master of the Game*, which was written for the use of king Henry the fifth, to whom it was presented.

MS. in the
Royal Lib.
infig. 18. C.
XVIII.

"There be (says the author) diverse manners of hornes; that is to say bugles, great abotes, hunts hornes, ruettes, small foster hornes, and many hornes

hornes of 2 manners ;—the one manner is, those which are waxed with greene wexe, and be greater of sound; and because that they be best for good hunters, therefore I wol devise how and of what fashon they shul be drive: First it should be drive of 2 spanne length, and not too michleſs more (*i. e. not much more*) neither michleſs lesſe, and not too crookyng, neither too straight, but that the flew may be 3 or 4 fingers uppermore (*or bigger*) than the head, or great end; and also that it be as great, and hollow driven as it may, to the lengthe; and that it be shorter at the side to the bawdericward, then at the nether side; and that the head be as wide as it may be, driven smaller and smaller to the flew; and that it be well waxed thicker, or thinner after, as the hunter thinketh it wol best sowne; and that it be halfe the lengthe of the horne, from the flew to the binding; and also that it be not too small driven, from the binding to the flew; for if it be, the horne woulde be too meane of sounde.—As for the other maner, as hornes of feutres, and woodmen, I speake not of—for every small horne and other meane hornes unwaxed, both goode ynough for them.”

Putten. Art
of English
Poesy, p. 69.

The minstrels * and musicians, used to stroll about the country, and at the fairs, feasts, weddings, &c. did play, and sometimes sing to their musick; relative to these musicians, and the state of ballad singing in the reign of Elizabeth, take the following extract from Puttenham's art of English poesy; “small and popular musicks, sung by these *cantabanqui*, upon benches and barrels heads, where they have none other audience than boys or country fellows, that passe by them in the stretes; or else by blind harpers, or such taverne minstrels, that give a fit † of mirth for a groat; their matter being for the most part stories of old time, as the tale, of Sir Topas, the reportes of Bevis of Southampton, Guy of Warwicke, Adam Bell and Clymne of the Clough, and such other old romances or historical rhymes, made purposely for recreation of the common people at the Christmas dinners and brideales, and in tavernes and ale-houses and such other places of base resort.” Thus in the old history of John Newchombe, the widow being with two of her gallants at a fair, entered a tavern, where “they had not sitten long (says the author) but in comes a noise of musicians in tawny coates, who (putting of their cappes) asked if they would have any musick.” With these we may put the *wakis* or *wakes*, who are certain people that go through the streets at midnight, about Christmas time, and the beginning of the New Year, playing their music, and singing of carols, hymns, &c.

I

* See a large account of these minstrels in the first volume of Dr. Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry.

† *Fit* is the part of a song or ballad, which is commonly divided into several, and the minstrel had a groat for every fit or part which he sung. Thus, in the Blind Beggar of Bethnal-Green, is the following verse:

Then give me leave, nobles and gentles, each one,
One song more to sing, and then I have done;
And if that it may not win good report,
Then do not give me a GROAT for my sport.

(See Reliques of Ancient Poetry, vol. 2, page 174.)

I find them mentioned in Johnson's Silent Woman, where they are called "*Waights*."—And again, in the prologue to the Knight of the Burning Pestle, the Citizen says to the actor of the prologue,

What stately music have you?

You have shawns.

Prologue. Shawns? No.

Citizen. Let's have the *waits* of Southwark!

They are rare fellows as any in England.

SPORTS and PASTIMES.

Master John Gyfford, and William Twety, that were with king Edward MS. in the
the Second, composed a book on the Craft of Hunting, the which book is now Cotton Lib.
preserv'd in the Cottonian Library: part of it is in verse, and part in prose. It mark'd
beginneth thus: Vespasianus;
B, XII,

All suche dysport as voydeth ydilnesse
It fytyth every gentilman to knowe,
For myrth anexed is to gentilnesse;
Wherefore among alle other, as I trowe,
'To know the crafte of hunting, and to blowe,
As this booke shall witnesse, is ove the beste,
For it is holsum, pleasaunt, and honest:

And for to sette yonge hunterys in the way
To venery, I cast me fyrst to go;
Of wheche 4 bestes be, that is to say,
The *bare*, the *berte*, the *wulfbe*, the wild *boor* also.
And ther ben other bestis, fyve of the chase,
The *buk* the first, the *do* the seconde,
The *fox* the thyrde, whiche oft hath hard grace;
The *fertbe*, the *martyn*, and the last the *roo*.

The *fertbe* and the *martyn* must be both one beast, otherwise there are six in number, and the first line of the verse limits them to five.—The *martyn* is, I fancy, the same with the animal now called *martin cat*.—The *roo* is sometimes called *roobuck*.

And thre other bestes beene of gret dysport,—
The *grey* is one thereof, with his slepy pace;
The *cat* another; the *otre* one also.

The *grey* was the *badger*, and the *cat* here mentioned is the *pole-cat*.

To the above verses is subjoined three illuminations, exhibiting coloured delineations of all the beasts therein mentioned.—From thence the authors (having

(having thus opened their design in verse) proceed in prose to give the following account of the boar and the hart :

The Boor.—First he is a *pig*, as long as he is with his damme; and when his damme levyeth hym, then he is called a *gorgeaunt*; and the 3d yere he is called an *boggast*; and when thay be 4 yere of age, they shall departe fro the found for age; and when he goeth soole, than is he called a *boor*.

Now wyl we speke of the *Hert*; and speke we of his degrees, that is to say, the fyrst yere he is a *calfe*, the secunde a *broket*, the thyrde yere a *spayer*, the fourthe yere a *stagg*, the fifthe yere a greet *stagg*, and the sixth yere a *bert*.

Then the authors set forth instructions to know the age of the *stag* by the shooting of his horns. That done, by the way of question and answer, they proceed to inform the hunter how he ought to blow his horn, at the different points of the hunt.

Of Blowyng.

Question.—Syr Hunter, for how many bestis shall a man blow the *mene*?

Answer.—For thre males, and for one femalle; that is to say, for an hert, the boor, the wolfh male, and also the wolfh female, as wel as to her husband.

Quest.—How shal ye blowe, when ye have sen the hert?

Ans.—I shal blowe after one *mote*, 2 *motes*; and if myn houndes come not hastily to me as I wolde, I shall blow 4 *motes*; and for to hast them to me, and for to warne the gentelys that the hert is sene, then shall I *rechase* on my houndes 3 times; and whan he is ferre from me, then shal y *chase* hym in this manner,—*Trout, trout, tro-ro-rot, trout, trout, tro-ro-rot, trout-ro-rot, trou-ro-rot*.

Quest.—Syr Hunter, why blow you so?

Ans.—For cause that the hert is seen, and y wot nene, whedir that myn hundis be become fro myn meyne.

Quest.—And what maner of *chase* clepe you that?

Ans.—We clepe it the *chase* of the *forloyne*. I *chase* with my houndis that be huntynge another *chase*, that is clepid the *perfyzt*; then ye shall begynne to blow a longe *mote*, and afterwarde 2 shorte *motes*, in this manner, *Trout, trout*, and then *trout, tro-ro-rot*, begynnyng with a long *mote*; for every man that is a bowte yow, and can skille of venery, may knowe in what poynt ye be in yowre game, by yowre horne. Another chase ther is, whane a mane hath set up *archerys*, and grey *boundes*, and the beste be founde, and passe out the boundys, and myne houndes after: then shall I blowe on this maner, a *mote*, and afterward the *rechase* upon my houndys, that be passed the boundys; which be the boundes that we asgnyd.

Quest.—Sir Hunter, wole ye sech this chase?

Ans.—Ya, sir. If it be a beste in streit, or in chase, and myn houndes pass out on the boundes, and if ye wyl not that they chase eny longer, I shall blowe a *mote*, and after ward I shall strake after myn houndes, for to have them a yen; and whan the *chevet* is take, ye shall seye *howe barrowe*.

Then

Then followeth certain rules to be observed when the beasts so hunted should be taken by the hounds.—As first, of the *Hare*.

And whanne the *bare* is take, and your houndes have ronned well to hyr, ye shall blowe; and afterward ye shal give to your houndes the hallow, and that is the syde of the shuldres, the neck, and the hed; and the loyne shall to the kechone.

And whanne the *bert* is take, ye shal blowe 4 *motys*, and it shall be defected as of other bestes; and if your houndes be bold, and have slayn the *bert* with strength of hunting, ye shall have the skynne; and he that undoeth hym, shall have the shuldre, by lawe of venery; and the houndes shall be rewardid with the nekke, and with the bowellis, with the fee, and they shall be etyn under the skynne; and therefore it is clepid the *guarre*: and the hed shal be brout homme to the lord of the skynne; the *wex*, the *gargilonne*, above the tayle forched on the right honde. Thanne blow at the dore of the halle the *pryse*.

Whanne the *buk* is i take, ye shal blowe *pryse*, and reward the houndes with the paunche and the bowellis.

Whan the *bore* is i take, he be defetyd alvelve; and he shal have 32 hasceleytys, and ye shal gif your houndes the bowellis, boyled with bredd; and it is callyd *reward*, for cause that it is etyn on the earth, and not on the skynne. When he shall be carried home, the houndes shall be rewarded with the fete, and the body shall to the kechyne.

The feshounne of the *fox* begynneth at the Nativity of our Lady, and duryth til the Annunciacion; and the *bare* is alway in feshounne to be chafyd.

The names of the different hounds for hunting, I find mentioned in the book intituled "The Master of the Game," written for the use of king Henry the Fifth, by one who was master of the game to his father, Henry the Fourth.

MS. in the
Royal Lib.
infig. 18. C.
XVIII.

Of Raches, or Houndes.

First the *renning boundes*, the same with those to chase the hares, &c.—the *grey boundes*—the *alauntes*, or *bull dogs* (these were chiefly for hunting the boar).—The *spaniel* was a *bound* for hawking: "his craft (says my author) is for the perdrich, and the quayle; it is a goode hounde to a man that hath a good goshhawke, or tercel, or sparhawk, for the perdrich; and also when they be taught to be couchers, they beth goode for to take the perdrich and quaille in a nette.—The *mastiff* is also a good hounde for hunting of the wild boar.

Take from the same book

The Ordenaunce, and the Maner of Hunting, whan the Kynge would Hunt in the Forrest, or in Parke, for the Hert, with Bowes and Grey Houndes.

"The maister of the game should be accorded with the maister foster, or parker, wether that it be where the kynge shal hunt, such a day,—and if the sette be wide, the foresayde foster or parker should warn the sheriffe of the shyre

that the huntynge shall be in, for to ordayne stable sufficient, and carts eke for to bring the deere that shoulde be slayne at the place, there as the quirres of huntyngs han been accoslymid.—And then he shoulde warne the hunters, and the feutriers, whider they shoulde comen; and the foster shoulde have men to meete with hym, that they goe not ferthur, nor strayle aboute, for dreade least they fraye the game er the kynge come, and if the hunting shall be in a parke, all men shoulde abyde at the parke gayte;—saf the stables, that oweth to be set for the kynge ere he come, and they shul be fet with the foresters, or parkers. And the morning early the maister of the game shoulde be at the woode, to see that all be ready; and he or his lieutenent, or which of the hunters that him lust, oweth to sette the greyhounds;—and whosoe be treasurers to the kynge or to the queene, or to their leses, as oft as any hert cometh out, he shoulde whan he is passed blowe a *moot* and *rechate*, and lat renne after two, and eise forth; and if it be a stagge, he shoulde lat passe as is sayde and *relye*, for to make the feutriers avied what commeth oute, and to lesse deere shoulde noe wight be lat renne.—And yet have I feyn not to the stagge, but if he were commaunded, and then the maister, forester, or parker, oweth for to show him the kynges stond, if the kynge wool stond with his bowe,---and where all the remnante of the bowes shoulde stond, and the yeoman for the kynges bowe oweth to be there, to keepe and make the kynges stondyng, and abyde there wythoute noyse, till the kynge comme;---and the gromes that keepen the kynges dogges, and chaufise the grey houndes, shoulde be there wyth hym;---for they longen to the yeoman's office, and also the maister of the game, shoulde be enformed by the forester or parker, what game the kynge shoulde fynde withyn his sette; and whan al this is y do, then shall the maister of the game worth upon horse, and meet the kynge, and brynge him to hys stondyng, and tell him what game is within the sette, and of the grey houndes, and eke the stable, and also to tell hym where he had better stande with hys bowe, or with hys greyhounds.—It is to wyte that the *least* of hys chamber, and of the queenes, shoulde be best sett, and their fewtriers oweth to make fayre logges of greene boughs, at their *trillis*, to keepe the kynge and the queene, with the ladyes and gentelwomenne, and the greyhoundes, fro the sunne, and soule weder. And whane the kynge is at his stondyng, or at hys *trystre*, wether he be lever,---and that when the maister of the game, or hys lieutenent, have sette the bowes, and assigned who shall leade the queene to hyr *trystre*, then he shoulde blowe three long *mootes*, to the uncoupling: and the hert houndes, and the heirers, that byforn han be lad by some foresters or parkers theder, as they shall uncouple, and all the hunters that longeth to both mutes, abiding upon the maister of the game's blowynge, &c.—All such game as the kynge sleiyeth with hys bowe, or the queene, or my lord the prince, or other that they bidde with their own mouthe to let renne, of these the huntimen or attendants can not claim any part; but of all others there are certain parts assign'd to them, by the maister of the game, as to the baily, the forester, the parker, &c. in their degrees."

Next to hunting, hawking (in the proper seasons) was esteemed amongst our ancestors.

In the Harleian Library is an old French treatise concerning the keeping of hawks, The author says in the beginning, MS. in the Harl. Lib. mark'd 976.

Quilt volentez sol vous dizez,
 Ke en esleit trobe enai,
 Si cum jo lis e jo l'esgard,
 Et libere al bon rei Edward.
 Kar ja dis effieit Engleise,
 Quilt enseigner e inter couteis.

Which verses import, that he (the author) intended to set forth to the reader what he had seen in the book (on the subject of hawking) written for or by king Edward of England.

Mr. Wanley (who made the former part of the Harleian Catalogue) supposes that the author of this old poetic treatise might have written *Edward* for *Ælfred*, as the latter (adds he) did write a book *de accipitribus*, which is now lost. But I rather believe that the French author made no mistake; for another MS. on the same subject, likewise preserved in the Harleian Library, has this writing at the end—"Here endith the boke of haukyng, after prince Edward kynge of England." But what king Edward this was, I am not able to determine.

MS. in
 Ibid. Lib.
 mark. 2345.

—The former MS. is as old as the time of Edward the First, and the latter was written about the latter end of the 14th century. From the first it seems probable that the treatise here mentioned was either made by the Confessor, or some one of the Saxon Edwards that were before him. In the latter MS. is contained the full directions how to manage the hawk, with a long account of the various diseases to which they be subject, and the medicines to be administered for their relief and cure: in the beginning I find

The Termys of Hawkyng.

In the begynnynge of termes of hawkyng, who so woll him lere, he shall fynde six that ben of use:—the first is *bolde fast*, when he a *battith*;—the secunde is, *rebate* your hawke to your fiste;—the thirde is, *sede* your hawke, and seye not *geve her mete*;—the fourthe is, that an hauke *sayth* his beke, and not *wyppith*—the fift, *caste* your hauke to the perche, and seye not *ley*;—the sixthe is, that your hauke *joketh*, and not *sleeppith*."

Then followeth instructions how to govern your hawk, &c.

"And if your hawke schall fle to pertriches, ye moste make him to know a pertriche; and when he knowith a pertriche, go to felde where is covey, and lete the spaynell flush up the covey; and if that she *abate*, lete her fle; but beware that you constreine her not to flee: and if she neme (*take*) one, rewarde her apon her foule:—but when you come first to the covey, goo afore them some what, and lete the patriche that ye have in your bagge (provided for that purpose) fle be a creauce, so that the hauke nym the pertryche fleyng; then cast the hauke to, and he will nym her withoute doute;—then go fyndde more of the covey, and he woll take ynough of them without any doubt:—then

rewarde your hawke in this maner, take a knyf and strike of the pertriche hedde, and the nek, and strike away the skyn fro the neck, while the hawk plumyth on the pertriche, and then hold the nek and hedde to gyder to her, and then sche wolle leve the fowle, and come to the fust to the mete; then gyve her to reward the brayn, and the eyen (*eyes*) and the flesch aboute the neck; and lete her not fle afterwardes, till she have sewyd her beke, or rowfed:—then is your hawk made as touchyng pertriches," &c.

The hawk being a bird of a very delicate constitution, it was extremely difficult to rear and keep them in health, as also to teach them the several exercises that it was necessary for them to learn, before they were fit for the sporter's amusement.—Let the reader judge of the trouble necessary, from the following single instance:

Alia Tract,
in *ibid.* MS.

To drawe a hawke on the fist, and to rewle (*rule*) her in all poyntes.

"At nyth (*nyght*) go to the mew, and take her fayr and heseley, ryth (*just*) as sche fyttis on her perche, and put on hyr jessis and belles; and loke that the nether jesse be an ynych longer than the farther, for batyng; and than set her on your fist, and bere her all that *nyght*, and keepe her from batyng."

Strict command is given, in all the MS. instructions to the hawkers, that they should have the "*jesses*" and "*belles*" made of the proper size, and proportioned to the strength of the hawk.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
2340.

In the inventory of the goods at Hampton Court, I find (amongst vast variety of other things) mention of houndes collarres, with tirretts and studdes of silver, some gilt,—and hawke gloves, together with hawke hoods embroidered. The hood was put over the eyes of the hawk till she was brought into the field, and when the game was started, then were her eyes uncovered, and the game was shewn to her, which she instantly, with much celerity, pursued.

Hall's Union
an. 16, H. 8.
fol. 139. B.

The vast love that king Henry the Eighth had for this amusement had like to have proved fatal to him; for (says Hall) on a time as "the kyng following his hauke (*on foot*) he attempted to leap over a ditche, beside *Hychyn*, with a pole, and the pole brake; so that if one Edmond Mody, a foreman, had not leapt into the water, and lift up his hede, which was fast in the clay, he had bene drowned: but God of his goodnesse preserved him."

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 2340.

From the above quoted MS. take the several sorts of hawks allow'd the different degrees of people.

Three hawkys longyn to an emperour; that is to say, an *eghyl*, a *watour*, a *millon*, neither lured nor redaymyd for hem.
Ther ben hawkes of tower; that is to sey, a *gersfaucone*, and a tarfenlet of the same for a kyng.
A *faucon rentyll*,* a tarfelett thereof for a prince.

A.

* In an old printed edition of this work, it is *gentyll*.

A *fausone* of the *rocke*, a *tarfelet* therof for a duke.

A *facon peregryne*, a *tarfelet* therof for a lorde.*

There is a *Bastarde*, and that hawke is for a baron.†

A *saky*r, and a *sakyret*, for a knyght.

A *layner*, and a *laynerett*, for a sqwyer.

A *lese* of *marlyons*, for a lady.

A *boby*, or a *cafelett* of the same, for a gentil man of the first hede.

A *gose hawke*, for a yoman.

A *terfell*, for a pore man.

A *sparow hawke*, for a prest.

A *mustkett*, for a haly watyr clarke.

A *resterell*, for a knave.

An abij hawke is *canvas mayle*; a lovyng hawke, an harde, that may indure myche sorowe, and commynly they be the hardyest.

By the 13th chapter of the Forest Law, made by Henry the Third, it was enacted that "every freman should have within his owne woodes, ayres of *baukes*, *sparrow baukes*, *fawcons*, *eghs* and *berons*."—In the 34th year of Edward the Third, it was also enacted, that "every person which syndeth *fawcon*, *tercelet*, *laner*, or *lanneret*, or other *fawcon* that is loste of their lord, that mayntenaunt he bring the same to the sheriffe of the county; and that the sheriffe make proclamation in al the good townes in the county, that he hath suchē an hawke in his custody: and if the lord, which lost the same, or any of hys meny, cometh to challenge him, and proveth reasonable that the same is his lordes, let him pay for the costes, and have the *fawcon*: and if none come within 4 monthes to challenge him, that than the sheriffe have the *fawcon*, makynge gree to him that dyd take him, if he be a *symple* man, and if he be a gentylman and of estate to have the *fawcon*, that then the sheriffe redelyver to him the *fawcon*, taking of him resonable costes for the time that he had him in his custody. And if any man take such *fawcon*, and the same conceyle from the lorde whose it was, or from his *fawconers*, or whosoever taketh him from the lord, and therof be atteinted, shal have imprisonment of 2 yeres, and yelde to the lorde the price of the *fawcon* so cocceiled and caried away, if he have whereof, and if he have not he shall the longer abide in prison."—And in the 37th year of the same king, the following addition was made to the foregoing act: "Notwithstandinge this ordynauce, the offenders doubte but lyttel to offende in this behalfe, wherfore it is ordeyned, and by statute stablyshed in this present parlyament, that if any stele any hawke, and the same cary away, not doying the ordynauce aforesayd, it shall be done of hym as of a thefe that steleth a horse, or any other thyngē."

In the eleventh year of Henry the Seventh it was ordained by the parliament, "that no maner of person, of what condytion or degre he be, take or cause to be taken, be it upon his owne grounde or any other mannes, the egges of any *fawcon*,

Carta de
Foresta;
cap. 13.

Vide
Berthelet's
Stat. vol. i.
fol. 53. A.

Ibid.
pag. 60. B.

Ibid.
11 Hen. 7.
cap. 17.

* For an earl.—*Ibid.*

† This line also is entirely added from the printed edition.

fawcon, gosshawkes, laners, or swannes, out of the neste, upon peyne of impry-
sonment of a yere and a daye, and fine at the kynges wyll, the one hâlfe
thereof to the kyng, and the other halfe to the owner of the grounde wher the
egges were so taken, and that the justyces of the peace have auctorite by this
present acte, to hear and determyne suche matter."—Also it was then ordained,
"that no man, from the feast of Pasche nexte ensuinge, shoulde beare any
hauke of the breede of Englande, called an *myesse gosbake, tasselle, laner, laneret,*
or *fawcon*, upon peyne of forfeyture of *such* his hawke to the kyng;" but to
have hawkes coming from abroad.

These, with various other alterations, were afterwards confirmed.

Now pass we on, and to the account of tournaments (given page 91 of the
second volume of this work) add the following :

From a
MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 1776.

Ordinances, and Statute Rules, made and enacted by John Tiptoft Earl of
Worster, and Constable of England, by the Kynges Comandement at
Windsor, the 6th Year of Kynge Edward the Fourthe.

First, Whosoe breaketh most speares as they oughte to be broken, shall have
the prise.

Secondly, Whosoe hitt 3 times in the sight of the healme, shall have the prise:

Thirdly, Whosoe meeteth twice the coronell, to coronell, shall have the prise.

Fourthly, Whosoe beareth a man down, with the stroke of a speare, shall have
the prise.

Here foloweth wherefore the Prises shall be losse.

First, Whosoe striketh a horse, shall not have the prise.

Secondly, Whosoe striketh a mannes backe, turned or disarmed of his speare,
shall have no prise.

Thirdly, Who hitteth the toyle, or tilte 3 times, shall have no prise.

Fourthly, Whosoe unhelmes himselve 2 times, shall have no prise, without his
his horse faile him.

How Speares broken be disallowed.

First, Who breaketh a speare on the sadle, shall be disallowed for a speare
broken.

Secondly, Who hitts the tilt or toile once, shall be disallowed for 2 speares
broken.

Thirdly, Whosoe hitts the tilt twice, shal be for the two times abated, for 3
speares broken.

Fourthly, Whosoe breaketh a speare within a foot of the crownall, shall be
judged as no speare broken, but a good attaynte.

The Prises to be given.

First, Whosoe beareth a man downe from the sadle, or putteth hym to the
erth horse and man, shall have the pryse before hym that striketh coronal to
coronal 2 times.

Secondly,

Secondly, He that striketh coronal to coronal 2 tymes, shall have the pryse before hym that striketh the sight three tymes.

Thirdly, He that striketh the sight 3 tymes, shall have the pryse before hym that breaketh mooste speares.

Fourthly, If there be any gentleman in this wise, that fortaneth to be longest in the feilde, healed, and ran the fairest courses, and gave the greatest strokes, and helped him best with his speare, shall have the prise:

(Subscribed)

John Woster.

These tournaments continued in all their glory during the reign of Henry the Eighth, who himself greatly delighted in them, and often made one amongst the rest of his lords and favourites. One time in particular he had liked to have lost his life; for being on horseback within the tilt, and his vizor up, when the trumpets sounded to the charge, he, forgetting to shut and clasp his vizor down, rode full speed to meet the opponant (who was Brandon duke of Suffolk). The surrounding people, seeing his danger, cried out aloud, but it was too late: Brandon (who knew not the cause) push'd on, aiming his lance, as he thought, at the sight of the king's helm; but fortunately he passed somewhat aside his aim, for the lance enter'd the helm by the side of his face, and the braces giving way, the helm was forced off, and the king received no further harm than a slight hurt by the sudden rising of the helmet.—These warlike shows were generally succeeded in the evening by a superb banquet and masque, with dancing and other polite amusements.

The reader may not, perhaps, be displeased with the following specimen of the taste of those times, in such princely entertainments, and, for the curiosity thereof, may be inclined to excuse the length of the quotation. It is selected from a vast variety of these grand shows (which did abound throughout the whole of Henry's reign) recorded by Hall, in his Union of the houses of York and Lancaster, and was, both tilt and banquet, holden in the second year of Henry the Eighth, in honour of the queen, and as a token of joy for her safe recovery from her late lying-in.

Halls Union
in Vite
Hen. 8.

Ibid.
fol. 8. &
infra.

“ The morow beyng the xiiii daye of February after dynner, at tyme convenient, the quene with the ladyes repaired to see the justes. The trompettes blew up, and in came many a nobleman and gentelman, rychly appareiled, takynge up their horses: after whom followed certayne lordes appareiled, they and their horses, in clothe of golde and russet tynfell; knightes in clothe of golde and russet velvet; and a greate number of gentelmen on fote in russet fatyn and yealow, and yomen in russet damaske and yealow: all the nether parte of every man's hosen skarlet, and yealow cappes. Then came the kynge under a pavilion of clothe of golde and purpul velvet enbroudered, and powdered with H and K of syne golde, the compas of the pavilion above enbroudered rychely, and valenced with flat golde, beten in wyre, with an imperiall croune in the top of syne golde, hys bases and trapper of clothe of gold frettyed with damaske gold, the trapper pendant to the tail; a crane and chafon of steele; in the frount of the chafon was a goodly plume set full of masers or tremblyng spangles

spangles of golde. After followed his three aydes, every of them under a pavilion of crimosyn damaske and purple, poudred with H. and K. of fine golde, valanced and frynged with golde of damaske: on the top of every pavilion a great K. of golde smythes worke. The number of gentelmen and yomen attendant a fote, appareiled in russet and yealow, was c.lxviii. Then next these pavilions came xii chyl dren of honor, sitting every of them on a greate courser richely trapped and embroudered in several devises and facions, where lacked neither brouderie nor goldesmythes worke, so that every childe and horse in device and facion was contrarye to other, whiche was goodly to beholde.

Then on the counter part entered Sir Charles Brandon fyrst on horse-backe, in a long robe of russet satyn, like a recluse or a religious person, and hys horse trapped in the same sewte, without dromme or noyse of mynstrelsyfe, puttinge a byll of petition to the queene, the effecte whereof was, that if it would please her to licence hym to runne in her presence, he woulde do it gladly, and if not, then he woulde departe as he came. After that hys request was graunted, then he put of hys sayde habyte, and was armed at all peeces, with ryche bales, and horse also rychely trapped, and so did run hys horse to the tylte ende, where divers men on fote, appareiled in russet satyn, awaited on hym. Next after came in alone young Henry Guylford, esquier, hym selfe and hys horse in russet cloth of golde, and clothe of silver, closed in a device, or a pageant made lyke a castel or a turret, wrought of russet sarcenet Florence, wrought, and set out in golde with hys worde or poysse, and al his men in russet satyn and white, with hosen of the same, and their bonettes of like colours, demanding also licence of the quene to runne, whiche to him graunted, he toke place at the ende of the tylte. Than came next the marques Dorset and Syr Thomas Bulleyn, like two pilgrims from Saint James, in taberdes of blacke velvet, with Palmers hattes on their hellmettes, with long Jacob's staves in their handes, their horse trappers of blacke velvet, their tabardes, hattes and trappers set with scolloppe shelles of syne golde, and stripes of blacke velvet, every stripe set with a scalope shell; their servauntes all in blacke satyn, with scalop shelles of gold in their breastes. Sone after came in the lord Henry of Buckyngham erle of Wylshire, hymself and his horse appareiled in cloth of silver, embroudered with a poysse, or his worde, and arrowes of golde in a poysse, called *La maison du refuge*, made of crimosyn damaske, broudered with roses and arrowes of golde; on the top a greyhonde of silver bearinge a tree of pomegarnettes of golde, the branches thereof were so large that it oversprede the pageant in all partes. Then entred Syr Gyles Capell, Syr Roulande, with many other knights, richely armed and appareiled. And thus beganne the justes, whiche was valiauntly ached by the kyng and his aydes, emonges whome hys grace atteyned the price. These justes fynished, every man withdrew; the kyng was disarmed, and at time convenient he and the quene heard even song, and that night all the ambassadours supped with the kyng and had a great banket. After supper, hys grace, with the quene, lordes and ladyes, came into the white hall, within the sayde pallays, whiche was hanged rychely; the hall was scaffolded and rayled on all partes: there was an interlude of the gentelmen of hys chapell before his grace, and divers freshe songes. That done, hys grace called to hym a great man or a lord of Ireland, called *Odevell*, whom in the presence of the sayde ambassadours

he

the made knight: then the mynstrells beganne to playe, and the lordes and ladyes beganne to daunce.

“ And in the midst of this pastyme, when all persones were moſte attentye to beholde the dauncyng, the kyng was ſodenly gone, unknowne to the moſte parte of the people there, onleſs it were of the quene and of certayne other. Within a littel while after his departing, the trompettes at thende of the hall began to blow. Then there was a device or a pageaunt upon wheles brought in, out of which pageaunt iſſued forth a gentelman rychely appareiled, that ſhewed, how in a garden of pleaſure there was an arbour of golde, wherein were lordes and ladyes, moche deſirous to ſhew pleaſure and paſtyme to the quene and ladyes, if they might be licenced ſo to do, who was aunſwered by the quene, how ſhe and all other there were very deſyrus to ſe theim and their paſtyme. Then a great cloth of arras that dyd hang before the ſame pageaunt was taken awaye, and the pageaunt brought more nere: it was curiouſly made and pleaſant to beholde; it was ſolempne and ryche, for every poſt or pillar therof was covered with friſe golde; therein were trees of hathorne, eglantynes, roſiers, vynes, and other pleaſant floures of divers colours, with gillofers and other herbes, all made of ſatyn, damaſke, ſilk, ſilver and golde, accordingly as the natural trees, herbes, or floures ought to be. In which arber were 6 ladyes, all appareiled in white ſatyn and grene, ſet and enbroudered full of H and K of golde, knytte together with laces of golde of damaſke, and all their garmentes were replenyſhe with glyttering ſpangles gylt over; on their heddes were bonettes all opened at the 4 quarters, overfryed with flat gold of damaſke; the orrellettes were of rolles, wrethed on lampas douck holow, ſo that the golde ſhewed thorow the lampas douck; the faſſis of their head ſet full of new deviſed faſcions. In this garden alſo was the kyng and 5 with him, appareiled in garmentes of purple ſatyn, all of cuttes with H and K; every edge garniſhed with fryed gold, and every garment ful of poyſees, made of letters of fyne gold in bullion, as thick as they might be, and every perſone had his name in like letters of maſſy gold; the fyrſt *cuer loyall*, the ſecond *bone volure*, in the 3 *bone eſpoir*, the 4th *valyaunt deſyre*, the fyft *bone foy*, the vi *amoure loyall*; their hoſen, cappes, and cotes, were full of poyſes, and H. and K. of fyne gold in bullion, ſo that the grounde could ſcarce apere, and yet was in every voyde place ſpangels of gold. When time was come, the ſayd pageaunt was brought forth into preſence, and then diſcended a lord and a lady by coples, and then the mynſtrels, which were diſguiſed, alſo daunced, and the lordes and ladyes daunced, that it was a pleaſure to beholde.

“ In the meane ſeaſon the pageaunt was conveyed to the ende of the place, there to tary till the daunces were finiſhed, and ſo to have receyved the lordes and ladyes againe; but ſodanly the rude people ranne to the pagent, and rent, tare, and ſpoyled the pagent, ſo that the lord ſteward nor the head officers could not cauſe them to abſtaine, excepte they ſhoulde have ſoughten and drawn bloude, and ſoo was this pagent broken.

“ After the kyng and hys compaignions had daunced, he appoynted the ladyes, gentel women, and the ambaffadours, to take the letters of their garmentes, in token of liberalitie, which thyng the common people perceyving, ranne to the kyng, and ſtripped hym into hys hoſen and dublet, and all hys compaignions in

likewise. Syr Thomas Knevet stode on a stage, and for all his defence he lost hys apparell. The ladyes likewyse were spoyled, wherefore the kynges garde came sodenly, and putte the people backe, or els, as it was supposed, more inconvenience had ensued. So the king, with the quene and the ladyes, returned to his chamber, where they had a great banket, and all these hurtes were turned to laughyng and game, and thought that all that was taken away was but for honor and larges: and so this triumphe ended with myrthe and gladnes.

"At this banket, a shipman of London caught certayn letters, which he sould to a goldsmith for 3*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* by reason wherof it appeared that the garmentes were of a great value."

The T H E A T R E.

In the second volume of this work, I have already given a short account of the English Theatre; I shall now resume the thread of that discourse, and endeavour to set forth the gradual improvements of the stage.

In the early dawn of literature, and when the sacred mysteries were the only theatrical performances, what is now called the stage did then consist of three several platforms, or stages raised one above another; on the uppermost sat the *pater celestis*, surrounded with his angels; on the second appeared the holy saints and glorified men; and the last and lowest was occupied by mere men, who had not yet passed from this transitory life to the regions of eternity. On one side of this lowest platform was the resemblance of a dark pitchy cavern, from whence issued appearance of fire and flames; and when it was necessary, the audience were treated with hideous yellings and noises, as imitative of the howlings and cries of the wretched souls tormented by the relentless dæmons. From this yawning cave the devils themselves constantly ascended, to delight and to instruct the spectators; to delight, because they were usually the greatest jesters and buffoons that then appeared; and to instruct, for that they treated the wretched mortals who were delivered to them with the utmost cruelty, warning thereby all men carefully to avoid the falling into the clutches of such hardened and remorseless spirits.—But in the more improved state of the theatre, and when regular plays were introduced, all this mummery was abolished, and the whole cavern and devils, together with the highest platform before mentioned, entirely taken away, two platforms only then remaining; and these continued a considerable time in use, the upper stage serving them for chambers, or any elevated situations (as when some of the actors should, from the walls of cities or the like, discourse with those who were standing under them on the lower platform). This appears from several entries to be found in the old editions of the first plays, where mention is often made of the *upper* and *lower stages*.

But, before I proceed in my discourse, I beg leave to present to my readers some few specimens of the ancient mysteries (which will not come in here impertinently)

impertinently) as I have but just now explain'd the manner of setting up of the stage for the performance of them.—The most ancient that I have met with (in its original state) is a fragment* in the Harleian Library; there is no date to it, but the hand-writing of the MS. is at least as early as the reign of Edward the First. The subject is our blessed Saviour's descent into Hell. The interlocutors are, Christ, Sathan, Janitor, Adam, Eva, Habraham, David, Johan Baptist, and Moyse. The story itself is fore-run by a prologue, which setteth forth the argument; it begins thus:

P R O L O G U E.

Alle herkneth to me nou,
 A strif wolle y tellen ou,
 Of Jhesu ant of Sathan;
 Tho Jhesu wes (*was*) to Helle y gan, (*gone*) †
 For to vacche (*fetch*) thenne (*thence*) his,
 Ant bringen them to Paradys:
 The Devel hevede so muche pouste, (*power*)
 That alle mosten to Helle te;
 Nas not so holy prophete
 Seththe (*since*) Adam and Eve the appel ete,
 And he were at this worldes syne,
 That he ne moste to Helle pyne,
 Ne shulde he never thenne come
 Nere Jhesu Christ, Goddes sonne.

Then the prologue recites the prophecies concerning Christ, and thus concludes:

He (*Christ*) was bore for oure nede,
 In this worlde, in pore wede;
 I' this worlde he was dede,
 For to lesen (*free*) us from the qued, (*evil*)
 For Jhesu hevede (*having*) shed ys blod,
 For our neode upon the rod,
 In Godhed, toke he then way
 That to Helle gatis lay;
 The he com there, tho (*too*) saide he,
 Assē (*as*) you nouthe (*now*) shal see.

S 2.

The

* I call it a fragment, not but that the story, or pagent, of "*our Saviour's Descent into Hell*," (which is the subject) is compleat from the beginning to the end,—but because I fancy it was only a part of a larger performance, or an assemblage of pagentes, in the nature of those which follow this ancient specimen. *MS. in the Harleian Library, marked 2259.*

† Note, the words that are difficult to understand, I have explained, and set in Italics, following the difficult words so explained.

The prologue ended, Christ advances and speaks, rehearsing what he had suffered for the redemption of mankind, and declares his intention of coming to the gates of Hell was to set free all those that believed on him. He ends his speech thus :

Adam, thou has duere (*dear*) a boht (*bought*)
That thou levedest (*loved*) me noht, (*not*) ;
Y shal the bringe of (*from*) Helle pyne,
Ant with the, alle of myne.

Then the Devil starts up from his gloomy regions, and speaks.

Sathan ait. Who ys that, ych here (*hear*) thore ?
Ich hym rede (*council*) speke na more ;
For he may so muche do,
That he shal us come to,
Forte buen oure sere (*divers*)
Ant founden hon we pleyen here.

Dominus ait, Thou might wyten (*know*) in thy lay,
That mine woll y have away ;
Wost (*knowst*) thou never (*not*) whet yc ham ? (*I am*)
Almost ys thritti wynter gan,
That thou hast founded me,
For to knowe wet y be ;
Sinne found thou never non
In me, as in other mon,
Ant thou shalt wyte wel to day,
That mine wolles y have away ;
When thou bilevest, al thyn one,
Thenne myghte thou grede and grone.

Sathan. Par masey ich holde myne,
Alle tho (*those*) that bueth thereyne (*or are within, i. e. in Hell.*)

Then followeth various speeches, in which Sathan endeavours to prove, that man, having sinned, is become subject to him ; and Christ, on the other hand, shews that what he has done to redeem lost man is sufficient for his salvation, and moreover adds, that all power is by God given to him, to overcome the powers of darkness. Sathan then ceases to speak, and Christ addresses himself to the janitor, or gate-keeper, concluding thus his speech :

Helle gates y come nou to,
And I wole that heo (*they*) undo ;
Wher ys nou this gate ward ?
Me thuncheth (*methinks*) he is a coward.

Janitor

Janitor ait, Ich have herd wordes stronge,
Ne dare here no langore (*longer*) stonde !
Kepe the gates whofo may,
Y let them stonde, ant ranne (*run*) away !

Dominus ait, Hell gate wolle y falle,
Ant out-taken myne alle :
Sathanas y bynde, ther shalt thou lay
O that (*until*) comes domes day.

Adam ait, Welcome Louerd (*Lord*) God of londe,
Godes sone, ant Godes sonde ; (*appointed or ordain'd*)
Welcome Louerd mot (*may*) thou be,
That thou wolt us come and se :
Louerd nou thou art come to ous,
Bring ous out this lothe (*loathed*) house ;
Bring us out this lothe lond,
Louerd henne (*hence*) into thy hond :
Louerd wost thou whet ycham ?
Thou me shuppest (*shapest*) of eorthe (*earth*) Adam ;
For y thyn hert (*command*) heveld (*beld*) noht, (*not*)
Duere ich halbe (*have*) hit her (*it here*) aboht (*bought*).

In like manner Eve, Abraham, David, &c. offer up their petition to their Redeemer, who assures them that he is come to deliver them from that dreadful dungeon, and carry them with him to Heaven ;—it ends thus :

Louerd for thi muchele (*great*) grace,
Graunte us in Heovene one place ;
Let us never be forloren, (*forsaken*)
For now sinne Crist ycoren (*bath overcome*) :
Ah bring us out of Helle pyne, (*pain*)
Louerd ous and alle thynne ;
And gef us grace to libbe (*live*) and ende
In thy scrince (*faith*) ant to Heovene wende (*go*).

There is indeed in the Harleian Library two MS. copies of a very ancient MS. in the mystery, or rather an assemblage of mysteries, called the Plays of Chester ; the Harl. Lib. oldest of the two is dated 1600, and before the prologue is this entry made : one mark'd 2013, the other 2124.

“ The Proclamations for *Whitsone Playes*, made by *Wm. Newal*, Clarke of the Pendice, ann. 24 Henry the Eighth.

“ For as much as of ould tyme, not only for the augmentation and increas MS. mark. 2013, of the holy and catholick faith, of our Saviour Jesu Christ, and to exort the mindes of comon people to good devotion, and holsome doctrine thereof ; but also

also for the comon welth, and prosperity of this city; a *play*, and declaration of divers storyes of the Bible, beginning with the creacion, and fall of Lucifer, and ending with the generall judgment of the world, to be declared, and played, in the Whitson weeke, was devised and made by one Sir Henry Frances, somtyme moonck of this monastry disolved: who obtayning and gat of Clemant, then bushop of Rome, a 1000 dayes of perdon; and of the bushop of Chester, at that tyme, 40 deyes perdon; graunted from thenceforth to every person, resorting in peceable maner, with good devocion, to heare, and see, the sayd *playes*, from tyme to tyme, as aft as they shall be pleyed, within the sayd city: and every persone, or persones, disturbing the sayd *playes*, in any maner of wise, to be accused by the authority of the sayde pope Clement's bulls (untill suche tyme as he or they be absolved thereof): which *playes* were devised to the honor of God, by John Arnway, then maior of this city of Chester, his bretheren, and whole cominalty thereof, to be brought forth, declared, and played, at the costes and charges of the craftsmen, and occupations of the sayd city; which hither unto haive from tyme to tyme used, and performed the same, accordingly. —Wherefore the maior, in the kinges name, stratly chargeith, and comandeth, that every person, and persones, of what estate, degre or condicion soever they be, resorting to the sayd *playes*, do use themselves peaceblye, without making any assault, affray, or other disturbance, wherby the same *playes* shall be disturbed; and that no maner of persone, or persones, whosoever he or they be, do use or weare any unlawfull weapons, within the precinct of the sayd city, during the tyme of the sayd *playes*, not only upon payne of cursing by authority of the sayd pope Clement's bulls, but also upon payne of imprisonment of their bodies, and making fine to the kyng at the maior's pleasure."

Underneath this proclamation the third Randal Holme hath written " Sir John Arnway maior, 1327 and 1328; at which tyme these *playes* were written by one Randall Higgenett, a monk of Chester Abby, and played openly in the Whitson weeke."

Then followeth "the *banes*," (or the short arguments of the pagents, by way of prologue) "which are reade beefore the beginning of the *Playes of Chester*." The first stanza runs thus:

Reverende lordes, and ladyes alle,
That at this tyme here assembled be,
By this messaige understonde you shall
That some tymes there was mayor of this citie,
Sir John Arnway, knight, who most worthilye
Contented hymself to sett out in playe,
The devise of one Donne *Rondall*, monk of Chester Abby.

Then,

Then, after some few stanzas more, the prologue explains and assigns the parts which each company should take upon them to have performed; the first is the tanners.—

Nowe you worshippfull tanners, that of custome olde,
The fall of Lucifer did sette out:
Some writers a warrante, your matter therfor be shoulde
Craftelye to playe the same, to all the rowtwe;
And yf any therof stande in any doubte,
Your authour his auther hath: your shewe let bee
Good speech, fyne players, with apparrill comelye.

In the same manner the prologue runs through the rest of the pagents.—2. To the drapers was assigned "*the creation of the world, Adam and Eve.*"—3. To the water leaders, and drawers of the river Dee, "*the storye of Noe.*" [Here it is remarkable that the author has made Noah's wife as perverse as Job's, and she sticks not to swear by *Christ*, and by *St. John*, &c.]—4. To the barbers and wax-chandlers, "*the offeringe of Melchisedecke, of breede and wyne.*"—5. To the cuppers and linen-drapers, "*the storie of Balaam and his asse, and of Balacke the kinge.*"—6. To the wrights and flaters, "*the beirthe of Christe.*"—7. To the painters and glaziers, "*the angel appearing to the shepherds.*"—8. To the merchant vintners, "*the setting forth of the wise men in search of Christ.*"—9. To the mercers, "*the offeringe of the wise men.*"—10. To the goldsmiths, "*the murder of the innocents.*"—11. To the blacksmiths, to show "*howe Christe amonge the docters in the Temple did dispute.*"—12. To the butchers, "*the storie of Sathan that Christe would needes tempte.*"—13. To the glovers was assigned the "*death of Lazarus, and his risinge againe.*"—14. The curvisors were to show "*howe that to Jerusalem our Saviour tooke the waye.*"—15. The bakers, "*howe Christe our Saviour, at his last supper, gave his body and his bloude for redemption of us al.*"—16. To the fletchers, bowyers, coopers, stringers, and ironmongers, was given the setting forth "*of Christe's doleful death, his scourginge, his whippinge, his bloude shedd, and passion.*"—17. The cooks were to show "*how Christe descended into Helle, and what he did in that place.*"—18. The skinners should set forth "*the storye of the resurrection.*"*—19. The sadlers and furterers performed "*the appearances of Christe, his travayle to Emaus.*"—20. The taylors were to see that they "*the storye of the assention formablye did frame.*"—21. And

* In the dayes of ceremonial religion, they used (at Wytney in Oxfordshire) to set fourthe yearly, in maner of a shew or interlude, the Resurrection of our Lord, &c. for the which Purposes, and the more lively heareby to exhibite to the eye the hole action of the resurrection, the priests garnished out certain smalle puppettes, representing the persons of Christe, the watchmen, Marie, and others; amongst the which, one bare the part of a wakinge watchman, who espinge Christe to arise, made a continual noyce, like to the sound that is cauled by the metyng of two styckes, and was thereof commonly called *Jack Snacker of Wytney*.—Lambarde's Topographical Dictionary, written somewhere about the year 1570, Edit. 1739, fol. 459.

21. And the fishmongers were to show "*the peagant of the Holy Ghoste*."*—
 22. And the sheraman should "*shewe forth howe Antichrist shoulde rise*."—And
 then, 23, "*you diers and hewsters Antechrist bringe out*."—And 24, lastly, the
 wavers should cause to be performed "*the cominge of Chryste, to geve eternall
 judgement*."

As a specimen of the piece, take the following short quotation from the first
 pageant:—

Godde alone speaks.

Ego sum alpha et omega, primus et novissimus.
 It was my will it shoulde be soe,
 Hit is,—hit was,—it shal be thus;
 I am greate God gracious,
 Which never had begynninge;
 The holy foode of parentes
 Is sett in my licentia;
 I am the tryall of the Trenitye,
 Which never shal be twynninge;
 Pearles patron ymperiall,
 And patris sapientia.

From this short specimen, it is plain that not only the orthography, but the
 language itself, has been much modernised; for which reason I rather chose to
 omit any longer quotations from the present, and give a more enlarged view of
 the following curious mystery, which still remains in its antiquated state: it is
 preserved in a MS. volume, written on vellum, in the Cotton Library; it is
 still more copious than the foregoing, containing no less than forty several
 pageants, or shows, the arguments of which, because they are much in the same
 stile with those of the former (beginning with the Creation, and ending with the
 General Judgment, including the most popular stories of Scripture) I omit.—
 This Play, by the hand-writing, seems to be at least as early as the middle of
 the 14th century. Prefix'd to the Play is this note, in a more modern hand,
 probably written by Dr. Smith, who made the catalogue of the Cottonian MSS.
 or else by Sir Robert Cotton himself:—"Contenta novi testamenti scenice
 expressa, et actitata olim per monachos five fratres mendicantes vulgo dicitur hic
 liber *Ludus Coventrie* five *Ludus corporis Christi* scribitur metris Anglicanis."—
 On what authority this note is inserted, I know not; but we find that the

Coventry

MS. in the
 Cotton Lib.
 mark'd
 Vespasianus,
 D. 8.

* "I myself (says the author quoted in the former note) being then a childe, once saw in Poule's
 church at London, at a feast of Whitsuntyde, wheare the comynge downe of the Holy Ghost was
 fet forth by a white pigeon, that was let to fly out of a hole that ys to be sene in the myddt of the
 rooffe of the great ile, and by a censer, which descendinge out of the same place almost to the verie
 ground, was swynge up and downe at suche a lengthe, that it reached with thone swepe almost to
 the west-gate of the church, and with the other to the quyre staires of the same, breathing out
 over the whole church and companie a most pleasant perfume, of such swete thinges as burned
 therein. With the like doome shewes also how they used everie where to furnish sondrye parts of
 their church service, as by their spectacles of the nativite, passion and ascension, &c."—Lambarde,
 ut supra.

Coventry play, of *Corpus Christi*, was anciently a very popular performance:—it is mentioned in the *Four Pee's*, an old interlude, where the Pardoner says,

This Devil and I were of old acquaintance,
For oft in the play of *Corpus Christi*,
He hath play'd the Devil at *Coventrie*.

The prologue, or argument, is spoken by three persons (called *vexillators*) who speak after each other alternately:—it is ended thus:

3d *Vexill*. Now have we told yow, all be dene,
The hool matter that we thynke to playe;
Whan that ye come hit shal ye sene,
This game wel pley'd in good aray;
Of holy wrytte this game shall bene,
And of no fablys be no way:—
Now God them save from trey, and tene,
For us that prayth upon that day,
And I wyte them wel y mede,
Munday next, yf that we may,
At vi of the belle, we gynne our play,
In *N. town*, wherfor we pray,
That God now be your spede.

Take also the whole of the first pageant, transcrib'd in its ancient form:

God speaketh.

Ego sum alpha et omega, principium et finis.

My name is knowyn, God and Kynge;
My work to make now wyl I wende;
In myself restyth my reynenge, (*reigning*)
It hath no gynnyng, ne non ende;
And all that evyr shal have beynge,
Is closyd in my mende; (*mind*)
When it is made at my lykyng,
I may it save, I may it shende, (*destroy*)

After my plesawns:
So gret of myth (*might*) is my pouste, (*power*)
Al thynges shal be wrowth (*wrought*) by me;
I am one God in personys thre,
Knyt in one substawnce:
I am the trewe Trenyte,
Here walkyng in this wone;
Thre personys in myself I see,
Lokyn in me God alone.

I am the fadyr of powfte,
 My son with me gynnyth gon,
 My goft (*ghost*) is grace, in majeste
 Weldeth welthe up in Hevyn tron; (*throne*)
 One God thre I calle:—
 I am fadyr of myth,—my sone kepyth ryth,
 My goft hath lyth (*light*)—and grace with alle.
 My self begynnyng nevyr dyd take,
 And endeless I am, throow myn own myth;
 Now wole I begynne my werke to make;
 Fyrst I make Hevyn, with sterrys (*stars*) of lyth,
 In myrth and joy, evermore to wake;
 In Hevyn I bylde angelles full bryth, (*bright*)
 My servantes to be, and for my sake
 Wyth merth and melody worchep my myth,
 I holde them in my blyffe:
 Angelles in Hevyn evyrmor shal be,
 In lyth ful clere, brith as ble,
 With myrthe and song to worchep me,
 Of joys yei (*they*) may not mys.

Here the angels enter upon the upper stage, and surround the throne of God, singing "To thee all angels cry aloud:—the Heavens and all the powers therein:—to the cherubin and seraphin; continually do cry, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Saboth."—This finished, the Devil speaks:

Lucifer. To whos worchipe synge ye this songe,
 To worship God, or reverence me?
 But (*unless*) ye worship me, ye do me wronge,
 For I am the wurthyest that ever may be.

The good Angels. We worship God, of myth most stronge,
 Whiche hath formyd both us and thee;
 We may (*can*) nevyr worship hym to longe,
 For he is most worthy of mageste:
 On knees to God we fall,
 Oure Lorde God worship we,
 And in no wyse honowr we the;
 A gretter Lord may nevyr non bee,
 Than he that made us alle.

Lucifer. A wurthyer Lorde forsothe am I,
 And wurthyer than he evyr wyl, I be;
 In evydens that I am mor wurthy,
 I wyl go sytten in Goddys se (*seat or throne*).

Above sunne, and mone, and starrs on sky,
 I am now set, as ye may se;
 Now wurchip me for most myhty,
 And for your Lorde, honowr now me,
 Syttinge in my fete.

Evil Angels. Goddys myth we forsake,
 For mor wurthy we the take,
 The to wurchep, honowr we make,
 And falles down at thy fete.

God speaketh. Thu Lucyfer, for thy mykyl (*great*) pryde,
 I bydde the falle from Hefene (*Heaven*) to Helle,
 And all tho that holdyn on yowr side,
 In my blysse nevr mor to dwelle:
 At my comawndement anon (*quickly*) down then flyde,
 With merth and joye nevr mor to mell;
 In mychief and manas evyr that thou abyde
 In byttyr brennyng, and fyre so felle,
 In peyn evyr to be pyght (*put*).

Lucifer. At thy byddyng y wyl I werke,
 And pas fro joy to payne and smerte;
 Now I am a devyl ful derke,
 That was an angel bryht.
 Now to Helle the wey I take,
 In endles peyn y to be pyht;
 For fere of fyr (*fire*) afart (*afraid*) I quake,
 In Helle donjoon (*dungeon*) my dene is dyth.

[*The Devil and his angels sink into the cavern.*]

From hence the play goes on, and the next which follows is the pageant of the Creation of the World, &c. In this manner these mysteries, or miracle plays were constantly conducted, and as many of the pageants play'd each day as the time would permit.—From Chaucer, we find them the usual resort of the idle gossips in Lent.

Therefore made I my visitations
 To vigilles, & to processions,
 To preachings eke, & to pilgrimages,
 To playes of miracles, & to marriages.

Prologue to
 the Wife of
 Bath's Tale,
 in Chaucer.

This is (says Mr. Warton) the genial *wife of Bath*, who amuses herself with those fashionable diversions, while her "husbond was at London all that Lent."—And in Pierce Plowman's Crede, a piece perhaps prior to Chaucer, a friar minorite mentions these *miracles*, or mysteries, as not less frequented than markets and taverns.

The History
 of English
 Poetry,
 V. 1, p. 236.

We haunten no tabernes ne hobelen abouten,
 At markets & miracles we medeley us never,

Pier. Plow-
 man's Crede.

What succeeded these mysteries we have already seen in the former volume; I shall therefore go on with the discourse, and speak still further of the stage itself.

Before the Restoration, the stage decorations and ornaments were very few, and even those extremely plain and homely. "They had" (says a certain author) "no other scenes nor decorations of the stage, but only old tapestry, and the stage strewed with rushes, with habits accordingly."—And the nature of the stage contrivances, at that early period, may be seen plate 20, fig. 12, which is copied from an ancient wood cut prefix'd to a very early edition of Terence's Comedies, in old French. Here we see four several curtains in the front, instead of a scene; each curtain is divided by a column, and these spaces served the actors to make their entries and exits, drawing the curtains aside to let them pass. By the names over the top, it should appear that the partitions are intended as design'd to represent the doors, or portals, of the houses belonging to such characters and their families, as might, by the nature of the play, require separate houses; and the name of the person was wrote over his respective mansion, from which it is most likely he constantly came out, and to which he also retired, as the occasions of the play might require (unless he were to enter into another's house, when some plot or turn in the piece should make it necessary for him to do so) and this might be to prevent confusion and mistakes, as well amongst the actors themselves, as with the spectators.—The sides, which in the original cut are not filled up, were doubtless compos'd by the walls of the theatre, over which they hung their tapestry ornaments, as mentioned above; for it appears very plainly, that no passages were made on the sides of the stage, nor indeed were they needed, till the introduction of the flat front scene, and then the side entrances took place; so by degrees, as the players were more encouraged, the houses were more ornamented, and the scenes with the decorations augmented, which have at last, through a long succession of years, arrived to the splendour and magnificence we now see in the theatres of the present age. The same may be said of the elegant dresses and vast improvements made in them, together with their great variety.

The actors themselves, even after the abolishing of the mysteries, made but slow improvement, till the reign of queen Elizabeth; for says Stow (writing in her reign) "comedians and stage players of former time were very poore and ignorant, in respect of these of this time; but being now growne very skilfull and exquisite actors for all matters, they were entertained into service of divers great lordes, out of which companies there were twelve of the best chosen, and at the request of Sir Francis Walsingham they were sworne the queenes servants, and were allowed wages, and livories, as groomes of the chamber: and untill this year 1583 the queene had no players: amongst these twelve players were two rare men, viz. *Thomas Wilson*, for a quicke, delicate, refined extemporall wit, and *Richard Tarleton*, for a wondrous, plentifull, pleasant extemporall wit, he was the wonder of his time."—This is said of their first rising, they soon made themselves noted, so that an ancient author complains of the pride of the lower class of players, or, as he calls them, *players men*, in these words, "Over-lashing in apparel is so common a fault, that the very hyerlings of some of our players, which stand at revision of 6s. by the week, jet under gentlemen

Discourse
subjoined to
Fleeknoe's
Love's king-
dom, 1674.

Old Edit. in
French of
Terence,
with Wood
Cuts.

Stow's Chr.
tol. 698.

Schoole of
Abuse, 1579
fol. 23.

gentlemens noses in fustis of filke, exercising themselves to prating on the stage, and common scoffing when they come abroad, where they look askance over the shoulder at every man, of whom the *Sunday* before they begged an almes. I say not this as though everie one that professeth the qualitie so abused himselfe, for it is well knownen that some of them are sober, discrete, properly learned, honest housholders and citizens, well thought on among their neighbours at home, though the pryde of their shadowes (I meane those hangbyes whom they succour with stipends) cause them to be somewhat ill talked of abroad."

All female characters were formerly acted by men, no women ever appearing publicly upon the stage before the Restoration. We must indeed except the performers at the court masques and the like, where the chief ladies of the realm made no scruple of acting such parts as suited their fancies.—Sir William Davenant, after the above-mentioned period, abolished the plain front curtains before mentioned, and caused painted scenes to be set in their stead; and also, by the way of compleating the theatrical improvements, brought women upon the stage, to play their respective characters.

But one reason why the ornaments of the stage were so plain and so few, was the lowness of the prices of admission into the theatres. In the prologue to the *Woman Hater*, mention is made of the *two-penny gallery*. The play-house called the Hope had five several priced seats, from 6d. to half a crown; and nearly the same may be inferred from the following passage,—“How many are there, who, according to their several qualities, spend 2d. 3d. 4d. 6d. 12d. 18d. 2s. and sometimes 4s. or 5s. at a play-house, day by day, if coach-hire, boat-hire, tobacco, wine, beere, and such-like vaine expences, which playes doe usually occasion, be cast into the reckoning?”—The price of the pit was constantly one shilling.

It was also common for the audience to sit at the play, and drink wine and beer, as well as smoke tobacco; and this fashion was continued even till the latter end of the reign of Charles the First. But these unseemly customs were afterwards dropped at the theatre, though now they are (smoking tobacco excepted) resumed and continued at Sadler's Wells.

In former times, while the mysteries were the only stage performances, they were often, and indeed most usually, performed in the churches, and on the sabbath day; and this fashion, as 'tis thought, continued even when prophane stories had taken place of the religious ones. However, the playing in churches was, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, restrained by a proclamation issued forth by Bonner, bishop of London, to the clergy of his diocese, dated 1542, prohibiting all manner of common plays, games, or interludes, to be played, set forth, or declared, within their churches, chapels, &c. But the acting plays on the sabbath day continued even till the reign of Charles the First, and they were then performed by the choristers, or singing boys, of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, or of the Royal Chapel.* The usual time of acting was early in the

Prynne's
Mast. p.215

Woman
Hater, by
Beaumont &
Fletcher.
Bartholow-
mew Fair.

Prynne's
Histriomast.
fol. 332.
Mad Lover,
Sea Captain,
&c.

Warton's
History of
Eng. Poetry
Vol. 1.

Reliques
of Ancient
Poetry,
Vol. 1.

* I find the following in a hand-bill preserved amongst the collections of title pages in the Harleian Library:—"If Mr. Brady had employed his ingenuity in petitioning the king and parliament

Biogr. Brit. the afternoon. In the reign of Charles the First they generally began at three,
 l. 117. n.d. so that the whole of the play might be performed by day-light; but this was
 not anciently so, for in the prologue to the old mystery, *Ludus Coventriae*,
 before mentioned, we find it thus:

Vid. p. 137.

Munday next, yf that we may,
 At vi of the belle, we gynne our play.

Vol. 2, p. 94. The mumming and masques are mentioned in the former volume; but with
 these species of entertainments we may (perhaps justly) rank the *ludi*, which are
 so frequently mentioned as performed for the diversion of the king and his nobles
 at court.—“ I find (says Mr. Warton in his valuable History of English Poetry)
 “ in the wardrobe rolls of Edward the Third, in the year 1348, an account of
 the dresses, ad faciendum *ludos* domini regis, ad festum natalis Domini, cele-
 bratos apud Guldeford—for furnishing the plays or sports of the king, held in
 the castle of Guildford, at the feast of Christmas.— In these *ludi*, says my record
 were expended 80 tunics of buckram of various colours, forty-two visours of
 various similitudes, that is, 14 of the faces of women, 14 of the faces of men
 with beards, 14 of heads of angels, made with silver; twenty-eight crests,†
 14 mantles embroidered with heads of dragons, 14 white tunics wrought with
 heads and wings of peacocks, 14 with heads of swans with wings, 14 tunics
 painted with eyes of peacocks, 14 tunics of English linen painted, and as many
 tunics embroidered with stars of gold and silver.

In the wardrobe of Richard the Second, in the year 1391, there is also an
 entry which seems to point out a sport much of the same nature—“ Pro xxxi
coifs de tela linea, pro hominibus de lege contrafactis, pro ludo regis tempore
 natalis anno xii.—for linen coifs, for counterfeiting men of the law, in the
 king's play at Christmas.”

Ibid. Hist.

of Poetry,

V. 1. p. 239.

Leland, col-

lec. 3. append.

pag. 256.

The same author gives us “ A memoir of shews and ceremonies exhibited at
 Christmas, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, in the palace at Westminster.”
 It is quoted from Leland.—“ This Christmas (says that ancient author) 1489,
 I saw no disguising, and but right few plays; but there was an abbot of Mistrule
 that made much sport, and did right well his office.”—And again, “ At night
 the kynge, the queene, and my ladye the kynges moder, came into the White
 Hall, and ther hard a play.”

The *play* here last mentioned, together with the *ludi* before spoken of, were
 nothing more than dialogues and short moral interludes, performed by the
 maskers and disguised courtiers, but seem not to bear any resemblance to the old
 mysteries,

ment for pulling down the cursed plays, and the hackney coaches tradeing on the Lord's holy days
 he had done God and this nation very good service; we should have had very great cause to applaud
 and to have given him thanks for so great and so good a work; but for his bringing in new devised
 psalms, to amuse and make a confusion in our churches, we shall pray to God to confound such his
 devices, and wish we had never known such a man as Mr. Brady.”—Volume in the Harl. Lib.
 mark'd 5937.

† I do not perfectly understand the Latin original in the place, viz. “ 14 crestes cum tibus
 reversatis et calceatis, 14 crestes cum montibus et cuniculis.”

mysteries, the moralities, and other pieces, which were on a far more extensive plan.—And that these dialogues were the fashionable diversions at court, during the reign of Henry the Eighth, let Hall bear witness:

An. 13 of Henry the Eighth, to please the emperor, the king gave a great entertainment at Windsor; and “on Sunday (the 16th of June) at night, in the greate halle was a disguisying or play. The effect of it was, that there was a proud horse which woulde not be tamed nor bridled, but Amitie sent Prudence and Police which tamed him, and force and puissance bridled him. This horse was ment by the Frenche kyng, and Amitie by the king of Englund, and the emperor and the other persones were their counsaile and power. After this play ended was a sumptuous maske of 12 men and 12 women.”—Again, An. 19, “Tow persones play’d a dialogue before the kyng, the effect whereof was, wether riches were better than love, and when they could not agree, each called thre knightes, who fought a fair battle of the barriers, and left the place; then come in an old man, with a silver beard, and he concluded that love and riches both be necessary for a prince; that is to saie, by love to be obeied and served, and riches to reward his lovers and friends: and with this conclusion the dialogue ended.”

Hall's Union⁺
in Vitæ
Hen. 8.
fol. 99.

Ibid.
fol. 156, B.

Indeed this kind of dialogues, interludes, or masques, did still continue, even after the introduction of the regular plays, and were generally composed by the chief poets, and played by the courtiers themselves; of which sort Johnson in particular wrote several, as well for the diversion of the king and the queen, as for the entertainment of the nobility at their marriages, or some particular occasions.—Plate XI. of this volume, represents one of these last-mentioned masques, made at the marriage of Sir Henry Unton [see a full account of the picture, in the description of this plate at the end of this volume]. Here we see the maskers march in order round the table, where the musicians are seated; going up the flight of steps to the left, come up into the chamber, where the company are sitting as at dinner: the chief masker is Diana, who is preceded by Mercury; before him stand two Cupids, the one black, the other white, and a messenger is bearing a paper (that might perhaps contain the intention of the mask) which he presents to one of the chief personages at the feast. Diana is followed alternately by two of her nymphs, and two Cupids, each of them bearing a torch, the one in white, and the other disguised as a black: each of the nymphs, who walk two and two, bear in one hand a bow, and in the other a wreath or garland, —which garlands were most likely to be distributed amongst the surrounding guests.

By way of conclusion, I shall just observe that Hall is accused of an error, where he affirms that king Henry the Eighth first devised, and caused to be performed in England, an entertainment called a “maske.” His words are these:—“On the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the kyng with xi other were disguised, after the maner of Italie, called a *maske*, a thing not seene afore

Hall's Union
An. 3 H. 8.

in

* In the original, the maskers at the top are passing by a large table, where the guests are placed; but that, as well for want of room on the plate, as that it did not immediately concern the present matter, was omitted.

Hall's Union
in Vit. H. 8.
pag. 7. a.

in *England*; they were appareled in garmentes long, and brode, wrought all with gold, with visers, and cappes of gold."—But shall this be said to prove that no species of this sort of entertainment before existed in England? or shall we fancy that Hall should have so grossly mistaken the matter as plainly here to contradict what he has positively affirmed a few pages before, namely, the disguisings with masks, &c.; for in the first year of Henry the Eighth's reign (says the same author) after a great banquet, "came a certayne number of gentelman, wherof the king was one, apparayled all in one swete of shorte garmentes, litle beneth the poyntes, of blewe velvet and crymsyne, with long sleeves, all cut and lyned with clothe of gold; and the utter parte of the garmentes were powdered with castels, and sheses of arrowes of fine doket gold; the upper partes of their hosen of like sewte and facion, the nether partes were of scarlet, powdred with tymbrelles of syne golde; on their heades bonets of damaske, silver, flatte, woven in the stole, and thereupon wrought with gold, and ryche fethers in them,—all in *visers*."—Hence it is plain that the former mentioned Italian entertainment could not have been so particular and strange on account of the vizers (or masks, as they are now called) since we find they were used long before; nor can we suppose that Hall could have been guilty of so glaring an oversight. The most likely story is, that the Italian *maske* differed from the former mentioned disguisings in some of the material parts, as the dances, and conduct thereof; as also then the new name of *masque* might be tack'd to the entertainment, all which may be thought to authorize the assercion of that faithful historian. But be it as it may, most of our more modern authors have carelessly blunder'd over this passage of Hall, and stick not very gravely to inform us, that the use of vizors, maskings, and the like, did then, and not till then, take their beginning:—yet not to go farther, one of the statutes enacted by Henry the Seventh must stare them in the face; he, in the first year of his reign, made it felony for any person "to hunt by night, with painted faces, or vizors."

Stat. An. 1
H. 7. cap. 7

The mysteries, that were of old times so famous, seem even in the later times to have furnished at least the ground-work for another very noted stage performance; I mean that celebrated diversion entitled a puppet-show. Take the following bill, which was printed in the reign of queen Anne:

By her Majesties permission,

From the
Collect. of
Title Pages
in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 5931.

At Heatly's booth, over against the *Cross Daggers*, next to Mr. Miller's booth during the time of *Bartholomew fair*, will be presented a little opera, called *The old Creacion of the World* new revived, with the addition of the glorious *battle* obtained over the *French* and *Spaniards* by his grace the duke of *Marlborough*.

The contents are these,

1. The creation of *Adam* and *Eve*. 2. The intreagues of *Lucifer* in the garden of *Eden*. 3. *Adam* and *Eve* driven out of *Paradise*. 4. *Cain* going to plow; *Abel* driving sheep. 5. *Cain* killeth his brother *Abel*. 6. *Abraham* offereth up his son *Isaac*. 7. Three wise men of the *East*, guided by a star, come and worship *Christ*. 8. *Joseph* and *Mary* flee away by night, upon an ass. 9. King *Herod's*

Herod's cruelty; his *mens* spears laden with *children*. 10. Rich *Dives* invites his *friends*, and orders his *porter* to keep the beggars from his gate. 11. Poor *Lazarus* comes a begging at rich *Dives* gate, the dogs lick his sores. 12. The good Angel and Death contend for *Lazarus's* life. 13. Rich *Dives* is taken sick, and dieth; he is buried in great solemnity. 14. Rich *Dives* in Hell, and *Lazarus* in *Abraham's* bosom, seen in a most glorious object, all in machines descending in a throne, guarded with multitudes of angels; with the breaking of the clouds, discovering the palace of the sun, in double and treble prospects, to the admiration of all the spectators.—Likewise several rich and large figures, which dances *jiggs*, *sarabands*, *anticks* and *country dances*, between every act; compleated with the merry humours of *Sir Jⁿ. Spendall* and *Punchanello*, with several other things never yet exposed.

Performed by Mat. Heatly. — VIVAT REGINA.

Here was a noble dish of variety—a motley mixture with a witness! A long series of Scripture histories, the fabulous palace of the Sun, and the humours of *Punchanello*, all—all set forth, and but for the entertainment of one evening! Oh what a fertile fancy!

But to go on. Mr. Penkethman's pantheon was a much more simple exhibition: take also his bill.

Penkethman's Pantheon,

Consisting of several curious pictures and moving figures, representing the fabulous History of the Heathen Gods.

The whole contains 14 several entertainments, and near 100 figures (besides *ships*, *beasts*, *fish* *fowl*, and other embellishments) some near a foot in height; all which have their respective and peculiar motions, their very heads, legs, arms, hands and fingers artificially moving exactly to what they perform, and setting one foot before another, as they go, like living creatures, in such manner that nothing but *nature* itself can exceed it: in short, the *painting* is by the finest hands, and the *story* and contrivance so admirable, that it justly deserves to be esteemed one of the greatest wonders of the age.—It continues to be shewn every day, from nine in the morning to nine at night, in the Great Room at the *Duke of Marlborough's Head*, in *Fleet-street*; price 2s. 6d.—1s.—and the lowest 6d.—[See more of this man's performance, with the accounts of the opera, &c. in the Spectators.]

Other SPORTS.

The ancient customs of our ancestors are now, in this polite age, but little regarded or attended to; for in the present time, it is not genteel to sit down to dinner until three, four, five, or six o'clock; the time from thence to tea is spent by the gentlemen over the bottle, and by the ladies in conversation on dress, and the like: after tea, the cards are brought, and dear quadrille beguiles the tedious hours, till supper summons causes them to rise; they sup, they

drink, and then—why then to bed; and so life passes on!—In former times they usually dined at twelve or one o'clock; and

When they had dined, as I you saye,
Ladies & ladies yede to play;
Some to tables, & some to chesse,
With othir gamys more & lesse.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 2252.
MS. in the
Cotton Lib.
mark'd
Caligula, A. 2.

Thus says an old poem intituled—“King Arthur;” and in another, called “Sir Launfal,” as ancient, or perhaps more so than the former, I find the court thus amusing themselves after their dinner :

She tok with her a compaigne
The fairest that sche myghte a fynde,—fyrty ladies & fife;
And went them downe anon ryghtes,
Tham to pley among the knyghtes,—well styll with outen tyme.
The queene yede to the foymesse ende,
Betwene Launfal & Ganweyn the hende,—& after her ladies bygt;
To daunce they wente, all yn faine,
To se them playe, hrt was fayr game,—a lady & a knygt :—
They had mensknelles of moche honouris,
Fydels, fytolys, & trompeters,—& elles it wote unygt;
Ther they playde, for sothe to saye,
After mete, the Sonneys daye,—all what hrt was neyr nygt.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark'd 116.

Diceing was a game well known by our ancestors, and so much practised by them, that Lidgate, in his *Dictory*, a short poem, advises all men to be aware

Of drunken folke, lyers, & lecheres,
And all them that useth suche unchrystly bysses,
And all dyle players and hafardours.

MS. in
Ibid. Lib.
mark'd 321.

And in another old poem, still perhaps of more ancient date than the foregoing, I find this caution,—

Dicey With a toppre,—the dise tok thou cshetwe.

Hall's Union
in Vitæ
Hen. 8.

These were the fashionable diversions in the reign of Henry the Eighth.—“The kynge (says Hall, speaking of that prince) aboute thys season, was muche given to play at tenice, and at the *dice*, which appetite certayne craftie persons aboute hym perceyving, brought in Frenchmen, and Lombards, to make wagers with him, and so hee lost muche money; but when hee perceyved theyr craft, hee eschued their company, and let them goe.”

The same prince (in his younger days especially) delighted in martial exercises, as also shooting, singing, dancing, wrestling, and casting of the bar.—The shooting here mentioned was shooting with bows and arrows at butts : thus in

an old ballad, written in praise of the princess Elizabeth, wife to Henry the Seventh, that prince is described as employed in a princely amusement, MS. in the Harl. Lib. mark'd 367.

“ See where he *shooteth* at the *buttes*,—and with him lordes three.”

In the comedy of the City Madam, we find also that such diversions were much affected by the city gallants. “ You (says lord Lacy to Luke) were then gallant;—no meeting at the horse-race, cocking, hunting, *shooting*, or bowling, but you were there,” &c.—In Charles the Second's reign, this late fashionable amusement began to decline, for Jolly, speaking in contempt of the country pleasures, says, “ What are they call'd? walking, or hawking, or *shooting at the butts*? And this is not wonderful, for on the introduction of muskets, the former archery by degrees grew out of fashion; and indeed, even in the reign of Henry the Eighth, the ancient shooting with the long bow began to be laid aside, and people in general used to shoot with hand guns and cross bows. This custom so much prevailed, that a proclamation was by the king and parliament put forth, strictly forbidding the use of them, and obliging every man, “ beinge the kinges subiecte, not lame, decrepite, nor maymed, nor hayng any other lawfull or reasonable cause or impediment, being within the age of 60 yeres (except spiri- tuel men, justices of the one bench or of the other, justices of assize, and barons of the Exchequer, &c.) to use and exercise shotyng in longe bowes; and also to have a bowe and arrowes reday continually in his house, and that he do use himself in shotyng: also fathers, and guardians, to teach their male children early to shoot with the long bow, and to have bows continually provided for them: also masters should find bows for their apprentices.” So that all men were compelled to learn to shoot in the holidays, and at other convenient times.—At the same time great complaint was made to the parliament, by the bowyers, fletchers, springers, and arrow-head makers, that numbers of unlawful games, as bowling, diceing, flyde thrift, and shove groat, were practised in the fields, to their great hurt, and the prejudice of the young people; therefore by this act all such games were strictly forbid.

Now we are here speaking of the amusements of young people, it may not be amiss to add the following poem, made by the second Randall Holme, of Chester:

Auntient Customs in Games used by Boys, and Girles, merily sett out in Verse:

Any they dare chalenge for to throw the sledge;
To jumpe, or leape ovir ditch, or hedge;
To wrastle, play at stoole ball, or to runne,
To pick the barre, or to shoote of a gunne;
To play at loggets, nine holes, or ten pinnes,
To trye it out at foote-ball, by the shinnes
At tick tacke, feize nody, maw and ruffe,
At hot cokles, leape frogge, or blind-man's buffe:

MS. in the Harl. Lib. mark, 2057.

To drink the halper pottes, or deale at the whole cann,
 To play at cheffe, or pue, and inke horne;
 To daunce the moris, play at barley brake,
 At al exploits a man can think or speak:
 At shove groate, venter poynte, or crofs and pile,
 At beshrew him that's last at any stile;
 At leaping over a Christmas bonfire,
 Or at the drawyng dame out of the myer;
 At shoote cocke, Gregory, stoole ball, and what not;
 Picke poynt, toppe and scourge to make him hott.

See Dodfley
 Col. of Old
 Plays, V. 1. In the old morality intituled New Custom, first printed an. 1573, Perverse
 Doctrine, in a deriding speech, mentions the following games:

Give them that which is meete for them, a racket and a ball,
 Or some other trifle, to busy their heads withall;
 Playinge at coyres or nine hooles, or shooting at buttes,—&c.

Statute An.
 11. Hen. 7.
 Cap. 2. By a statute made in the 11th year of Henry the Seventh, it was enacted,
 that no prentice should play at tenys, claff, dice, cards, bowles, or such-like
 unlawful games (except during the Christmas hollydayes, and then only within
 their masters houses); also any housholder allowing any of the above games in
 his house (at Christmas excepted) should be fined 6s. 8d. for every offence.

Country
 Content.
 fol. 107.
 cap. 8. Of the bowls and tennice, as mentioned above, hear what an old book, inti-
 tuled Country Contentments, saith:—"Bowling, in which a man shall finde
 great art in choosing out his ground, and preventing the winding, hanging, and
 many turning advantages of the same, wether it be in open feild places or in
 close allies. And in this sport the chusing of the bowle is the greatest cunning;
 your flat bowles being the best for allies; your round byazed bowles for open
 grounds of advantage; and your round bowles like a ball, for green swarthes,
 that are plain and level.—Not inferior to this sport, either for health or action,
 are the *tenise* and *balloone*; the first a pastime in close or open courts, striking a
 little ball to and fro, either with the palm of the hand, or with a racket; the
 other a strong and moving sport in the open fields, with a great ball of double
 leather filled with wind, and driven to and fro with the strength of a man's arm
 armed with a bracer of wood."—This last game was of late years revived by
 some Italians, and a yard for that purpose made at Pimlico; they called it the
Olympic game.

Passionate
 Madman
 A Q 1. In the Passionate Madman, of Beaumont and Fletcher, I find mention of
 some other games: a gentleman therein says,

Or may I thrive as I deserve at billiards;
 No other wise at ches, or at *primero*.

Dumb
 Knight. In the Dumb Knight also mention is made of another, named *mount cent*;
 the name was taken from hundreds; it was play'd by counting. This *mount*
cent, as well as the *primero*, were games upon the cards.

A book intituled "The compleat Gamester," printed ann. 1674, contains instructions for the following games:—First of *billiards*, of *trucks* (not much unlike *billiards*) of *bowling*, and of the game at *cheffs*. Then follows the games at cards; of picket, of gleeck, l'ombre, cribbage, all fours, English ruff and honours, and whist, French ruff, five cards, costly colours, bone ace, put and the high game, wit and reason, the art of memory, plain dealing, queen Nazareen, lanterloo, penneech, post and pair, bankafalet, beast.—Then follows games within the tables; of Irish, backgammon, tick tack, dubblets, sice ace, ketch dolt:—Games without the tables; inn and inn, of passage, of hazard;—together with the whole art and mystery of *riding*, whether the great horse, or any other. To which is added, of racing, of archery, and of cock-fighting.

Compleat
Gamester.
1674.

Amongst the robustic exercises, are to be reckoned those of wrestling and hurling, "which (says Norden) were sharpe and severe activities, for which the Cornish men were famous. The first (adds he) is violent, but the second is dangerous: the first is in-two sortes, by holdster (as they call it) and by the collar; the seconde likewise of two sortes, as hurling to goales, and hurling to the cuntrye."—Amongst these we may place the gymnastic exercises with the fists, cudgelling, and the like; and yet these are but play to those cruel feats exhibited in the beginning of the present century. Take an advertisement from a news-paper, dated 1701, November the 12th.

Norden's
Gen. Hist.
of Cornwall

"At his majesty's Bear-garden, at Hockley in the Hole, a trial of skill is to be performed to-morrow, being Wednesday the 12th instant November, 1701, between William Carpenter, of Oxford, (who lately fought the Champion of the West) and does now invite Thomas Cook, butcher of Gloucester, both masters of the noble science, to fight with the usual weapons.—I the said Thomas Cook, for our former disappointment of gentlemen, now will not fail (God willing) wet or dry, money or no money, to meet the fair inviter, desiring a clear stage, and from him no favour.—*Note*, I desire all gentlemen to come exactly at two of the clock; for, upon honour, I do promise it shall be a good prize, if there is no box, as if there was a box of fifty pound."

From the
Collect. of
Title Pages
in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 5931.

In another advertisement of this sort, dated 1709, the champions promise, at two o'clock exactly, to exercise with the following weapons, viz. *back sword*, *sword and dagger*, *sword and buckler*, *single falchion*, and *case of falchions*;—and in yet another bill, besides the foregoing weapons, we find *sword* and *gauntlet*, and *quarter staff*. With these weapons they used to fight on stages, generally taking the greatest care not to slay, but only maim and disfigure their antagonists.—It is surprizing that people, who call themselves Christians, could delight in beholding such cruel and inhuman trials of the skill and activity of the champions!

Ibid.

Now we are speaking of the amusements shown forth at the Bear-garden, we must not omit the following:—

At the Bear-Garden at Hocklëy in the Hole, 1710.

This is to give notice to all gentlemen gamesters, and others, that on this present *Monday* is a match to be fought by two dogs, one from *Newgate* market, against

Ibid.

against one of *Honey-lane* market, at a bull, for a guinea to be spent: five let goes out of hand; which goes fairest, and furthest in, wins all.—Likewise a *green bull* to be baited, which was never baited before, and a bull to be turned loose with fire-works all over him: also a mad ass to be baited.—Likewise there are two bear dogs to *jump*, three *jumps* a piece, at a bear, which *jumps* highest, for ten shillings to be spent: with variety of bull and bear baiting; and a dog to be drawn up with fire works.

☞ To begin exactly at three of the clock. *Vivat Regina.*

Vide Vol. 2, Some mention has already been made, in the second volume, of the *May* of this work, *sports*, and the following quotation may serve still further to elucidate the ancient manner of them: it is from the Knight of the Burning Pestle, by Beaumont and Fletcher. In the 4th act the Citizen says, “Let *Ralph* come out on May-day, in the morning, and speak upon a conduit, with all his scarfs about him, and his feather, and his rings, and his knacks, as Lord of the May.”—Soon after *Ralph* enters, properly habited, and makes an occasional speech, saying,

With gilded staff, and crossed scarf, the *May Lord* here I stand.

Oh you, I say, of this same noble town,
And lift aloft your velvet heads, and slipping of your gowns,
With bells on legs, and napkins clean unto your shoulders cry'd,
With scarfs and garters as you please, and hey for our town cry'd;
March out and show your willing minds, by twenty and by twenty,
To *Hogsdon*, or to *Newington*, where ale and cakes are plenty:
And let it ne'er be said, for shame, that we, the youths of London,
Lay thrumming of our caps at home, and left our custome undone.

Besides all this, they used to make mock processions, with various pageants, &c. amongst which usually was the maid *Marian*, who was represented by a boy habited like a woman, and he walk'd with a mincing pace, to imitate the female gait.

Hall's Union in Vit. H. 8. Take also the following account of a *Maying* from Hall.—“In the seventh year of his reign, king Henry the Eighth, on *May-day* morning, with queene Katherine his wife, accompanied with many lords and ladies, rode a *maying* from Greenwich, to the high ground on Shooter's Hill, where, as they passed by the way, they espyed a company of tall yeomen, clothed all in greene, with greene hoods, and with bowes and arrowes, to the number of 200. One, being their chieftain, was called Robin Hood, who required the king and all his company to stay and see his men shoot; wherto the king granting, Robin Hood whistled, and all the 200 archers shot off, loosing all at once; and when he whistled againe, they likewise shot againe: their arrowes whistled by craft of the head, so that the noise was strange and loud, which greatly delighted the king, queene, and their company.—Moreover, this Robin Hood desired the king and queen, with their retinue, to enter the greene wood, where, in arbours made with boughes, and deckt with flowers, they were set, and served plentifully with venison and wine, by Robin Hood and his meyny, to their great contentment, and had other pageants and pastimes.” By

Vide Stow's Survey. fol. 78. & 80

By way of concluding this chapter, I shall just observe, that bonfires and other rejoicings of like nature, were not only patronised, but even commanded, by the kings of England, on particular occasions; — thus; at the conclusion of the marriage between the prince of Castile, and Mary, daughter to king Henry the Seventh; — the king, by his letter, directed to the mayor and aldermen of London, informed them, that the above marriage was finally concluded; after which preamble, the letter thus finishes. — “As we doubt not but yee, and every of you, will take pleasure and comfort in the hearing thereof; so, with convenient diligence, upon the sight of these our letters, ye will cause demonstrations and tokens of rejoicing and comfort, to be made in sundry places, within our city; there aswell by making fyres, in such places as you shal thinke convenient, as otherwise in the best, and most comfortable manner that ye can; so that thereby yt maie be evidently knowne, what gladnes and rejoysing is to be generally taken and made; &c.

MS. in the
Cotton Lib.
mark'd Ti-
tus, B. 1.

MARRIAGES, &c.

To what has been already said on this subject, we may justly add the following remarks; — and first we will speak of the gallantry of our ancestors. — The lover did not dare to approach his sovereign mistress with his vows of love, till, with some sweet madrigal, or enchanting panegyric, he had, by extolling her beauty, her charms, her graces, and her virtues, softened her heart, and paved the way for his addresses: but, however they might flourish away with their metaphors and similies, it is but justice to clear them from the bombastic stile of the more modern gallants. — The raising the object of their heart above the clouds, and making her equal, if not superior in beauty, to the inhabitants of the blest'd abodes, was a sort of superlative nonsense, unknown to, or at least unpracticed by them; — No: 'tis to the inventive genius of their wife and improving offspring, we owe these wondrous and extraordinary sallies of an elevated and aspiring soul! — We may justly say that love-compliments, in the earlier ages, were but in the bud, but matured and brought to perfection, in the succeeding times. — In a love poem (at least as early as the reign of Edward the First) I find the enamour'd swain contents himself with only declaring, that his mistress is the fairest lass betwixt Lincoln and London. But let the reader judge for himself of the stile and fashion of this love inspired production:

When the nyhtengale singes, the wodes waxen grene,
Lef, gras, and blofme springes, in Avely y wene;
Ant love is to myn herte gon, with one spere so kene,
Nyht and day my bled hyt drynkes, myn harte deth me tene;
Ich have loved al this yer, that y may love na more,
Ich have siked mani fyk, Lemmon for thin ore,
Yet mi love never the ner, and that me reweth fore;
Suete Lemmon thenk on me, ich have loved the fore,
Suete Lemmon, y preye the of love one speche,
Whil y lyve in world so wyde, other nille y seche:

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 2353.

With

With thy love my suete leof, mi blis thou mihtes eche,
 A suete cof of thy mowth mihte be my leche;
 Suete Lemmon y preye the, of a love bene,
 Gef thou me lovest, ase men says, Lemmon as y wene
 Ant gef hit the wille, be thou loke that hit be sene,
 So muchol y thonke upon the, that al y waxe grene;
 Bitwene Lyncolne and Lynderfeye, Northamtonn, ant Lounde,
 Ne wot y non so fayr a mayd, as y go for ybounde:
 Suete Lemmon y preye the, thou lovie me a stounde,
 Y wole mone my song, on wham that hit ys on ylonge.

MS. penes
 Author.

Now, seriously, I think that this little poem (the occasion considered) is very modest, and entirely within the bounds of reason:---perhaps quite the same cannot be said of the following flourish, which (as we are told at the end) was written by a duke of York. It is contained in a MS. on paper, in my own possession and, by the hand-writing, and a subsequent entry, appears to be as old as the reign of Henry the Fifth; as the whole of the poem would be too long to insert it entire, I have only selected some of the most striking stanzas:

Excellent soveraine femely to see, - - Proved prudence, peerless of pris,
 Bright blossome of benyngnyte, - - - Figure fairest, and freshest of devys:
 I recomande me to your rialness, - - As lovely as I can or may,
 Besechyng inwardly your gentleness, - - Let never faynt hert true love betraye.
 Your womanly beaute delicious, - - - Hath me hent all into his cheyne,
 But ye graunte me your love gracious, - My hert will melt, as snowe in reyne.
 Yif ye wist my lyfe, and knewe, - - - And af the peynes that y feell,
 Y wys ye wold upon me rewe, - - - Though your hert wer made of steell.
 And though ye be of high renoun, - - Let mercy encline your hert so fre,
 To you lady this is my boun, - - - - To graunt me grace, in som degre.
 Myn hert is set in your delite, - - - - Preveth it well be experience,
 And to you my trouth I plyte, - - - - That ever y drede your offence.
 Allas that God ne hadde - - - - - By verry reasonne of truthe,
 In your persone properly made - - - - Half your beaute, merci and ruthe.
 But fortune is no thinge my frende, - - But ever she casteth me to spille,
 For love y may no longer lende, - - - So he propoeth me to spille.
 But sith it stant in suche degre, - - - And may none otherwyse trende,
 Of farewell, myn end shall be, - - - - To youwarde, wher ever ye wende.
 Farewell ladi of grete pris, - - - - - Farewell wys, both fare, and free,
 Farewell freefull flourdelys, - - - - - Farewell burell, brighte of ble,
 Farewell saphir, soverain of assay, - - - Farewell feir, freshest and fre,
 Farewell rubye, rial of array, - - - - Farewell dyamand, dere in degre,
 Farewell perle, pris preisable, - - - - Farewell cristall, coriouse in kynde,
 Farewell amycest, all amiable, - - - - Farewell emeraude, most of mynde.

Farewell

Farewell creature, comely of kynde, - Farewell lanterne, lustom of light,
 Farewell mynder, most of my mynde; Farewell soverain, semely in sighte.
 Farewell amerouse, and amyable, - - Farewell worthy, witty, and wys,
 Farewell pured pris, prifable, - - - Farewell ryall rose in the rys;
 Farewell fair, and fre figurable, - - - Farewell womanly wight in the wede,
 Farewell dereworth, and delitable, - - Farewell foison your love for to fede.
 Farewell carbounce, chofen chiefe, - Farewell gloriouse, as gold y grave,
 Farewell pured principall in prees, - - Farewell graciouse; God you save!
 Farewell derworth of dignite, - - - Farewell grace of governaunce,
 How ever y fare—farewell ye, - - - Farewell prymerose, my plesauce.

[*Explicit Amor. per ducem Ebor. nup. fact.*]

This rises a little higher than the former;—but what shall we say of the following strange mixture of old French and English? We must surely in extasy cry out, Oh, it is the tender breathing of the love-sick soul!—However, reader, take it as it is, from the above-mentioned MS.

Ex ibid.
 MS. penes
 Author.

En Jhesu roy soverayne, - - - You lady fair and free,
 En fyne amour certain, - - - Als reason telleth me,
 Come a mon coer demefne, - - Swetyng y grete the,
 Unquore durant en peyne, - - But ye my bote be;
 Quar en foye vous die, - - - I holde noon your peer;
 Defore en vous affie, - - - As in my true feer,
 Tre douce, tresbein ame, - - Myn onne derlyng dere:—
 De votre loial vie - - - - - Blethly wold y here,
 Tre douce creature, - - - - - Myn hert is wonder wo
 Pur votre longe demure - - - That is so fer me fro:
 Ore swetyng loial & pure, - - Let not our love go,
 Qar certain & sure, - - - - - Y love you, and no moo;
 Si jeo les ose dire, - - - - - That is agein skill,
 Qune chast coer desire - - - - That ye may fullfille,
 Se vous quant jeo remembre, - Fair so flour on hill,
 Sovent soitz supprice, - - - - I sigh, and mone full still:
 Ne poet estre a taunt, - - - - As y wolde with right,
 Mais Jhesu tout puisfaunt, - - Of you me send a sight.

But what is even this, to the suns, the moons, the stars, the Cupids, the flames, and the darts, of the latter ages?

In the Harleian Library I meet with a remarkable note; it is as follows:—
 “By the civil law, whatsoever is given ex sponsalitia largitate, betwixt them that are promised in marriage, hath a condition (for the most part silent) that it may be had again, if marriage ensue not: but if the man should have had a kiss for his money, he should lose one half of that which he gave. Yet with the woman it is otherwise, for kissing, or not kissing, whatsoever she gave, she may ask and have it again: however, this extends only to gloves, rings, bracelets, and such-like small wares.”

MS. in the
 Harl. Lib.
 980.

Stow's Chr. In the reign of Elizabeth (says Howe, in his additions to Stow's Chronicle) pag. 1039. it was "the custome for maydes, and gentelwomen, to give their favorites, as Edit. fol. tokens of their love, little handkerchiefs of about three or four inches square, wrought round about, and with a button or a tassell at each corner, and a little one in the middle with silke and threed: the best edged with a small gold lace, or twist, which being foulded up in foure crosse foldes, so as the middle might be seene, gentlemen and others did usually wear them in their hatts, as favours of their loves and mistresses: some cost six pence apiece, some twelve pence, and the richest sixteene pence."—And of the gentleman's present, a lady in Cupid's Revenge, of Beaumont and Fletcher, says

Cupid's Revenge, act 2.

Given earrings we will wear,
Bracelets of our lovers hair,
Which they on our arms shall twist,
(With their names carv'd) on our wrists.

Some of the ceremonies relative to marriages amongst the middling sort of people, we find in the old history of John Newchombe, the wealthy clothier of Newbury. Speaking of his marriage, the author says, "The bride being attired in a gown of sheeps russet, and a kertle of fine worsted, her head attired with a billiment of gold, and her hair as yellow as gold hanging down behind her, which was curiously comb'd, and pleated, according to the maner of those days: she was led to church between two sweet boys, with bride laces, and rosemary tied about their silken sleeves; the one was Sir Thomas Parry, the other Sir Francis Hungerford.—Then was there a fair bride cup, of silver gilt, carried before her, wherein was a goodly branch of rosemary, gilded very fair, and hung about with silken ribbands of all colours; next there was a noise of musicians, that play'd all the way before her.—After her came the chiefeft maidens of the country, some bearing bride cakes, and some garlands made of wheat, finely gilded, and so pass'd to the church: and the bridegroom finely apparelled, with the young men, followed close behind."

Silent Woman.

Still more I gather from Johnson's Silent Woman. Lady Haughty says to Morose, "We see no ensigns of a wedding here, no character of a brideale. Where be our skarves, and our gloves? I pray you give 'em us. Let us know your bride's colours, and your's at least."—And after she adds,

You to offend, in such a high point of ceremony as this,
And let your nuptials want all marks of solemnity!
What plate have you lost to-day! what gifts!
What friends! and all through your rusticity!

Hence we may learn, that the friends of the new espoused couple used, on the day of their wedding, to make them presents of plate, and other things, according to their ability.

But to return: Lady Haughty continuing her speech, adds, "I intimate your errors to you;—no gloves, no garters, no skarves, no epithalamium, no maique," &c.—These latter were the fashionable entertainments, even in the politest

politest and greatest families; and therefore in the old play of Massenger, intituled "A New Way to pay Old Debts," the Page justly says that his Lord "stands resolv'd with all due pomp to have his marriage celebrated, as with running at the ring, plays, masques and tilting," &c.

Comedy
called New
Way to pay
Old Debts.

Of the lower class of people, we have some intimation in Johnson's Tale of a Tub. The maidens in the morning early, on the bridegroom's first appearance, usually presented him with a bunch of rosemary, bound with ribbands; to the which custom Turf alludes, when speaking of Clay, the intended bridegroom, who was just arrived—"Look (says he) and the wenches ha' not found you out, and do present you with a van of rosemary, and bays enough to vill a bow pott, or trim the head of my best vore horse: we shall all ha' bride laces, or points, I zee."—Neither went they to church without their music; and this was so common a custom, that Dame Turf (in the same play) thus reproaches her husband: "A clod you should be called, to let no music go afore your child to church, to chear her heart up!"—And after Scriben, seconding the good old dame's rebuke, adds, "She's i'th' right, sir; for your wedding dinner is starv'd, without music."

Tale of a
Tub.

It was customary of old time (especially with the more common people) upon a verbal contract of marriage, and promises of love, to break a piece of gold, or silver, in token thereof; one half the woman kept, and the other part remained with the man. In the play of the Widow this custom is mentioned, and to it is joined another, which I knew not of before, namely, drinking to each other. The passage is as follows:—The Widow complaining that Ricardo, had artfully drawn her into a verbal contract, one of her suitors thus enquires, "Stay, stay! you broke no gold between you?" She answers, "We broke nothing, sir." He adds, "Nor drank to each other?" She again replies, "Not a drop, sir." Then he concludes from thence, that the contract cannot stand good in law.—So much for the ceremonies before marriage.

The Widow
a Comedy,
by Johnson,
Fletcher, &
Middleton.

At Dunmow priory, in Essex, a whimsical custom prevailed. "In this priory (says a MS. in the Harleian Library) arose a custom, begun and instituted either by Robert Lord Fitz Walter (who lived in the reign of Henry the Third) or one of his immediate successors,—that he who repents him not of his marriage, sleeping or waking, in a year or a day, may lawfully come to Dunmow, and fetch a gammon of bacon; which bacon was delivered with such solemnity and triumph as they of the priory and townsmen could make. The manner of it was as follows:—The party or pilgrim for the bacon was to take an oath before the prior, the convent, and the whole town, humbly kneeling in the church-yard, upon two hard and pointed stones" (which stones are to be seen in the priory church to this day).—The form of the oath, as modernized in the MS. is as follows:

MS. in
Bib. Harl.
infig. 980,
et alia.

"You shall swear by custome of confessione,
If ever you made any nuptial trangrecion;
Be ye eyther married, man or wife,
By household brawls, or contentious strife,
Or otherwise, in bed, or at borde,
Offended each other in deede, or in worde;

Or since the parish clerke saide Amen,
 Wished yourselves unmarried agen;
 Or in a twelve month time and a day,
 Repented not, in thought, any maner of way,
 But continued true, and just in desire,
 As when you joined handes in holy quire:
 If to these condicions, withouten all feare,
 Of youre owne accord, you will truly sweare,
 You shall of oure bacon of Dunmow receive,
 To bear it hence, with love, and good leave;
 For this is our custom of Dunmow, well known,
 Tho' the pastime be our's, the bacon's your own."

"This oath being administered, with a long procession, and singing over him all the while, he was afterwards taken up, and carried upon mens shoulders, first about the priory church-yard, and after through the town, with all the friers and brethren, and all the townsfolk, young and old, following with acclamations and shouts, with his bacon before him; and afterwards (recieving the bacon) he returned home."

It appears, by the records of the house, that three several persons had of this bacon, at three several times.

"Be it remembred, that one Richard Wright, of Badebrigh, neare the citte of Norwich, in the counte of Norfolk, yeaman, came, and required of the bacon of Dunmow, namely the 27th daye of Aprile, in the 23 yeare of the reigne of Henrie 6th, and according to the forme of the charter, was sworne before John Cannon, pryor of thys place, and the convent, and many other neighbours; and there was delivered to him, the said Richard, one fleecche of bacon."

"Be it remembered, that one Stephyn Samvell, of Little Ayston, in the county of Essex, husbandman, came to the priory of Dunmow on our Lady Daye, in Lent, the seaventh yeare of kinge Edward the Fourthe, and required a gammon of bacon, and was sworne before Roger Bullatt, prior, and the convent of this place, as also before a multitude of other neighbours; and there was delivered unto hym one gamone of bacon."

"Be it remember'd, that in the yeare of our Lorde 1510, Thomas le Fuller, of Coggeshall in the county of Essex, came to the priory of Dunmow, and required to have some of the bacon of Dunmow; and on the 8th daye of September (being Sunday) in the 24 yeare of kinge Henrie the Eight, he was, according to the forme of the charter, sworne before John Tyles, then pryor of the house, and the convent, as also before a multitude of neighbours; and there was delivered unto the said Thomas, a gammon of bacon."

These three claims made of the bacon, were before the dissolution of the monasteries; and since that period, it has also been demanded and received just three times more. The last was as late as June the 20th, 1751, when one Thomas Shakeshaft, a weaver, living in the parish of Weathersfield, in the county

county of Essex, with Anne his wife, claimed the bacon, which was with much mock pageantry delivered to them.*

Though, in the above register of the claimants, we find the first is in the reign of Henry the Sixth, yet this institution was certainly of much more ancient date. I find this mention of it in the Visions of Pierce Plowman :

Pier. Plow-
man's Passus
Nonus.

— — — — — Dr those who marry for gain,
And though thei do hem to Dunmow, but if the Devil help
To follow after the fliche, fetch they it never,
And but they be both forsworne, &c.

And also as follows, in Chaucer's Wife of Bath's prologue :

The bacon Was not set for hem, I trow,
That some men have in Esser, at Dunmow.

The Wife of
Bath's Pro-
logue, fol. 32
Edit. Chau-
cer, 1602.

A custom of similar nature was held at Whichenovre, in Staffordshire; of which, together with the whole procession, and manner of the delivery of the flitch of bacon, the reader may find a long account in Plott's History of that county :—and (as Mr. Pennant has kindly informed me) in the hall of the mansion-house, where the bacon formerly was delivered, right over the chimney-piece, yet hangs the flitch, cut out in wood and painted.

Plott's ~~Ex~~ Staf-
fordshire.

Another strange custom also was held at Kylmerdon, in Somersetshire. The wife had the estate of her husband; but if she marieth again, she thereby lost her land; and if she was found to be incontinent, she also forfeited her land: but she might again have it restored to her, provided she would come into the open court, and there plainly acknowledge her incontinency.

From the
above-men-
tioned MS.
Vide Spec-
tator, V. 7. i.

To this chapter it may not be improper to add the following account of the ceremonies which were used, and the manner of the queen's taking her chamber, ann. 5 of Henry the Seventh, when she was with child :

Ex MS. in
B.b. Cotton,
infig. Julius,
B. xii.

“ *Item*, Upon All-halow even, the quene tooke her chamber at Westmynster, gretely accompanied with ladyes and gentilwomen; that is to say, the lady the kinges modir, the duchesse of Northfolk, and many oudre; havynge before hir the greates parte of the nobles of thys royalme, being present at this parlement: and she was ledde by therle of Oxenforde, and therle of Derby; and the reverent fader in God, the bishop of Excestre, song the *messe*, in *pontificalibus*, and after *agnus Dei*; and when the bishop had done, the quene was ledde as bifore; and therles of Shrewsbury, and of Kente, hylde the towelles, when the quene toke her *rightes*; and the torches ware holden by knightes, and after *mass*, accompayned as before; and when she was comen into hir great chambere, she stode undre hir cloth of estate; then their was ordeyned a voide af espices, and swet wyne; that doone, my lorde, the quenes chamberlain, in very goode wordes, desired, in the quenes name, the pepul there present to pray God to sende hir the

* One Mr. Osborne, of Chelmsford in Essex, was present there, and painted a very exact representation of the above-mentioned procession, which he caused to be engraved, an. 1752.

the goodeoure (*hour*): and so she departed to her inner chambre, which was hanged, and sceyled, with riche clothe of arras of blew, with flour de lis of gold, without any other clothe of arras of ymagerye, whiche is not convenient about wymen in such case: and in that chambre was a riche bedde and palliet, the which palliet had a mariuellous riche canope of clothe of gold, with velvet paly of divers colours, garneshyd with rede roses, enbrodured with two riche pannes of crymson, couvered with raynes of lande; also ther was a riche auter (*altar*) well furnyshed with reliques, and a riche cupborde well and richely garnyshed; and then she recomanded hir to the goode praiers of the lordes, and then my lord her chamberleyn drew the travers; and frome thens forthe no maner of officers came within the chambre, but ladies, and gentelwomen, after the olde coustume.

Ceremonies, &c. relative to Funerals.

See Vol. 2,
pag. 105, 6,
7, 8, & 9.
Lib. Regal.
in Arch. of
Westminst.
MS. in the
Cotton Lib.
Nero, D. vi.
MS. penes
author.

To the account of the royal obsequies, set forth in the second volume of this work, I beg leave to add the following preparatory directions for the treatment of the corps of the kings of England, before they were buried. It is extracted from the *Liber Regalis*, preserved in the Abbey of Westminster, and immediately follows the coronation ceremonies. In the same manner it is found in a MS. in the Cotton Library, as also again in another in my own possession.

"De exequiis regalibus cum ipsos ex hoc seculo migrare contigerit."

"Cum Rex inmortuus migraverit ex hoc seculo, primo a suis cubiculariis, corpus ejusdem aqua calida sive tepida lavari debet; deinde balsamo et aromatibus unguetur per totum. Et postea in panno lineo cerato involvetur; ita tamen quod facies et barba illius tantum pateant. Et circa manus et digitos ipsius dictus pannus ceratus ita erit dispositus ut quilibet digitus cum pollice utriusque manus singillatim insuatur per se; ac si manus ejus cirotheis lineis essent cooperte. De cerebro tamen et visceribus caveant cubicularii prædicti.—Deinde corpus induetur tunica usque ad telos longa; et desuper pallio regali adornabitur. Barba vero ipsius decenter componetur super pectus illius; et postmodum caput, cum facie ipsius, fulario serico cooperietur: ac deinde corona regia aut diadema capite ejusdem apponetur. Postea induentur manus ejus cirotheis cum aurofagiis ornatis; et in medio digito dextræ manus imponetur annulus aureus aut deauratus. Et in dextra manu sua ponetur pila rotunda deaurata in qua virga deaurata erit fixa a manu ipsius usque ad pectus protensa, in cujus virgæ summitate erit signum dominicæ crucis quod super pectus ejusdem principis honeste debet collocari;—in sinistra vero manu sceptrum deauratum habebit usque ad aurem sinistram decenter protensum: ac postremo tibie et pedes ipsius caligis sericis et sandaliis induentur:—Tali vero modo dictus princeps adornatus cum regni sui pontificibus et magnatibus ad locum quem pro sua sepultura eligerit cum omni reverentia deferretur, et cum exequiis regalibus honestissimæ tradetur sepulture."

When the reader hath read the above directions, he is referred to N^o. 19 of plate 6, (of the second volume) where he will see the king laid forth, as is just described; and this representation is copied from the illumination which in the *Liber Regalis* is prefix'd to the above directions.

The funeral procession of Henry the Seventh, together with the ceremonies thereto belonging, are thus set forth by Hall, in his *Union of the Houses of York and Lancaster* :—

Halls Union
in Vit.
Hen. 8.
fol. 18.

“ After that all thynges necessary for the interment and funeral pompe of the late king (Hen. 7th) were sumptuously prepared and done, the corps of the said defunct was brought out of his privy chamber, into the great chamber, where he rested three daies, and every daie had there dirige and masse song by a prelate mitred : and from thence he was conveyed into the halle, where he also was three daies, and had like service there ; and so three daies in the chapell ; and in every of these three places was a hearse * of waxe, garnished with banners, and 9 mourners gevyng there attendance all the service tyme ; and every daie thei offered, and every place chaunged with blacke clothe. Upon Wednesdaie the 9th daie of Maiey the corps was putte into a chariott covered with blacke clothe of gold, drawn with 5 greate coursers, covered with blacke velvet, garnished with cushions of fine gold ; and over the corps was a image or a representation of the late kyng, laied on cushions of golde, and the said image was appareled in the kinges riche robes of estate, with a crowne on the hed, and ball and scepter in the handes ; and the chariot was garnished with banners and pencelles of tharmes of his dominions, titles and genealogies. When the chariot was thus ordered, the kinges chapell, and a great nombre of prelates, set forward praiyng : then folowed all the kynges servauntes in blacke ; then folowed the chariot, and after the chariot 9 mourners, and on every side wer caried long torches and shorte to the nombre of six hundred ; and in this order thei came to Sainte George's felde, from Richemonde (*for he died at Richmond*). There met with thei all the preistes and clearkes, and religious men within the citee, and without (whiche wente formoste, before the kynges chapell). The maior and his brethren, with many commoners, all clothed in blacke, met with the corps at London bridge, and so gave their attendaunce on the same through the citee : and in good ordre the compaignie passed through the citie, wherof the streetes on every side were set with long torches, and on the stalles stode young children, holding tapers, and so with greate reverence the chariott was brought to the cathedrall church of Sancti Paule, where the body was taken out, and carried into the quire, and set under a goodly herse of waxe garnished with banners, pencelles and cushions, where was sounge a solempne dirige, and a masse, with a sermon, made by the byshoppe of Rochester ; duryng which tyme the kynges houthold and the mourners reposed themselves in byshoppe of Rochester pells. The next daie the corps, in like order, was removed toward Westminster, Sir Edward Hayward bearynge the kinges banner, on a courser trapped in the armes of the defunct.

“ In

* The *hearse* was usually a four-square frame of timber, which was hung with black cloth, and garnished with flags and scutcheons ; as also a great quantity of lights, according to the wealth and quality of the person deceased. — I find the following dimensions for a hearse in the Harleian Library : “ Each side was twelve foot broad, and each corner post twelve foot high ; from each of these posts arose a rafter slanting, and all four rafters met at the top, and morticed in an upright post in the middle, which rose about four foot above the corner posts.”

" In Westminster was a curious herse, made of 9 principalles, full of lightes, which were lighted at the comynge of the corps, whiche was taken out of the chariot by sixe lordes, and set under the herse, the image or the representation lying upon the cushyn on a large palle of golde. The herse was double railed; within the firste railes satte the mourners, and within the seconde raile stoode knights bearyng banners of sainctes, and without the same stoode officers of armes. When the mourners were set, Garter Kyng at Armes cried for the soule of the noble prince kyng Henry the VII. late kyng of this realme; the quire beganne *placebo*, so song the dirige, whyche beyng finished, the mourners departed into the palaice, where they had voyde, and to reposed for that night.

" The next daie wer three masses solemnly song, by bushoppes, and at the last masse was offered the kynges banner and courser, his coate of armes, his sworde, his target, and his helme; and at thende of masse the mourners offered up riche paulles of clothe of gold and baudekin, and when the quire sang *libera me*, the body was put into the yearthe; and then the lorde treasorer, lorde stewarde, lorde chamberlein, the tresorer, and comptroller of the kynges household, brake their staves and cast them into the grave. Then Garter cried with a loud voice, *Vive le roy Henry le Huites-me, roy Danglter & de Fraunce, sire Dirland!* (*Long live king Henry the Eighth, king of England, of France, and lord of Ireland!*) Then all the mourners, and all other that had geven their attendance on this funerall obsequie, departed to the palaice, where they had a great and sumptuous feast."

MS. in the Cotton Lib.
mark'd Ju-
lius, B. 12.

The order in which a funeral of any noble person was conducted, was as follows in the reign of Henry the Seventh; the which I find in a curious MS. of that age:

" This is the Ordynaunce, and Guyding, that pertayneth unto the worshipfull Beryng of any Estate, to be done in Maner and Fourme ensuyng."

" Furst, to be offerde a sworde, by the moost worshipfull of the kynne of the aforefaid estate; and if none be attending, it shold bee presented by the moost worshipfull man that is present ther, on his perte.

" Item, In like wise his shelde, his coote of worshp, his helme, and creste.

" Item, To be had a baner of the Trenite, a baner of our Ladye, a baner of St. George, a baner of the seynt that was his advooure, and a baner of his armes.

" Item, A panon of hys armes, and standard, and his beste (*supporters*) therein.

" Item, A getone of his device, with his worde (*motto*).

" Item, A double valance aboute the herse, both above and byneath, with his worde, and his device, written therein.

" Item, XII scochones of his armes, to be sett upon the barres, without and within the herse; and 3 dozen penselles, to stande aboven, upon the herse, amongst the lightes.

" Item, To be ordeyned as many scochones as be pilers in the chirche, and scochones to be set in the 4 quarters of the faide church, as best is to be sette by discretion.

" Item,

"*Item*, As many torches as the saide estate was of yerres of age, and on every torch a scochone hanging, and the beerers of the torches in blak.

"*Item*, To be ordaynede standyng, 5 officers of armes about the saide herse; that is to saye, one before the saide herse, bearing the coote of armes of worthepe, and he standyng at the hede, in the middle warde of the saide herse; the second standing on the right side of the herse, in the fore front, bearyng his sworde; and the 3d standyng on the lifte side of the saide herse, bearing his helmet and creste; the 4th on the right side of the saide hers, in the nether part, bering his baner of armes; and the 5th standyng on the lifte syde, in the nether parte, he bearing his penon, so standyng till the offering; and the baners of the Trenite, our Lady, St. George, and the baner of his advowre, to be sett above in partes of the saide hers, and his standard also.

"*Item*, To be ordenede certeyne clothes of golde, for the ladies of his kynne, being within the saide hers; and they to offere the saide clothes of gold.

"*Item*, A scochone of innocentes, clothed in white, every innocent bearyng a taper in his hand.

"*Item*, The horse of the saide estate, trappede with his armes, and a man of armes, being of his kinis (*kindred*) upon the same horse; or else any other man of worship, in hys name, havyn in his hande a spere, sward, or axe, so to be presentede to the offering, in the chirche; with 2 worshipfull men, oon gooyng one that oon side of his hors, and that other on that other side of the hors; and a man ledyng the same hors.

"*Item*, The heire of the saide estate, after he hath offered, shall stande upon the lifte side of the preste, receyvinge the offering of the swerde, helme, and crest, baner of armes, cote of worship, and penon.

"*Item*, 2 men of worship, to stand on the same side of the preste, holdynge a bason with money therin, for the offeringe."

And the same forms were continued till the Reformation, and utter abolishment of the Romish religion. The whole ceremonial rites are still more fully explained, in another MS. written early in the beginning of the reign of Henry the Eighth.

The maner of orderinge of every man, at the settinge forth of a Corps, and how they shall goe, after their Estate and Degree.

First the crosse, then the clarke and priestes; then they of the churche where the corps shall be buried, must have the preheminence to go next the corps, within their jurisdictions; then the prelates that be in *pontificalibus*; then certayne gentlemen in *duell* (*mourning*) with their hoodes on their shoulders; then the chaplaynes of the defunct; then the overseers; then the executours, wearinge their hoodes on their shuldres, because their faces should been seene, as ministers of the body, going in good ordre; then a gentleman in mourning habitte, with a hoo de on his face, to beare the baner of his armes, if he be not under the degree of a bannerette, and if he be but a bachelor knight, to have a penon of his armes, and a guydon of his creste, and poseys written therin, and a

croſſe of St. George in the chiefe; the banerett to have his ſtandart made in lyke manner, with his creſte, the banners or pennon, the right ſide and left alike, and the ſtandart between the gentlemen in duell and the preſtes; and the herald at armes next before the corps, bearing the coate of the deſunct in his handes, or on his backe, if there be two; alſo four banners of ſaintes, at the four corners, borne by fower gentlemen in mourninge, habitted with hoodes on their faces; that is to ſay, the banner of the Trenete at the right ſide of the heade, the banner of our Ladye at the heade on liſte ſide, the banner of St. George at ſeete on the righte ſide, hys *avoury* (or *patron ſaint*) at the ſeete on the leſte ſyde; alſo to go next after the corps, the chiefe mourner alone, and the other frendes to go two and two, a certeyne ſpace one from another; then the greateſt eſtates; after al other to followe as ſervantes, and all that wyl: Alſo when the corps comethe where it ſhall remayne, at the weſt doore, the prelate ſhall ſence the corps, which ſhall do the deſired ſervice: alſo ſix of them of the place, being preſtes, or religious, muſt or ought to beare the corps, as alſo ſo many gentlemen; and at the fowre corners of the riche clothe, fowre of the greateſt eſtates of the ſaide church muſt be ſupportinge, as if they bare him, and ſo to goe into the quyer, where there muſt be a goodlie herſe, and branches well garniſhed with lightes, pencells, and ſcochones of his armes; and if he be an earle, he muſt have a maieste, and valence fringed; and if he be a knight banerett, he may have a valence fringed; and a bachellor knight none: alſo the ſaid herſe muſt be rayled aboute, and hanged with blacke clothe, and the grounde within the rayles alſo ſtrayed with ruſhes; and the ſtoles and fourmes that mourners do lean upon; the chiefe mourner at the hede, and the other mourners at the ſydes; alſo the helme, creſt, wreath and mantells, muſt be at the heade of the beere, the ſhilde on the left ſyde, and the ſworde on the righte ſyde the coat of armes, upon the beere; the banners to be holden within the rayles, in forme as they went; the herald to ſtand at the head of the corps, without the rayles, and all the other without the rayles, except the mourners: the quyer ſinginge diver anthemes, and at the *kyrieleyſon*, one to ſay for the ſoule of *N. B. pater noſter*; the mourners to goe their way after *libera-me*, and the banners to be borne to the ſepulchre with the corps; and the executors muſt ſee the enterring of the corps; and the helme and creſt to be ſett upon the highe alter, till the morrow at the maſſes; then they are to be putt on the beere or preſentation.

The Manner of the Offringe, at the Enterment of Noble Men.

Furſte, in the morninge betimes, maſſe of owre Lady be ſaide; the banners to be holden; the helme, ſhilde, ſworde, the cote of armes, to be layde upon the beere, in dewe order, and the mourners in their places.

At the Offring Tyme.

The chiefe morner, accompanied with all the other, to go furthe at the heade on the left ſyde of the herſe, and none to offer but the chiefe mourner at that maſſe, and he to offer 3s. 4d. and returne on the other ſyde to hys place that he came from; the herald (wearing his coate) before them, to and fro;
and

and for lacke of the mourners at that masse, he may take the executors, or other mourninge habitte, to supply the roome of the mourners.

Item, The second masse of the Trynete, at the offeringe, in like case as before, savinge that the chiefe mourner shall offer 5s.

Item, The thirde masse of *Requiem*, that to be songe by the noblest prelate in *pontificalibus*; the chiefe mourners, accompayned as before, shall offer 6s. 8d. and so go to the places they come from; at every tyme the heraulde, or herauldis, there beyng (weryng theyre mastres cote of armes) going before the mourners, to and fro, at offering, and to bringe them ageyne to their places; and the sayde officers of armes to stand wythout the rayles at the heade.

Item, Then muste be offered the cote of armes, by two of the greatest gentlemen.

Item, Two other to offer his sworde, the pommell, and the crosse, forewarde.

Item, Two to offer his helme and cresse.

Item, If he be of the degree of an earle, to have a knyghte ryding on a courser, trapped with the armes of the defunct; the sayd knyghte armed at all places, savinge the head; havinge in hys hande a battel axe, the pointe downwarde, led betweene too other knightes, from the west doore of the churche tyll they come to the *decke* (or dext, in the other copy) in the quyer, the officers of armes goynge before hym; and there the sayde knight to alight, and the sexton there to take the horse as hys fee; and the knight to be led to the offeringe, and there to offer the axe, the pointe downwarde; then the sayde knight to be conveyde into the vestery, and there to be unarmed.

Item, Then the rest of the mourners to go in due order, two and two, to offer for themselves.

Item, If he be an earl, there must be two gentlemen, to bringe two clothes of bawdekin from one side of the quyer, and deliver them to the heralds, who shall deliver them to two of the greatest estates, which must offer them, the lowest estate first, and the greatest laste; some men calle these clothes *pawles*, and some clothes of gold; whiche shall remayne in the churche: then all other to offer that wyll, the greatest estates first next after the executors. The offeringe done, the sermon to begin; and at the laste ende of the masse (at *verbum caro factus est*) the banners of the armes, or pennons, to be offer'd.

Things necessarie to be had at the Enterment of a Knight.

First, A representation of his bodie, covered wyth blacke clothe, with a white crosse of sattyn damaske, or lynyen clothe.

Item, Fournes and rayles covered with blacke clothe, and garnished with scotchons of hys armes.

Item, Four braunches, or a herse, garnished with pencelles.

Item, To have three masses, one of the Trenyte, one of our Ladye, one of *Requiem*.

Item, A doctor to make a sermon, and five men mourners, to offer his hatchments, as knightes, in black gownes and hoothes.

Item, Fower gentlemen for his fower banners of sayntes, and one for his standart, in black gownes and hoothes.

Item, Twelve state tourches, bourn by twelve yeomen in black cotes.

Item, Sixe braices of iron for his hatchement.

The Painter's Bill.

	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
<i>Item</i> , A coate of hys armes	26	8	Four banners	—	—	4
A shield of hys armes	—	6	Four dozen of eschochens,			—
A helme, with crest and mantells	—	20	two of mettals & two of coller		20	—
Standart of his cognysans	26	8	Four dozen of penfells, for the branchs, &c.		48	—

What is necessary at the Burying of a Knyghte, (*from another copy.*)

Furst the place of sepulture, the watche of the corps 3 or 4 at the least nyghtley, unto suche tyme as the corps be beryed:—a knyghte to have 5 mourners, yche of theyme to have gownes and hoodys, 5 yards of blacke clothe; the officer at armes 5 yarges; the stander, and penyons, and banner of sanctis, 3 blacke gownes and hoods: blacke gownes for the prelates, or prester, for the 3 masses, oure Lady, the Treynety, and *Requiem*; and for the farmond, the wax chandelers for torches, and branches for the herse, and tapers with branches.

Lyveries for Noble Men, at Interement; every Man according to his Estate.

A duke, for his gowne, slope, and mantille, 16 yarges, at 10s. the yarde; and lyvery for 18 servautes.

An earle, for his gowne, slope, and mantell, 16 yerdes, at 8s. the yerde; and lyvery for 17 servautes.

A baron, or bannaratt, being knyghte of the garter, for his gowne and hoode, 6 yerds; and lyvery for 8 servautes.

A knyght, 5 yarges, 6s. 8d. the yerd; and levery for 4 servautes.

An esquier for the body, as a knyght; and levery for 4 servautes.

The clothe for esquyers, and jentillmen, at 5s. the yerd; levery for the 3 servautes.

None to where hoddess, under the degree of an esquier of housholde, but only such as are of a quarter of a yerd brode; and in tyme of ned they may where hoddess.

None to where hoddess, with rolls flydide on hys heed, or otherwise, being under the degree of a baron, or earles son and heyre; but only hoddess without rolles.

Fees apperteynyng to Officers at Armys.

At the buriall of one, beyng a pere of the reallme, of the blode riall, or elles some of these officers, as constable, marshall, chanceler, heygh treasurer, chamberlayn, lord admyrall, or lord preve seale, then hath been accostomyd all the officers

offycars of the armis to wher thene cottos of the kyngs armys, and to have their gownes, hoodes, and 5*℥*. to be devidyd amongyft them; in lykewife if anny lord of perlement chance to dye, duryng the tyme of perlement, they to have as afor ys fayd.

Fees apurtayninge to the Officer at Armès, at the Enterement of any Noble Persons, (*from another copy.*) In ibid. MS.

Imprimis, For his longe gowne, and hood, five yardes of blacke clothe, at fix shillings and eight pence the yerde.—*Item*, If the corps be carried far, he must have fower yerdes of blacke clothe for his ridinge gowne and hood, and for his trap-horse five yardes; and for every servaunte three yardes.—*Item*, The rayle withe the blacke clothe, within and without.—*Item*, The maieste, and valence.—*Item*, For a baron or his wiefes coste, or baneret or his wiefes coste, 20*s*.—*Item*, For a knight, or his wiefes coste, 20*s*.—*Item*, A captayne or esquier, or such as may have penons of armes, their costes 13*s*. 4*d*.—*Item*, An esquier, or gentleman havinge cote of armes, the costes 10*s*.

Memorandum. That no person, or persons, may set up at any enterement, or any other tyme, any cotes of armes, targe, sworde, helme, or creste, with mantelles, or with other apurtenances, as banners, penons, or rayles aboute the heise, without the knowleydge and thasent of the chefe kyng at armes, or the kinge of armes of the same province, or the marshall; because of the orderinge of every noble persone, according to their estates and degrees; upon payne of pulling downe, and losse of the said thinges so sett up, and for their so doing to be punish'd by the kinges constable, or marshall, or the kynges courts, for the misfusinge, or exercising of the said fees, comytted and graunted by the kinges highnes, and his predecessors, kinges of England, to the kinges at armes, and their deputies.

Order for wearing of Aparelle.

Ordinaunces and Reformacions of Aparel, for Princes and Estates, with other Ladies and Gentlewomen, for the Tyme of Mourning; made by the right highe, and mighty, and excellent Princefs Margaret, Countess of Richmonde. Daughter and sole Heyre to the most noble Prince, John Duke of Somersets. and Mother to our most dread Soverayne Lorde, Kyng Henry the Seventh, the 8 Yere of his most noble Raigne.

First, It is ordayned the greatest estate to have their surcott, with a trayne before, and another behynde, and their mantells with traynes, and the greatest estate the longest trayne, with hoodes and tippets, as hereafter appeareth; and that in no manner of wise beakes be used, for the deformitye of the same.

Item, The queene to weare a surcotte, with a trayne before and another behynde, and a mantell with a trayne, and her grace to weare the longest trayne, because she is the greatest estate: and a playne hoode, wythoute clokes, and a tippet at her hoode, beyng of a goode lengthe, on the trayne of her mantell, and in breadth a nayle and an inche: and after the first quarter be pass'd, it shall be at the

the pleasure of her grace to have her mantell lined; it must be black sattin, or fine double farcenet; and if it be furred, it must be with the ermyne, powdered at her grace's pleasure.

Item, That my lady the kinges mother, in mourninge apparell, were every thinge lyke the queene.

Item, The kinges daughters unmarried, sisters, and aunes, shall weare in all thinges like the queene, the trayne and tippetts rather shorter.

Memorandum, The queenes sister representeth a duchesse in the tyme of mourninge, and must have livery accordingly.

Item, A duchesse to weare a furcote, with a trayne before, and another behynde, and a playne hooode without clokes; and tippette at the hooode, in length to the grounde, and in breadth a nayle and a half an inche: and after the first quarter, the duchesse mantell to be lyned, or furred; and if it be furred, it must be with ermyne powdered, at the ende of the ermyne, saving that between every powdering, must be as muche space as the lengthe of the ermyne.

Item, A marquesse to weare a furcote, with a trayne before, and another behynde; a mantelle with a trayne; a playne hooode without clokes; a tippette at the hooode in lengthe to the grounde, saveing the nayle, and in bredth a nayle and quarter of an inche: and after the first quarter, the marquisses mantelle to be lyned or furred; and if it be furred, it must be with mynever, saving the edge both of the hooode and of the mantell, may be furred with ermyne powdered, and between every powdering the nayle.

Item, The countesse to wear a furcote, with a trayne before, and another behynde; a mantell with a trayne; a playne hooode without clokes; a tippette in lengthe to the grownde, at the hood, saveing half a quarter, and breadth a large nayle: and after the first quarter, the countesses mantell to be lyned or furred; and if it be furred, it must be with mynever, saveing the edge, both of the mantells and the hooode, may be with ermyne, powdered, and betweene every powdering halfe a quarter of a yard.

Item, A duchesses daughter to wear in all things as a countesse.

Item, A duchess dowager to weare in all thinges lyke a countesse.

Item, A marquess's daughter to wear in all thinges as a baronesse.

Item, A baronesse to weare a furcote, without a trayne, and a mantell according; a hooode without clokes; a tipette in length to the grounde, saveing a quarter of a yerde, and in breadth a scarce nayle.

Item, An erles daughter to weare in all thinges as a baronesse.

Item, Lordes daughters, and knightes wives, to wear furcotes with medelyng traynes, and no mantells, their hoods with clokes; and tippetts in bredth 3 quarters of a nayle, and in length a yard and a half, to be pyuned upon their arme.

Item, The queenes chiefe gentlewoman, and esquires wiefes for the body, being in household, to weare in all thinges as lordes daughters; and all other the queenes gentlewomen, in household, to weare sloppes, or cot harders, and hooodes and clokes; the tippetts a yerd longe, and an inche broad, to be pinned on the sydes of their hooodes.

Memorandum,

Memorandum, Every one, not beyng under the degree of baronesse, to weare a barbe above the chynne; and all other as knyghtes wiefes, to were it under there throte, and other gentlewomen beneath the throte roll.

Item, Duchesses and countesses gentlewomen, as many as be barbed above the chyne typpet, in length and breadth as the queenes gentlewomen have.

For a barones no trayne; the trayne before to be narrowe, not exceeding the bredthe of 8 inches, and must be trussed up before, under the gyrdell, or above upon the lefte arme.

Item, All chamberers shall weare hoodes, with clokes, and no manner of tippettes.

Item, Greate estates wearing mantelles, when they ryde to have short clokes, and hoodes, with narrow tippetts, to be bound about their heades; and alone as they come to court, they to laye away their whoodes; and that after the firste monthe, none to wear whoodes in their betters presence, but when they labour.

Item, The queene, my lady the kinges mother, the king's daughter, duchesses, marquisses and countesses apparele to be made of the fasion and largenesse as they weare used when they wore *bekes*, except the tippette to be instead of *beke*.

A *slope* is a mourning cassock for ladies and gentelwomen, not open before.

The *circotte* is a mourning garment, made like a close or straye bodyed gowne, wore under a mantell.

That we may see the difference which arose from the change of religion, here followeth the order of the funerals of barons, knights, and esquires, as they were appointed to be done in the reign of queen Elizabeth, when the former Popish mummerly was abolished.

When a Lord or Baron is to be buried, he is to be carried as followeth :

First must go the poor men two and two, in black gownes; then two yeomen with staves and black gownes, as conductors; then a gentleman in a black gowne, bearinge a standard; then all his servants, two and two, in black gownes; then his penon; then his banner;

Then his helme and crest,

Then his targett,

Then his sworde,

Then his coate of armes,

} These 4 to be carried by four heraultes, wherof
the two last to be kinge of heraultes, and for
default, by esquiers or gentlemen.

After them followeth the preacher in a longe gowne; then the corps borne by fowre men in blacke coates (or gownes) and on each syde of the corpses two gentlemen, bearinge fower bannerfells, every of them one: after the corpses followeth the cheif mourner, in a blacke gowne, who must be an earle, or a baron, to go alone; after him followeth fower others, two and two, in black gownes, as assistants to the cheif mourner.

And in this order must he be brought to the church.

The

The place appointed for the corpes to stand must be rayled in, and covered with black clothe, and hanged full of schocheons of his armes; and the body beinge brought into the churche, must be set upon two treffells, and there to stand during the sermon.

The mourners must kneele next to the hearse, on stooles and kushions, and under their feet blacke cloth: the body once sett upon the treffells, coate, helme and creft, target and sword, must be set upon the hearse, during the sermon tyme; the guydon, standard, and other things, must be placed aboute the hearse, in the handes of the bearers. After sermon ended, all the foresaid thinges must be offered up, in the same order that they were carried; and the chiefe mourner must offer himself; and after him the assistants, 2 and 2, must followe, and offer up which the heraults bore before.

The foresaid offering so done, the body is to be buried; then his hearse is to be set up within a rayle, upon the grave, all covered with blacke clothe, and garnished with schocheons of his armes, and with pensells of filke, of the colour of his colouring, which must be his creft, or some principall badge of his armes.

Then over the grave must be hanged and sett upp his standard, banner, banneralles, &c. and in the midst must be sett upp his whole atchievement, viz. creft, helme, targett, sworde, and coate armour.

The churche also must be full of great schocheons, some of his single coat or armes; and these must be all black about the borders, some quarter'd, and some impalled with his wife's, if he have any; and of these the one side of his owne must be black, the other white.

Burial of a Knight.

A knight must in all things have as a baron, except his banner rôles.

The Esquier.

An esquier must have all things as a knight, saving standard, sword, and targett; all things else to be done in the same order.

And if any lord, baron, knight, or esquier, do die in the fiede, in the service of the warres, then the trumpetter must go foremoste, sownding the dead sownde, and the bill-men, the pike-men, the hargebushiers, must go in their order, 2 and 2, the bill-men holding the heads of their weapons downe wards, the pike-men traying their pikes, holding the points in their handes, and so the hargebushiers; and whilst the corpes is burieng, the whole noise of trumpeters must sound fast by the buriall, and after them the drumsters must strike a dead sownde; and lastly, the hargebushiers must discharge their shott.

In the Church-Wardens of St. Helen's accounts, published by the Society of Antiquaries, we find frequent mention made of lights, and other expences, for "the monthes minde, the yeares minde, the two yeares minde," &c. as also of the "obits for deceased persons;" which were both of them *masses*, performed at different seasons, for the rest of the soul of the person for whom such ceremonies were done, the word *mind* itself signifying a *memorial* or *remembrance*: and in the same manner bishop Fisher has it, in his sermon intituled "*A Monynge Remembraunce*, had at the Monthes Wynd of the noble Princesse Margarete, Countesse of Richmond and Darbye."

Archæolog.
Vol. 1, c. 4,
pag. 11.

The *obits* were only the annual masses, which were performed in memory of the deceased, and for the rest of his departed soul. These masses may be seen in the Romish Missals, under the title of "*Missæ pro Defunctis*;" and the common expences of an obit, anno 1542, was 2*s.* 2*d.* disposed of as follows:—To the parish priest 4*d.*—to the charnel priest 3*d.*—the two clerks 4*d.* each;—to the children (*choristers*) 3*d.*—to the sexton and bellman each 2*d.*—two tapers, 2*d.* oblation 2*d.*—These masses continued to be said until the year 1559, when the expression of *month's mind* was changed to "*monthes monument*."

Vid. Fuller's
Hist. of
Waltham
Abbey, p. 14

At the funeral of Sir John Rudstone, mayor of London, ann. 1531, I find the following charges made:—

MS. in
Bib. Harl.
mark. 1231.

Item,	To the priests at his enuelling	—	—	—	—	£.	s.	d.
	For massys	—	—	—	—	0	9	0
	To poor-folke in almys	—	—	—	—	1	5	0
	22 days to 6 poor folke	—	—	—	—	—	2	0
	26 dayes to 2 poor folke	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
	Full payde at the bewryal	—	—	—	—	1	15	9
	Paide Gararde Smythe for yerne worke about hys herse	—	—	—	—	—	8	8
	To the carpynter for all thinges belonging aboute the herse	—	—	—	—	—	13	4
	Geven in pence (<i>pence</i>) to offer at the masse at his berynge	—	—	—	—	1	2	0
	To the sexton, for knellyng of the bell at hys departynge	—	—	—	—	—	3	4
	to Gode, and ryngyng	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	To the bedyll of the beggers, and hys 2 fellowes, for	—	—	—	—	—	3	4
	waytyng at the bewryng	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	To 9 priestes, for massys	—	—	—	—	—	3	0
	To the clerkes at syngynge masse of the Holy Goste, for	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	their brekfast	—	—	—	—	—	1	0
	Paide to Carlyle the heraulde, for that is hys dewe by	—	—	—	—	5	0	0
	hys byll	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Payde to Hethe the paynter, and hys felowe, for all	—	—	—	—	18	0	0
	thynges belonging to the enterement	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Yet afterwards it is added,

Payde more to Hethe for skowcheons	—	—	—	15	8
Payde the waferer for wafers at the buryall	—	—	—	6	0
Payde for the wyndynge shettes	—	—	—	2	8

Some time before we are told that "*Syſley's wyndyng ſheit*" (*the maiden who died there*) coſt 1s. od. Hence we may ſee the difference paid to the knight himſelf.

	£.	s.	d.
Payde to Elynor for frankenſens, to be burned at the place	-	2	0
To Goodmane Dowres for wrytyng of the wyll	-	13	4
The herſe itſelf was moſt richly lighted up with wax, and a great number of tapers muſt have been conſumed, for the wax-chandler's bill amounts to	-	25	0 0
For yerbys at the bewryal	-	-	1 0
Payde the prieſtes for beyng there at the bewryal	-	10	0
Payde for 50 elles of bokerame for the ſeryng clothe	1	0	0

Hereafter followeth the coſtes and charges done at the mownethys mynde, begynnyng the 19 daye of September:

	£.	s.	d.
Payde to the prieſts and clarkes at the monthes mynde, and to the torch berers, and offrynge at maſſe, &c.	1	12	9
Payde the herbe wyfe for herbes	-	0	3
Payde to preſts and clarkes, for dyryge and maſſe, from the daye of buryall to the daye of the mownethes mynde	4	19	4
Payde more to the preſtes and clarkes, in a rewarde for the maſſys ſayde in the mownethes mynde	-	7	8
Payde to 8 preſtes, clarkes of St. Mychelles, for the maſſe at the burynge, and maſſe at the mownythes mynde	-	7	0
Lights were alſo here expended; the wax-chandler's bill is	1	8	0

Besides all this, there was alſo a great banquet prepared for the friends, at the month's mind; for I find the entries of monies paid to the cooks, butlers, broche (*or spit*) turners, &c. and "payde to Thorowgoode the kerver, at the monthes mynde, 1s. 8d.

Though the general mourning colour was black, yet the kings, and even ſometimes the great noblemen, have deviated from this rule. Henry the Eighth (ſays Hall) wore white for mournynge, at the deathe of Ann of Bolen.—At the above burying I find that "*blacke perwke*" was the only mourning cloth, the beſt at 8s. 6d. the yard, and that made uſe of in the ſervants gowns, &c. at only 4s. 8d. the yard. The hearſe, the forms, and alſo the rooms of the knight's houſe, were hung with black frieze, which coſt 6½d. the yard.

In an old MS. on vellum, preſerved in the Cotton Library, on one of the leaves is the following entry, which was moſt probably made at the time the things therein mentioned were performed; it runs thus:

In this cedula be conteyned the charges and obſervaunces appointed by the noble prince Humfrey, late duke of Glouceſtere, to be perpetually boren by thabbot and convent of the monaſterie of Seint-Albans.

Firſt, Thabbot and convent of the ſeid monaſterie have payd for makynge of the tumbes and place of ſepulture of the ſaid duke, within the ſaid monaſtrie, above the ſumme of 433l. 6s. 8d.—*Item*, To monks prieſts, dayly ſeynge maſſe at the auter of ſepulture of the ſeid prince, everich of them takynge 6d. ſumme therby

Hall's Union
in Vit.
Hen. 8.
fol. 228.

MS. in the
Cotton Lib.
mark'd
Claudius,
A. VIII.

therby the hole yere is 18*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.*—*Item*, To the abbot ther yerly, the daye of the auniversary of the seid prince, attendyng hys exequyes ther, 40 shillings.—To the priour ther yerly, the same daye, in lykewyse attendyng, 20 shillings.—*Item*, To 40 monks priestes yerly, to everych of them the same daye, 6*s.* 8*d.* sum therof 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*—*Item*, To 8 monks, not priests, yerly the seid day, to everych of them 3*s.* 4*d.* sum therof 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*—*Item*, To two ankereesses, 1 at St. Peter's chirch, another at Seint Michael's, the said day, yerely, to everych one 20*d.* sum 3*s.* 4*d.*—*Item*, To money to be distributed to pore peple ther, the seid day, yerly, 11*s.* 0*d.*—*Item*, To 13 pore men, beryng torches the seid day aboute the place of sepulture, 2*s.* 2*d.*—*Item*, For wax brennyng dayly at his messes, and his seid anniversity, and of torches yerly, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*—*Item*, To the kechen of the convent ther yerly, in relief of the gret decay of livelode of the seid mouasterie, in the marches of Scotland, which byfore tyme hath be appointed to the seid kechyn, 60*l.*

At the end of a MS. in my own possession, I find some regulations relative to the chusing the church-warden for "St. Stephen's Chirche in Colman Street," which, by the hand, appears to have been written early in the reign of Henry the Seventh; and at the end the following orders:—

MS. penes
Author,

Statute for Belles and Pitts (or *Graves*).

We will that for every pitt that is made in owre Ladies chapell, for mane, womane, or childe, pay to the chirche werks 10*s.* and for every pitt in the body of the chirche, 6*s.* 8*d.* to the said werkes.

Also as it happeth oftene tymes that ther falleth discencione, and debates, betwene the parishens and the parish clerkes, for ryngyng of knyelles and pitt making: therefor we will that what man, or woman, that wille have the great belle rong for a knyll, shall pay to the chirche wardeyns 4*s.* whereof the clerks to have for the ryngyng 12*d.*—and the profites of knyelles of alle the other 4 belles to be to the use and profite of the clerkes; that is to sey, for the secunde belle 2*s.* for the thirde belle 12*d.* for the fourthe 8*d.* and for the fyfth belle 4*d.*—And also yf any mane, or woman, wille have alle the belles rong at dirige, and at masse, at the burying of any persone, monthes minde, or yeres mynde, shall pay to the clerkes 2*s.*—Also the clerkes shall have for every pitt that is made in the chirche yard, for mane or womane that is howselede (*perhaps householder*) 8*d.* and for every childe the pitte making 4*d.*—also for every pitte made in the body of the chirche, for mane, womane, or childe, 2*s.*—and for every pit made in the chancell, or oure ladyes chapell, 3*s.* 4*d.*

The following is another memorandum, of the same sort with the foregoing, made "the 25 of November, the yere of our Lorde Gode 1526, the 17 yere of Hen. 8th, by the church wardens for the parish of *Wolchurch*," settling the prices for ringing the bells and making of graves.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 2252.

Fyrste, for the leste belle to ryng the space of one ower, for man, woman or chylde, 0*s.* 4*d.*—*Item*, the seconde belle to ryng one ower, 0*s.* 6*d.*—*Item*, the

thyrdre belle to ryngre on ower, *ol. 8d.*—*Item*, Whate persone wyll have the thyrdre to ryngre 6 owrys before none, or after none, with the three smallyste belles to ryngre at dyryge and masse, to pay *3s. 4d.*—*Item*, Whate persone wyll have the fourthe belle to ryngre 6 owrys before none, or after none, with the four smalleste belles at dyryge and masse, to paye *5s. od.*—*Item*, Whate persone wyll have the 5th bell, whyche is the greatest bell, to ryngre 6 owrys by fore none, or after none, wyth alle the belles to ryngre at dyryge and masse, shall paye *6s. 8d.* and the sextone to have for the same greate bell, syndyngre all the ryngers, *6s. 8d.*—*Item*, The sextone to fynde the roope for the same, and also the bawdrycks for the same bell, at hys owen coste and charge. Also hyt ys agreed the same tyme, the clarke have all the vantage of the 4 belles, and he to fynde both bawdryckes and ropes for the 4 seyde belles.—*Item*, The clerk to have all the vantage to hymselfe of rynginge of the belles, for yerely obytes; and yerely myndes.—*Item*, The clerke to have for tollynge of the passyngre belle, for manne, womanne, or childes, if it be in the day, *os. 4d.*—*Item*, if it be in the night, for the same *os. 8d.*—*Item*, What persone that shal be beryed in any of the 2 syde chappelles, on the syde of the quere, that is to sey our Lady chapell, and St. Nicholas chapell, schall paye for brekyngre of the grownde ther, to the behafe of the chyrche, *2l. os. od.*—*Item*, for makynge of the pytte, withinne the 2 seyde chapells, to the behafe of the clerke, *ol. 2s. od.*—*Item*, What persone that shal be beryede yn the bodye of the chyrche, undyr the rode losfe, for man or woman *ol. 10s. od.*—*Item*, for makynge of the pytte there, to the behofe of the clerke, *ol. 1s. 4d.*—*Item*; For the beryngre of a chylde there, to the chyrch *ol. 5s. od.*—*Item*, for the makynge of a pytte there for a chylde, to the clerke *ol. os. 8d.*—*Item*, Whate persone, mane or womane, that shal be beryed in the bodye of the chyrche, and in the ylys, and under the belfreys, shall paye to the behofe of the chyrche *6s. 8d.*—*tem*; to the clerke, for makynge of the pytte in any siede of the forseyd places, *1s. od.*—*Item*; Whate chylde that shal be beryed in the bodye of the chyrche; downe to the west ende of the same, to pay *3s. 4d.*—*Item*, to the clerke for makynge of the pytte, in any of the forseyde places, for a chylde, *os. 8d.*—*Item*, Whate mane or womane shall be beryed in the chyrche yarde, to paye to the clerke for makynge of the pytte there, *os. 6d.*—*Item*, For the beryngre place of a chylde, in the chyrche yarde, *os. 4d.*

RELIGION.

V. 2. P. 110. In the second volume we have already spoken shortly upon this subject, and but shortly, for indeed the blindness and error which prevailed in the former ages, while the dark clouds of superstition obscured the minds of mankind, (during the continuance of the Romish religion) as also the glorious Reformation, completed by King Henry the Eighth, and his daughter Elizabeth (notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the blood-thirsty prelates, during the short but cruel reign of Mary) are such familiar subjects, that few, if any, are so unlearned in the English history, as to be ignorant of them.

The

The fallacy and deceit of the monks, and their abominable and detestable practices, under the veil of religious piety, has been sufficiently exposed to the public view. However exaggerated the lascivious account, contain'd in the poem from whence the following short quotation is taken, may appear, yet perhaps the author had but too much reason for his assertions. Let the reader reflect, that when the mask was pluck'd away (I mean at the dissolution of the monasteries) there was such a scene of wickedness, villainy, and beastliness, discovered, that even the greatest advocates for those devouring wolves must shudder with horror at the relation thereof, and cry out, "they were devils, and not men!"

The author of the subsequent verses describes a "Londihote Cockayne," which he extolls with the most extravagant praises; and speaking also of the luxurious living of the religious votaries, he crowns the whole with these lines:—

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark'd 913:

When the Someris dai is hote, - - - - The yung nunnes takith a bote,
And doth ham forth in that river, - - - - Both with ois (oars) and with scere (radder);
When hi beth fur from the abbei, - - - - Hi makith ham nakid for to plei,
And lepiþ dune (down) into the bymme, - & doth ham fleisch (flyly or crasilly) for to swimme;
The yung monkehs (monks) that hi seeth, Hi doth han up, and forþ hi seeth,
And commith to the nunnes anon, - - - - And eech monke him taketh on;
A snelich (quickly) biith forþ har pzel, - To the mochl (great) gzei (grey) abbei:
And techith the nunnes an ozeisun, - - - - With sambleve (gambols) up a dune:
The monke that wol be stalun gode, - - - - A kan set aȝht his hode,
He schal hab, with oute danger, - - - - Twelve wives evyȝ yer.

These verses, which are at least as old as the beginning of the 14th century, may serve to show us, that even at a time when few were to be found hardy enough to deny or oppose the monkish authority, their doctrines, and the devices of their agents, yet now and then a champion, arm'd with the truth, would start up, and boldly cry their shame to the world.

The author also of the visions of Pierce the Plowman, has been very severe against the priests, and shewed their horrid ignorance;* and even Chaucer, in various places, exposes them.—But of all other, the lustful debaucheries, which were the consequences of the holy pilgrimages, were shocking to the last degree:

Hermets on a heape, with hoked slaves,
Wenten to Walsgham, & ther Wenchas after.

Pierce the
Plow. Vision
Passus Prim,

In

* In the poem called Pierce Plowman's Crede, the author feigns himself ignorant of his creed, and applies himself to the friars for instruction; but they all are unable to give him satisfaction, till Pierce, the poor plowman, resolves his doubts.—The ignorance of the people is evident from the following lines of the Vision:

I cannot perſteli mi pater noſter as the prieſt ſingeth;
But I can rimes of Robinhod & Randall of Cheſter,
But of our Lorde & Ladie leȝne nothing at all.

In this rout the women freely gave themselves up to the will of their loving male companions; as they thought that, on their arrival at the shrine of the saint, all their crimes would be forgiven, they scrupled not in the least, by indulging their sensual appetites, to heap the measure of their sins top full.— Yet let us not be too hasty, and for the sake of some wicked and abandoned people, condemn the whole of mankind: no, surely there were amongst them, of all classes, many good and pious persons, who really were what they professed themselves to be, and strove, not only by their good instructions, but also by their virtuous lives, to reform the age.

Having premised thus much on this subject, I shall now proceed to set before the reader certain ceremonies which were done in the ancient church, and the reasons therefore assigned in the old Legends and Homilies. Now passing over those of no great consequence, we will confine ourselves to such as regard the chief Sundays and holidays; and first of all

Palm Sunday.—The author telling us of Christ's procession to Jerusalem, with the people's cutting down branches of trees, &c. adds "wherfor holi chirche this day makith solempne procession, in mynde of the processyon that Cryst made this dey: but for encheson (*reason*) that wee hav noone olyve that bearith greene leves, therefore we taken palme, and geven instede of olyve, and bear it about in processione: so is this daye called Palme Sondag: and as they songen, and did worship Crist in his processione, there is with us kneelyng to the crosse, in worship and mynde of hym that was doon upon the cros; and we welcome hym into the chirch, with songe, as they welcomed hym into the citee of Jerusalem."—And again, he tells us that it is also called Palm Sunday, inasmuch as the palm betokeneth the victory which he (*Christ*) gained over the money-changers, &c. in the Temple; wherefore, says he, "every Crysten manne shulde this daye bere palmes in procession, in tokenyng that he hath foughten with the fende, and hath victory of him, by cleene shrift of mouthe (i. e. *confession*) repentaunce of hert, and mekely dooing hys penaunce."

Three days before Easter.—"You shall welles knowe, that holi chirch usith theise three daies to say service in the evene tyde, in the derknesse; wherefore it is callid with you *Tenebris*, that is *darknesse*."—And for this custom he assigns three "*skilles*," or reasons: the first is, because Christ prayed by night in the garden, on mount Olivet; the second is, for that Judas betrayed Christ by midnight; and the last is, because that, at his crucifixion, the sun and moon were eclipsed.

Thursday before Easter.—"Shyre Thursday, oure Lord soppore day. It is callid in the Ynglish tonge *Sbire Thursday*; for in old sadir's daies, meene wolde make thaim that day, to shere thaim, and combed thaire heedis, and clipped thaire berdis, and so make thaim honest agenste Esterne daye; for on the morrowe they wolde doon thaire bodies noon ease, but suffer pennaunce, in mynde of him that sufferid so hard for theim; and on Saturdaye be besye to thaire service."

Among many various ceremonies, I find that they had one called "The Font Hallowing," which was performed on Easter even, and Whitfunday eve; and says the author, "in the begynnyng of holy chirch, all the children weren kept to be crystened on thys even, at the font hallowyng; but now, for encheson

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 2371.
See also
MS. in the
Cotton Lib.
mark'd
Claudius
A. 2.

enchefone that in so long abydyngē they might dye without crystendome, therefore holi chirch ordeyneth to crysten at all the tymes of the yeere, save 8 daies before these evenys, the chylde shalle abyde till the font hallowing, if it may savey for perill of deth, and ells not."

I omit the ceremony of setting up on Easter eve a chief taper, which represents Christ, the chief of the church, and is called the *pascall*; it also represents the pillar of light which went before the children of Israel, &c. with various other things of like consequence.

Good Friday, or rather God's Friday; because this day holy men were reconciled to God.

Easter Day.—"This daye is callid in som place *Goddess Sunday*. Yee wete well that yn ych place it is the maner this daye to doo the fyre out of the hall, and the herth stone, that hath been the wynter browne, and blacke with the smoke, it shall be this daye arayed with greene rushis, and strewyd with flowris all aboute; shewing a high example to all menne and womenne, that right as they make cleene thaire houses, bering out theire fyre, and strewe it with flowres all about, right so shall yee clense the home of youre soule, and do awaye the fyre of lecherye, and dedly wrath, and envye, and strewe the herbys and floures of virtues and goodnesse."

The author particularly recommends to all people to come to the church on the three days following Easter day, their children, servants and all; for, says he, "we have great cause to fast, and pray also, these 3 daies, to all the saynts of heven, for to help us in oure neede; and for wee syne many tymes in the year agens the will of God, therefor these 3 dayes we shall fast, and praye to God to put awaye the powre of the fende, and seeke to be holpen of divers mischeeves and perills that fallen, namely in this tyme of the yere: for now thundir is often herd, and thanne, as *Lincolniens (bisshop Großthead)* seith, fendis that flateren in the eyer bene so fore a ferde of the breste of thundir that Cryst coome with to hell gates, that yett they been so agast whanne they heere thundir, that they fall downe into the erth, and from whance they go not up agayne till they have done some wikked deedes; thanne they areyfe weddrys; than they make tempest in the sea, and drowne shippes, and maketh debate between neighbours, and manne slaughter; and they send fyre, and brennen houses, and steplis, and trees; they make womenne to overleye their children, and they make menne to slei thaimself in *wain hope*; and many other cursid misdeedes. Thus for to put away all suche cursid deedis, holy chyrche ordeyneth every manne to fast these three daies, and to goon in procession, to have helpe of saynts of Heven; wherfor in procession bellis been rongen, and baners been shewed, the crosse cometh astir."

That the bells should be rung in such processions was very natural, for in the Romish church the bells were not only blest and exorcised, but also baptized; and anointed with the holy oil: * after which ceremonies passed, it was verily believed that they had (being rung) the power to overcome the dæmons of the air,

Weaver's
Fun. Mon.
pag. 122.

* The whole ceremony of baptizing bells, as practised in the modern Roman Catholic countries, may be seen in Sir Henry Chauncy's History of Hertfordshire, page 383.

air, and put them to sudden flight.—The use of bells in the ancient churches is comprehended in these two Latin rhimes :

*Laudo Deum verum,—plebem voco,—congrego clerum,
Defunctos plero,—pestem fugo,—festa deoro.*

Spel. Glos. Bells were first invented by *Paulinus*, bishop of *Nola*, a city of *Campania*,
verb. Cam- about the year of our Lord 400. They were used in Brittany (as Bede informs
pania, fol 98 us) Ann. Dom. 680; and Ingulphus reports that bells were in high repute long
Bede Ecc. 4 before his time, for, says he, “Turkettullus, the first abbot of Croyland, who
Hist. Lib. died 875, gave six bells to that monastery, viz. two great ones, which he tur-
cap. 23. nam’d *Bartholomew* and *Bettelme*; two middle bells, which he called *Turketulum*
Ingulphus, and *Betwine*; and two small bells, which he termed *Pega* and *Bega*: and he
pag. 889, caused the greatest bell, called *Gudlac*, to be made, which tuned to the other

bells, and made an admirable harmony, so that the like was not in England.”

But however, the bells made mention of in the legend above, seem to be the small bells which were carried in the hands, by the priests who accompanied the procession, ringing them as they went; notwithstanding the larger bells, in the steeples, might be, and most likely were, also then rung.—But to go on from the Legends :

MS. ut supr. *Whit-Sunday*.—“Goode menne, yee knowe well that this daye is called
“Whitt-Sonday, for encheson that the Holigoeft as this day broughte *witt* and
“*wisdom* to Cryst’s disciples.”

In the homily for *Trinity Sunday* I find the following account of the Trinity:—“The fourme of the Trinite was founden in manne, that was Adam oure forefadir, of Erth oon persone, and Eve of Adam the secunde persone; and of them both was the third persone: this Trinite was first founden in manne, by worshipping of such high Trenite, wherfore manne shoulde have mynde on the Trenity which holie church ordeyneth; that in weddinge manne and womanne, the masse of the Holy Trinite is songe; and at the deth of a manne three bellis shulde be ronge, as his knyll, in worsheppe of the Trenetee; and for a womanne, who was the secunde persone of the Trenite, two bellis shulde be rongen.”

Fest. Metro. *Christmas*.—As this was the greatest feast amongst the Christians, the homily
or the Birth of Christ. for the day informs us, that “holy chirche makith melodye and myrth, in mynde of the blessed birth of our Lord Jhesu Christ.”—The western church called it *Dies Natiuitatis*, by way of eminency and dignity; and secondly *Luminaria*, either because they used many lights, or rather because Christ, the true light of the world, came then upon the earth.—But yet there has been, from time to time, many disputes concerning the ancient ceremonies on this day, which are by some held unlawful, such as decking the churches out with green things, as bays, rosemary, holly, ivy, and the like, with various other customs, some of which are now unknown. The reason assigned for it by the advocates is, that by these plants, which are ever green, they mean “to signifye and put us in minde of his (Christ’s) deity, that the child that nowe was borne, who was god and man, should spring up like a tender plant, should alwaye be green and flourishing, and live for evermore; therefore thus the spouse entertains her beloved, whose bed is always green. But, on the other hand, the disputants

disputants urge that the keeping of this festival came from the Romans, who about this time held a great festival in honour of Saturn and Ceres, called *Saturnalia*. [Saturn first found out the art of grafting fruit trees, and husbandry, in *Latium*, part of Italy, and was the first who taught it in Europe.]—If it is true that the feast of Christmas had from hence its origin, the carrying about and setting up of green boughs, &c. is then so naturally accounted for, that it needs no comment.

Christmas, a pamphlet, pub. 1651.

From thence also (add they) come the abuses of this feast, the drinking, the wassailling, the masks, mummeries, &c. &c. This feast was anciently called *Yule*, *ἔλος*, and *ἑλος*, as with the heathens; and the mad, riotous, prophane plays and sports in *Christmas* time, *Yule games*, and *Christmas karolls*, sung in praise of *Christ*, as the heathens did hymn *ἑλος* in honour of the idol *Keres*, that is Ceres, goddess of corn.

ἔλος ἑλος was so named because of the sheaf then offered to *Ceres*, and the hymn sung in honour of her. These words are used both for a sheaf and that hymn.

The first of January, commonly called *New-Year's Day*, a part also of our Christmas, was formerly dedicated to the honour of Janus.

In ibid. MS. ut supra.

May-Day.—The 1st of *May* was consecrated and kept in honour of the goddess *Flora*. They (the Romans) used to bring laurel, green boughs, and branches of trees and flowers, with singing and rejoicing, and adorn their doors and houses. This custom, which the christians continued, was condemned by the council of Toledo, on account of its origin, and by pope Martin, as also by many other good writers: yet it was constantly continued in England, as we have already seen.

Vide Vol. 2, pag. 99.

Innocent's Day.—December 28th was consecrated and kept festival in honour of the idol god *Quirinus*; the feast as is by them (the Romans) called *Quirinalia*.

Candlemas Day.—When the author of the above-mentioned homilies speaks of the Virgin Mary's coming to the Temple, he says that Simeon and Anna met her at the door, and conducted her in: in memory hereof, it was customary for a woman who came to be churched, to tarry at the door till the priest came, and cast holy water upon her, and cleanse her; then he taketh her into the church, and gives her permission to return again to her husband's bed. Also, continues he, "holy churche makith mynde of candeles offering: ye se that it is a comon use to come to the churche that daye, and to bere a candill in procession, as though they went bodily to the church with our ladye, and offer it in worship to hir."—He then proceeds to tell us from whence this custom sprang; "In old times (says he) the Romans, who were heathens, worshipping many strange gods, had amongst the rest one named *Mars*, whose mother was named *Februa*; after whiche wommane (says he) many are of opinion that this month of *February* was so called:" and on the first day of this month they used, in worship of this goddess, to go all about the city with torches and candells burning; and this they did the more especially, that by her means they might have the help of *Mars*, her son, who was the god of war. "Thanne (adds he) was a pope, that was callid *Serquis*; and for that he sawgh that theise cristen menne drough to this mawmentrye, he thought to ffordoo this foule custume, and turne it into Goddes worthepp, and oure ladies Saynt Marye, and commaunded all cristen

menne and womenne to come to the chirch, and ych of them offer up a candell in the worshipping of our Lady."

Vide Vol. 2,
pag. 98.

Although in the account of the origin of wakes, in the second volume, I have quoted in part the following prelude to the legendary homily for the even of St. John the Baptist's day; yet, as it is not there so full, and does not so well explain the particular ceremonies, nor mention the alterations therein made, I beg leave to transcribe it again from a more perfect original. It is as follows:—"In the begynnyng of holy chirch, menne and womenne ovir nyght coome with candellis and other lightes, and waked all night in thaire praiers and devociouns. But after, by proceffe of tyme, menne lost such devociouns, and used songs and daunces, and fellen in to leacherye and glotonye, and turned the good holy devociouns into synnes; wherfore holy fadirs made the pepill to leve that waking, and to fast the evyn, and so turned the waking into fasting: but yitt it holdeth as is callid in Latyn, *Vigilia*, that is a *wakyng* in English; and it is callid the *evyn*, for at evyn they were wont to come to chirch. But in worshipping of St. John menne wake yitt at home, and makyn 3 maner of fyres: oone is cleene bonys, and no woode, and that is clepid a boonefire; another is cleene wode, and no bones, and that is clepid a wode fyre, for men syttin and waken therby; the thirde is made of boones and wode, and is callid St. John's fyre."—The first fire hath this superstitious reason assigned, that in the country where St. John was martyred the air was hot, and the country infested with dragons, which are thereby driven away; and in England they supposed that all manner of evil spirits were by the same means put to flight. The second, of wood, was to burn and lighten around, as St. John was a lantern, burning and lighting men; they also made great blazes of fire, that might be seen afar off, in token of St. John's being seen in the spirit by Jeremiah, who prophesied of him long before he was born. The third fire, of wood and bones, betokeneth the martyrdom of the holy saint, whose bones were burnt (says the author) by Julian the apostate, long after his death.

Bede Ecc.
Hist. Lib. 1
cap. 30.

Concerning the former part of this old custom, is this mention made in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, where we find the English were permitted—"Die dedicationis vel natalitii sanctorum martyrum, quorum illic reliquæ ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias, quæ ex fanis commutata sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, & religiosi convivii solemnitate celebrent; nec diabolo jam animalia immolent, sed ad laudem Dei esse suo animalia occidant, & donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant, ut dum eis aliqua exterius gaudia resurgantur, ad interiora gaudia consentire facilius valeant. Nam duris mentibus simul omnia abscindere impossibile esse non dubium est."—This is a letter from *pope Gregory to Melitus*, a British abbot; and from hence it appears that these kind of wakings and sacrifices were of much more ancient date than christianity. Indeed, from several of the above quotations, we find that these ceremonies, many of them, are the remaining traces of idolatry and heathenism, though now (say the Homilies) turn'd to the honour of God. It is true, that it might be impossible for the ancient fathers to divert the minds of the late converted people, at once, from all their bigotry and errors; therefore what they could not absolutely hinder, such they however changed, and made the people

people acknowledge that all those ceremonies were done to honour the true God alone.

Ember Dayes.—"By th' oppinion of many menne, theise been callid Ymber MS. ut supra
Daies, for enchesonne that oure olde fadirs wolde ete theise daies kakes that
weren baken undir ashes, in ymbris, that was callid *panis subcinericeus*, that is,
brede bakyn undir ashsis; so that, in etyng of that brede, they reducid to thaire
mynde that they wern but ashes."

All-Hallowen Daye.—"Whanne Romanes weren lordes of all the worlde,
they made a tempull in Rome, rounde as a dowve hous, and callid it Pantheon;
and thanne they set in the middle of the tempill an ymage, that was the chief
mawment of all Rome; and thanne of ych londe of the worlde a other ymage,
rounde about by the wallis, and the name of the londe that ymage was of,
wryten the feet of the ymage; and all they within made so by nigromacie, that
whanne any londe turned from themproure, anoone the ymage of londe woulde
turne his face to the wall, and his back to the ymage of Rome; and whan the
byshoppis came to the tempill, and saw an ymage turnid, they wolde looke what
londe it were of, and annoone tell themproure, and he woulde thanne sende
thider a great hooft, and sette them at rest: and thus durid thys tempill, till
Boniface the Fourthe came; thanne he went to themproure that was callyd
Tocca, and praied hym that he woulde geve hym the tempill, that he might
put out the multitude of inawments, and hallowe it in the honore of our Ladye,
and of all hallower, and so he dyd: and there came an othir pope, callid
Gregorye, and he ordeyned this daye to be hallowyd, and so was this feest bi-
gonne. This feest also was by the pope ordeyned to fulfill oure omiffions for
many a faynt's day in the yeere we leve unserved; for there been so many that
we may not serve them all; for as St. Jerome saith, ych daye of the yere, been
moothanne 5 thousande sayntes and marters, out tak the forst day of January."

All Souls Day—So called, because on this day masses were said for all the
souls of men in purgatory, who had need of prayers.

Add to these the ceremonies of *Valentine's day*, which, in some sort, remain
to the present time. Of this custom John Lidgate makes this mention, in a MS. in the
poem written by him in praise of queen Catherine, consort to Henry the Fifth: Harl. Lib.
mark, 2251.

Seynte Valentyne, of custum peere by peere,
Men have an usauce in this reoun
To loke & serche Cupides Balendour,
And chose theyr choyse, by grete affectioun;
Suche as ben prike with Cupides moctoun,
Takyng theyre choyse as theyr soyt doth falle:
But I love oon whiche excellith alle.

Agreeable to the superstition, which till of late prevailed, was the belief of
the appearance and power of dæmons, spectres, fairies, and the like; as also
the various nonsensical ceremonies performed by the lower class of people, that
they might, by preternatural means, see and know their sweethearts and spouses:

—as on *Midsummer-day*, at night, to run three times round the church, and sow hemp seed as they ran, saying the following verses :

Hemp seed I sow,—let hemp seed grow ;
He that will my sweetheart be, come after me and mow.

When it was pretended that the shadow or appearance of the man for them destined would of a certainty follow, with a scythe, as if he were mowing.

Again, they would sit up by the fire side, and hang a shift near to the fire ; and as the church clock strikes twelve, the good man should surely come and turn the shift.

To such effect was the dumb cake, so called because it was to be made without speaking ; and afterwards the parties were to go backwards up the stairs to bed, and put the cake under their pillow, and then they should dream of their loves.

Also writing their names on a paper at twelve o'clock, burning the same, then carefully gathering up the ashes, and laying them close wrapp'd in a paper upon a looking-glass, mark'd with a cross, under their pillows ; and this should have the same effect with the former.

Another, for a different purpose, was for young people to go and sit in the church porch, till the clock should strike twelve, when they should see all those who should die that year pass by them, and enter the church.

But let these suffice ; for it would be endless to pursue, and set down, all the foolish pranks of this superstitious sort, which were often put in practice ; and especially as now most people are well convinced of the ridiculousness of them ; for the belief of strange and uncommon appearances has lately so much lost ground, that though, indeed even now, there are some who have heard knockings and noises which they have not been able to account for, yet I meet with none who have themselves seen a ghost, but many whose acquaintances, mothers, aunts, or the like (and whose veracity may be depended upon) have really and actually seen these airy beings : yet, in my younger days, I have heard several affirm that they themselves had seen them, and trusted not to the stories of others. — Since these accounts are already come to the second hands, they will most likely very shortly be no more remembered, but with contempt and ridicule.

A short Account of the Rise and Progress of the Art of Design in England.

If, in the former ages, the English could not boast of the elegance and beauty of their designs, yet those their delineations, as rude as they may be, are extremely valuable, as well as curious, for they present to us a picture of the ancient times, by far more perfect than we could elsewhere have found ; many obsolete customs and ceremonies are in them preserv'd and clear'd up, which, but for them, had yet remained in obscurity, nay been buried in oblivion. On this

this score they merit every degree of respect, and become desirable to all who would explore the manners and the genius of their ancestors: a proper attention paid to them leads us gradually back, and we seem to behold their very thoughts unveiled.—But in the next place it may not be improper to examine their real merit as designs, as they are the only proofs now left of the state of that art in those early periods.

To begin then with the Britons themselves, who possessed some notions, though very slight ones, of design; I mean not respecting the rude forms of animals and the like, said to have been by them made upon their naked bodies,—but the figures of their gods, which, according to Gildas (who was himself a Briton) were yet even in his time existing, trac'd out and painted upon the walls of their cities, and were (as he assures us) most wretchedly ugly and deformed.

Passing on to the Saxon æra, we find that one Benedict, a Saxon monk, travelled to Rome, and after tarrying there some time, returned with Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, somewhere about the year 668, and with him came various artists, as glaziers, *painters*, and the like: but not till about forty years from that period, or perhaps rather earlier, do we meet with any specimen of their delineations, when the first that appear are the four Evangelists (plates XXIII. XXIV. XXV. and XXVI. of this vol.) which are found prefix'd to the holy gospels. These were, very early in the beginning of the eighth century, drawn by the hand of Bilfrith, a celebrated Anchorite. Over the head of each Evangelist is represented the symbolical animal ascribed to him by the prophet Ezekiel, with its name written over it, as *Imago Hominis*, *Imago Leonis*, *Imago Viri*, *Imago Aquilæ*, the image of a man, a lion, a calf, and an eagle: the other characters upon the plates are the names of the Evangelists, with the Greek word Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ, or saint, prefix'd thereto, as Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ Ματθαυ, Ματθαι, Lucay, Johanney.—In these rude and ancient delineations, we find no great idea of grace, nor the least mark of genius: besides the evident disproportion, (as every figure, did he stand up, would be considerably too tall) the drapery is very stiff and unnatural, and the perspective of the stools or chairs which they sit upon extremely deficient; yet, on the whole, these designs are not absolutely devoid of merit, especially if they are considered (as surely they ought to be) as the first dawning of the art amongst our Saxon fires.

From hence go we a step higher, and examine the variety of ancient designs given on the first volume, beginning with plate IV. and continuing to XIX;—and here we shall find that no great improvement in the finishing part has been made, or the proportion in general much mended; yet at least the draperies are better disposed, and some faint ideas of taste and gracefulness are discoverable:—for instance, the figure of the woman, N^o. 5, plate XIII. and several other not inelegant outlines, as the soldier, N^o. 3, plate IV. and the two figures at the altar, N^o. 4, plate XV.—It must be confess'd that the outlines (generally speaking) are better than those which are higher finished; but this might arise from their being done by a better artist. I myself can look over these slight sketches with infinite pleasure; and though I am sensible how much better they might be made, yet I can easily discover therein the marks of an original genius, labouring under a vast disadvantage, namely, the want of proper cultivation.

Vid. Vol. 2.
P. 33 & 34.

See the Account of the MSS. at the End of this Volume.
Ezekiel, ch. i. ver. 10

The best finish'd delineation of the Saxons that I have met with, is that of Edgar, copied in the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England, plate 1. The angels there represented are extremely well done; the figure of Christ, together with that of the Saint on the right hand, are far from being inelegant or disproportionate, and the draperies throughout the whole are well disposed. This was done as early as the year 966, as may appear from the date of the MS. in which it is contained; and the reason why this delineation has so much the mastery over not only the foregoing designs, but also over those immediately subsequent, is this, —During the reign of Edgar, the troubled kingdom enjoy'd some little space of peace and tranquillity; in this sunshine, the tender art, like a young plant, began to shoot forth its branches; but the boisterous Danes returning, soon began afresh their destructive ravages, which nipp'd the tender bud, and then again it withered —The rude proportion'd figures that succeeded may be seen N^o. 1 and 2, plate XXVI. and 1, 2, and 3, plate XXVII. and these should seem to be the works of the Danes themselves, for these delineations are found in a book which belonged to king Cnute, himself a Dane. And yet we may see, as it were, the very struggles of the art under those inauspicious years, for we find them again improving at the latter end of Cnute's reign, which is evinc'd from the figures mark'd N^o. 4, plate XXVII. for these are much better proportion'd, and much more graceful, than the preceding.

Vide Vol. 1,
pag. 106.

From hence we find, as it were, a large chasm in the annals of design; for the wars and tumults, together with the rigour of the Norman William, reach'd even the peaceful solitude of the monks, and so disturbed them, that other thoughts than those of improving the art of design employed their whole attention; and till the reign of Stephen we meet with nothing of consequence, when one *Eadwine*, a monk, took great pains to ornament a large folio Psalter. — Some of the figures extracted from that MS. are exhibited on the plates XXXI: XXXII. and XXXIII. of the first volume; but they are so small, and so incorrect, that they can by no means vie with those of the Saxons, heretofore described. The same incorrectness attends the large portrait of this monk, which he has subjoined to the book; and it is engraved on a plate of the same size, by the Antiquarian Society.

The next delineation which we meet with is that of John Wallingford, (plate XXXIV. vol. I.) This was most likely either done by himself, or some other for him, at the time he finished his Chronicle, to which it is prefix'd; and the reason for this supposition is, that the hand-writing beneath it is the same with the Chronicle, and that is manifestly as ancient as the time he lived in, the latter end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century, for he died Ann. Dom. 1213. This figure is extremely well done, the proportion is very just, and the drapery is disposed with great taste. —After him succeeded a very accurate and ingenious designer, as well as a great and faithful historian, *Mathew Paris*. The first volume of this work abounds with his designs, some of which sketches (for they are no more) are so well done, that many artists of the present age need not be ashamed to own them: as for instance, the king delivering a letter to the herald, plate LI. the two figures of the queen, LXI. I only mention these amongst a vast variety of others, which bear the true marks of taste

taste and genius. Not only the tracings of elegance, which is discoverable in these valuable outlines, is to be admired; we ought also to regard the feeling manner in which the stories are told by the designer: but, least I should trespass too much upon the reader's time, I shall only notice one, namely, No. I. plate XXXIX. which pictures out the burial of, and mourning for, the dead, slain in battle, represented in the preceding plate. Here are the widows, the children, the parents, paying the last sad offices of respect to their departed relations; amongst the which we see the father bemoaning the loss of his son, whose head he has found severed from the bloody corpse; he catches it up in frantic transport, and presses to his lips the well-known visage. In the other compartment are the inconsolable relations, one rending his hair, whilst another is lamenting her loss in sad though silent grief; and the third, who appears to be the friend, is endeavouring to comfort, and lead them from the dismal scene. And not only this, a number more might be mentioned, equally just and well designed; but these the examiner's good taste will easily lead him to distinguish.

Now we are thus far on our progress, let us turn, and take a transient view of the sculptures; on which subject, indeed, something has been already said, Vol. 1. p. 71 and our opinion declared, that they were infinitely superior, in general, to the MS. delineations: and this seems to be a convincing proof that their priests and illuminators, especially amongst the Normans, were neither their only, nor yet their best artists;—amongst the Normans I say, because so few figures of the Saxon sculpture now remain, and even those have so much suffer'd from the destructive hand of time, that no competent judgment can possibly be framed of them. But of the Normans, a great number of very excellent figures are yet to be seen: amongst them all, I have found none so finely executed as those monumental effigies heretofore mentioned to be seen at Danbury church in the county of Essex. The proportion of them is so just, the drapery flows with such real taste, and such an elegant turn is given to each figure, that the carver must certainly have been an artist of vast genius and surprising execution; and though they are all of them cut in wood, upon the lids of the coffins, yet they are (two especially) entirely divested of that awkward stiffness which is usually found in such monumental remains. One of them is drawing his sword; the second is returning his into the scabbard; and the third seems at his devotions. Their size is rather larger than life, Vol. 2, p. 25

But notwithstanding, this perfection in their statues does not usually run through the whole of their performances; for the ornamental figures set up in their buildings, and also such as decorate the sides of their tombs, retain in general much of that Gothic stiffness and uniformity which so universally prevailed, even in the after times. The same may be said of the little figures (cast in brass) that surround the tomb of Edward the Third, in Westminster Abbey, which, in every other respect, are far from being bad specimens of the taste of that era.—For my own part, I confess that, amongst all the various monuments which I have examined, even till the end of the 16th century, I have seen no figures, however excellent a number of them are, more beautiful than those of Danbury, described above; and though it is impossible to ascertain the exact date

date of their being made, yet their habit plainly proves them to be as ancient as the 13th century.

Throughout the whole of what I call the English æra, of almost all dates, are a vast variety of fine tombs to be seen; and so great is their number, that to enter even into a general description of them would far exceed the limits I have here proposed to myself: they justly merit to themselves an entire volume; I shall only express my concern that some able man will not resolve with himself to undertake so valuable a work: I mean to delineate and preserve all such ancient effigies as he may meet with curious and well executed, and the which, through neglect and barbarous treatment, are every day falling to ruin and decay.

But to return to the designs.—Plate VIII. of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, represents the disputation between T. Becket and king Henry the Second. This composition is extremely pretty, and the two chief figures, the king and the archbishop, are well executed and expressive,—that proud prelate is in his *pontificalibus*, standing before the king, urging his grievances with a haughty boldness: the king, who is seated on his throne, seems with great displeasure to be answering him. Behind the archbishop are three soldiers, which are well disposed, and not inelegantly designed.—This illumination, I fancy, was made as early as the reign of Henry the Third.

From this period we find them making improvements in the finishing part of design, and greater regard was afterwards paid to the colouring; for before, few delineations consisted of more than two, three, or four colourings at most, but at last they increased the number, and varied the tints according to their fancy. And if in those plates, from No. XX to XXXI. of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities (which represent the latter part of the life of Richard the Second) we find more attention paid to the colouring and the finishing, yet there is not therein to be discovered that taste and genius which appeared in the outlines of *Mathew Paris*, mentioned before: not only the perspective is bad, but even the idea of symmetry and proportion seems to have been almost entirely lost.—Plate XXVIII. of this volume, besides those already mentioned, is a striking proof of this assertion: this plate represents the coronation of Edward the Second, and was most probably done about that time. Yet we may add, that, in point of proportion, Edward the Third and the Black Prince, plate XV. John duke of Lancaster, plate XVI. and Richard the Second, plate XIX. all in the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, are exceptions to the above observations.

From this period to the reign of Henry the Fifth, the art continued much in the same state; but it was then considerably improved, as the little delineation of that prince and his attendants, plate XL. of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, may sufficiently evince.

In the reign of Henry the Sixth there were several very excellent artists, whose works do great honour to that age; amongst which we may justly rank the delightful bistre drawing, copied plate XLV. of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities. The hermit there is truly beautiful, and the figure of the earl of Salisbury is drawn with such taste, that it must strike every one; indeed the whole of the composition is extremely just and spirited. Other valuable specimens

Specimens are the portraits of the duke and duchess of Bedford, preserved in a missal highly illuminated, in the possession of her grace the dutchess dowager of Portland.—The figures on the XXIXth plate of this volume are also of the same age, and they are very far from being ill executed; the bishop in particular is not inelegant; the drapery also is well managed, and bears the marks of true taste.

About this period they began first to paint in oil, and the best specimens of their art at that time are the pannels of two doors which came from the abbey of St. Edmondsbury, and they were in the possession of the late John Ives, esquire, of Great Yarmouth.—In justice to the memory of that worthy gentleman, I take this opportunity of acknowledging the many obligations which he conferred on me; permitting me to see and make what use I would of his valuable collections, as well MSS. as other curious things: Vide Vol. 2.
pag. 114.

In the reign of Edward the Fourth, the MS. delineations are very beautiful, and the designs executed (though still in the Gothic stile) with great accuracy and fidelity. I mean, when I say this, the draped figures, for wherever we find an attempt made to represent the naked, they have by no means succeeded so happily, either in the drawing or the colouring; the former is always stiff, and without the least knowledge of nature, and the latter constantly either too white, or else, on the contrary, too red.

About this time were done those pretty, though slight designs of *John Rouse*, representing the life of Beauchamp earl of Warwick, given in the plates of the second volume. It will be needless to descant upon their merit, which must strike the observer without any such recommendatory observations: let him but look at plate LVIII. which represents the death of that noble personage, and he will there see how feelingly the designer has made his composition, how just the several attitudes are, and how striking the whole of the dismal scene is pictured to the view.

When oil painting began, and the arts met with encouragement in Italy, some of the artists, in their travels, reach'd this kingdom; but yet their genius was cramped, and their fancy confined; for the only subjects for some time were crucifixions, pictures of the Virgin Mary, of the saints, and of holy men, which were usually painted on the pannels of the doors of shrines, and the like: they also still continued to be done in the former stiff stile, though several of them are extremely well executed.

Under the auspices of Henry the Eighth, portrait painting was much encouraged, and vast numbers of the pictures of illustrious people, then done, yet remain, at the head of which *Holbein*, as chief captain, takes the lead; and this love for portrait painting no whit decreased in the succeeding reigns, as the numberless specimens which are yet to be seen in different parts of the kingdom may sufficiently testify; and though many of them are very fine, yet the stiff Gothic taste was never thoroughly conquered, until the arrival of those splendid geniuses, *Rubens* first, and after him his scholar *Vandyke*.

History painting was not even then much encouraged, and indeed the only man we had in that way, of any consequence, was Sir *James Thornhill*, who painted, amongst other things, the pictures in the dome of St. Paul's, and those

at the Royal Hospital of Greenwich; but these are far from being either perfect or pleasing performances, and are considerably outdone by the artists of the present age, who have greatly advanced the art of history painting.

Caxton, the first English printer, when he learned the art of printing abroad, and brought it over with him into England, also was taught the manner of engraving, or rather cutting on blocks of wood, which he subjoin'd to some of his early printed books; but they are so very rude, and so miserably executed, that they merit not the least attention. After him, *Wynkin de Worde* and *Pynson*, with the chief of the other printers, followed his example: *Pynson's* most considerable work, in this way, is to be seen in his edition of the "Ship of Foles of the Worlde," which he printed Ann. Dom. 1508, and before each chapter placed a wooden block, containing a representation of figures relative to the contents of the chapter, the which it preceded. Specimens of these figures are given plate 1, of this volume, all of which are from the above book.—In queen Elizabeth's reign they brought the cutting on blocks of wood to great perfection, as may be seen in the prints given in Fox's Book of Martyrs, the early editions; several of which figures are copied upon the plates of this volume.

Although engraved prints are nearly, if not entirely, coeval with these wooden cuts, yet it was a long time after, before they made their appearance in England, at least performed by English artists. It has been by some disputed to whom the invention of engraving may properly be ascribed, whether to *Israel van Meek* or *Martin Schoon*, amongst the Germans, or to *Andrea Mantagna*, the Italian painter, all of whom were cotemporary, and their engravings appeared nearly at the same period of time.—At the first invention of engraving, the whole of the work was performed with the graver; for etching was afterwards discovered by *Parmagiano*, many of whose works are now extant. I shall not here enter into the considerations of the reasons assign'd for the first invention either of etching or graving, but shall go on to observe, that both continued a long time separate branches of art, the former being chiefly practiced by the painters, and the latter by the profess'd engravers; but in process of time the French artists join'd them together, etching first, and then finishing with the graver the imperfections of the aqua fortis.—*Baptista Poilly* and *Gerard Audran* brought these arts to perfection, especially the latter, who not only far exceeded the former, but even all the artists who went before or follow'd after him: his engravings of the preservation of Cyrus, and of Time delivering Truth (both from *Poussin*) are the most perfect prints of their kind that ever appeared to public view; nor must we here forget those admirable engravings of Alexander's battles, which are said to far exceed the pictures themselves. These excellent pieces will, without doubt, as long as they endure, remain the standards of perfection in this pleasing art.

'Tis but of late years that historical engravings have been encouraged in this kingdom, and now that branch of the art seems to be greatly advanced.—Portrait engraving has long been established (as well with the point and graver, as with the scraper) and some portraits as early as James the First's reign, done by one *Payne*, are very well executed, as also are several of *Faithorne* and others. But yet, after all, we are even now far behind with the French, if the works of

our artists should be compared with those of an *Edelinck*, a *Nantuel*, or a *Drevet*.—If in the former branches of the art the French are superior to us, in landscape we have a *Woolet*, whose equal yet the world hath not seen : add to him another, a Frenchman indeed, but yet chiefly educated under *Chatelain* in England ; *Vivares* I mean, whose engravings from *Claude Lorrain* (in particular) are truly excellent and beautiful : and not only these two, there are several other artists who are making hasty strides to perfection. Who then knows but that we may, and I sincerely hope we shall, hereafter see an equal with *Audran*, and a portrait produced to vie with that beautiful one of *Champaigne* the painter, by *Edelinck*.

CONCLUSION.

Having now at length travelled through the long tract of the ancient times, I am at length arrived again at my own home, amongst the moderns ; and I sincerely congratulate them on their advancement of the arts, and the general improvements made in every branch of polite learning. I most heartily wish that we may hereafter attain to a greater and more respectable name (if possible) than that which our ancestors do so deservedly possess.—And reader now farewell ! I have only to beg of thee kindly to excuse the errors which hitherto have been discovered in this my laborious work ; and believe that my only concern is, that it is not much more perfect, for your better amusement and satisfaction.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

ACCOUNT of the MANUSCRIPTS

From which the PLATES of this Volume are collected.

THE first is a Saxon MS. of the Gospels (in the Cotton Library) which was written by St. Ealdfrith, who particularly undertook it at the instigation of St. Cuthbert, from whence it received the name of St. Cuthbert's Gospels. It was written at the latter end of the seventh century, and at the beginning of the eighth was ornamented with its illuminations, by the hand of Bilfrith, an Anchorite.—See a full account of this book in the History of the Cotton Library, prefix'd to the Catalogue; and also in the Préface to the Catalogue of the Royal MSS:—This MS. is mark'd Nero, D. iv.

The next is a beautiful MS. in the library of Benet (or Corpus Christi) college, Cambridge. The Rev. Mr. Tyson, fellow of that college, has favoured me with the following account of the MS. as drawn up by Mr. Nasmith, in the catalogue of the MS. contained in that library, which is now printing for the public use:—

“xx. Codex Membranaceus in Folio, *seculo* xiv. exaratus. In quo continentur

“1. Textus Latinus apocalypsis cum versione rithmica, et expositione lingua Gallica.

“2. Manere de coroner novel-roy (d'Angleterre).

“Imprimis observatione dignum videtur, quod post peractos sponsones ex parte regia, quales alibi reperiuntur, communitas regni consilium inire jubetur, de iis quæ pro communi utilitate forent decernenda, et rex promittit se firma et rata habiturum, quæ decreverit communitas. Hæc ignorabant illo qui seculo præterito tam acriter disputaverunt* de sensu verbi *elegerit* in juramento a regibus nostris in solemnitate coronationis præstito. Lectori gratum erit verba ipsa ante oculos habere.

“Granter vous les leys et les custumes et promettiet a tenir les et defendre al honur de dieu que la commune de vostre realme offerra?

“*Respon.* Jeo les grant et les promet.

“Et puis a ceo ferra arettee ceo que la comune voudera ordinee felone ceo que lom entendera que bien soit.

“Et quant tut ceo ferra fait et lui roy corone il avra tut ces grante, il fra le ferment en la manere que le erceves qui lui chargera.

“Ex loco citato satis apparet hoc promissum referre non ad leges jam stabilitas nec ad eas quas parliamentum postea decreverit, sed solummodo ad petitiones quas illo ipso die et inter solemnitates coronationis communitas regi obtulerit.”

Thus far Mr. Nasmith; and this singular and important fact may justly be esteemed a valuable addition to the former account of the coronation ceremonies, page 22.

To

* Vide Remenfrances of the commons, dated May 26, 1642, and the king's answer thereto.

To the foregoing account Mr. Tyson adds, " In the first page of the MS. is written—*Apocalypsis cum pictura, de dono dne Juliane de Leybowrn comitisse de Huntyn dun, de librario Sancti Augustini Cantuarie.*—This inscription (which is not mentioned by Mr. Namsmith) will nearly ascertain the age of the MS. exactly. *William de Clinton* earl of Huntingdon, we find, about the year 1337 married *Juliana*, daughter of *Thomas Leybourn*. Perhaps the illumination may represent the coronation of Edward the Second; and to me there appears a striking resemblance between the illumination, and the portrait of that king by Vertue."

Another is from the Cotton Library, and is the History of Abbington Abbey, written about the reign of Richard the Second.—This is mark'd Claudius, B. vi.

The next is from the Royal Library; it is Hoccleve's poem *De Reg. Principis*, or The Government of a Prince. The hand is coeval with the time of Hoccleve, and this MS. may be written by himself. The poem was composed for, and presented to, Henry prince of Wales, who was afterward Henry the Fifth, but then only prince of Wales, as the author himself declares,—

Now, gracious prince, agayne that corone
Honoure you shall with roial dignitee, &c.

This MS. is mark'd 17 D. vii.

Another is from the Cotton Library, written in the reign of Henry the Sixth, and is intituled " The Pious Contemplations of Walter Hilton, an Anchorite."—This is mark'd Faustina, B. vi.

Another also is from the Cotton Library: it is thus described in the Catalogue, "*Liber continens variasfigurationes exercituum in acie pugnantium, tentorium, militum, penicillo depictas,*" &c.—This book seems formerly to have belonged to Henry the Eighth: it is mark'd Augustus 3.

The next is in the Royal Library, and is Gascoigne's translation of the Tale of *Hemetes*, the *Heremyte*, into English, Latin, and French, pronounced before Q. Elizabeth at Woodstock, 1575. Before the tale is the frontispiece (represented plate XV. of the present work) which is followed by this poetical explanation and address to the queen:—

Beholde (good quene) a poett with a speare;
Straundge fightes well mark't are understode the better!
A soldyer armde with pensyle in his eare,
With penne to fighte, and sworde to write a letter,
His gowne haulffe of, his blade not fully bownde,
In dowbtfull doompes which waye were best to take,
With humble haste, and knees that kyffe the grownde,
Presentes hymself to you for dewtyes sake,
And thus he saithe:—No daunger (I protest)
Shall ever lette this loyall harte I beare
To serve you, so as maye become me best,
In fielde, in towne, in courte, or any where;
Then peerless princes, employe this willinge man
In your assayres, to do the beste he can.

Tam Marti quam Mercurio.

DESCRIPTION

DESCRIPTION of the PLATES.

NO. 1, 6, 9, and 10, gentlemen; 2 and 7, ladies; 3, counsellor; 4, serjeant at law; 5, a poor woman with a distaff; 8, a rustic; 11, the fool and a beau.—All these are from Pynson's Ship of Fools, printed 1508; vide page 76 of this volume. Plate I.

Military men in the reign of Henry the Eighth; vide pag. 10 of this vol.—All these are from a book in the Cotton Library, mark'd Augustus 2.3. II. to VII. inclusive.

Royal tents; see page 19.—These are from the above book in the Cott. Lib. VIII. & IX.

Plan of Henry the Eighth's camp; see pag. 7.—From the same book. X.

A masque at a marriage feast; see pag. 143, of this vol.—This plate is done from a large picture on board, in the possession of Mr. Thane, printseller. The picture contains a large portrait of Sir Henry Utton, and on either side the portrait is represented not only the most remarkable passages of his life, as his birth, his education, his travels, and his marriage, but also his death, his burial, and the monument which was afterwards erected for him. It was probably painted soon after his death, at the desire of some of his family. XI.

N^o. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7 and 8, are figures in the reign of Henry the Eighth (see pag. 79); 6, a figure of Sir John Tyrell, in the reign of Edward the Sixth; 5 and 9, are the habits in the reign of Elizabeth.—N^o. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8, are from Cranmer's Great Bible, published 1540; 7, from the Harl. MS. N^o. 2014; 5 and 9 from Hollingshead's Chronicle, 1577. XII.

1, a gentleman; 2, yeomen; 3 and 6, commoners; 5, a bishop; 4, Bradford the martyr.—These are all from Fox, in the reign of Mary; see pag. 83. XIII.

1, an archer; 2, a commoner; 3, a lord; 4, the sheriff; 5, a rustic; 6, lady Hunfdon, see pag. 86; 7, a commoner.—1 to 4, are from Fox, as above; 5 and 7, from Hollingshead, as above; 6, is from Vertue's procession of queen Elizabeth. XIV.

Queen Elizabeth and Gascoigne; see pag. 86.—This is from a MS. in the Royal Library, mark'd xviii. A. 48. XV.

1, Prince Henry, son to James the First; 2, a nobleman; 3, prince Charles, see pag. 11; 4, Robert Carr earl of Somersfet, and his lady, see pag. 97; 5, 7, and 9, gentlemen, see pag. 98; 6 and 8, ladies.—1, from Drayton's Polyolbion, 1613; 2 and 3, from Bingham, 1616; 4, from an old scarce print; 5 and 6, from the English Gentleman and Lady, 1631; 7 and 8, from a Discourse on Nuptial Love, 1638; 9, is the portrait of John Danesly, from his Paralipomena, 1639. XVI.

1, a sea captain; 2, a soldier, vid. pag. 11; 3, 5, 8 and 10, gentlemen, see pag. 15, 71; 4, a poor man; 6, John Lilbourn, pag. 101; 7, a lady, pag. 99, 100; 9, a commoner, pag. 101.—1 and 2, are from the Navigator, by captain Charles Saltonstall, 1642; 3 and 4, from the Miscellania Spiritualia, 1648; 5 and 7, from Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, 1653; 6, from an old scarce print; 8 and 10, from 2014 MS. Bib. Harl.; 9, from the Honest Ghost, 1658. XVII.

1, 2, 6, and 8, gentlemen, pag. 103; 3, a falconer; 4, a hunter; 5 and 9, rustics, ib. et 104.—These are all from Hellar's prints of hunting, hawking, and fishing. XVIII.

N^o.

Plate XIX. N^o. 1, a baronet, vid. pag. 104; 2, Charles the Second and his queen, ib.; 3 and 4, a gentleman and his attendants, pag. 97; 5, a knight; 6, a gentleman; 7, a groom, pag. 104; 8, a mourner at a funeral; 9, the herald carrying the crest of the defunct.—1, 5, 6, and 7, are from the funeral proceffion of General Monk; 2, from Heath's Chronicle, 1662; 3, from a book of hawking, 1608; 7 and 8, from Mr. Thane's picture as before mentioned, plate 11.

XX. 1 to 7, figures of the ancient loaves of bread, pag. 57; 8, 10, and 11, penance, page 46, 47; 9, a man hanging, pag. 47; 12, the ancient theatre, 140.—1 to 7, from the Book of Afize; 8, 9, 10, and 11, from Fox, as above; 12, from a very old edition of Terence.

XXI. 1 to 12, the arms for a horse foldier, pag. 11; A. to F. of the pikemen; I. to IV. of the musketeer, pag. 11.—All these from Bingham's Tactics, ut supra.

XXII. 1, the crown of Henry the Eighth; 2, the crown of queen Mary; 3, the globe; 4, the crown of Charles the Second; 5, the circlet of gold worn by queen Caroline; 6, Henry the Eighth's cap; 7, a particular cap, pag. 102; 8, the stuff'd breeches, 103; 9, 10, 11, 12, habits in the reign of Elizabeth; 13, 14, 22, breeches and stockings, vide pag. 83; 15, the high head drefs in William and Mary's time, pag. 104; 16, head dresfes, pag. 104; 17, the favarde, pag. ib. 18, a gentleman in Charles the Second's reign, ib.; 20, sleeves, ib.; 21, a petticoat, ib.—N^o. 1, from the great seal of Hen. 8; 2, from the seal of queen Mary; 3, 4, 5 and 6, from a book of coronations, 1760; all the rest from a MS. in Bib. Harl. 2014.

XXIII. to XXVI. incl. The four Evangelists, from Nero, D. vi.—See page 181.

XXVII. The coronation of Edward the Second, from a MS. N^o. XX. in Corpus Christi college at Cambridge.—See the account of the MSS. page 189.

XXVIII. A battle, which shews the arrival of the Saxons in Britain, This is given because it represents in a clearer manner the armour in the time of Richard the Second, about whose reign this illumination was done. This is from Claudius, B. 6.

XXIX. Three curious figures done in the reign of Henry the Sixth: they each of them in the original hold a long scroll, on which is written the lines as follows.—The first is the knight, and his scroll contains these words,

I wende to dede knyghtes sicke in floure; thurgh þe spight in selde I wanne the floure;
 As sightes me taught the dede to quell; I wend to dede, forþ I yow tell.

On the king's scroll,

I wende a kynge I wyffe; what helps honor or wealds blyffe?
 Dedde is to mane the kynde wat: I wende to be clade in clay.

On the bishop's roll,

I wende to dede cleyke ful of skill: that couth with twoȝe men mæze in dill
 Some has me made the dede aȝe ende: beke wæge with me to dede I wende.

These figures are taken from a MS. in the Cott. Lib. mark'd Faustina, B. vi.

XXX. Is a curious and valuable portrait of king Henry the Fifth, while he was prince of Wales, and Hoccleve, who is kneeling before him, and presenting his book, "*De Regimine Principis*," for that prince's acceptance.—This is taken from a MS. in the Royal Lib. mark'd 17 D. vi.

COMPLEAT INDEX

TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

NOTE. Brit. stands for *Britons*, Anc. Sax. *Ancient Saxons*, Ang. Sax. *Anglo-Saxons*, and Norm. *Normans*.

<p><i>A.</i> ACCA, his monument 69 <i>Adhelm</i>, a great poet 71 <i>Agricola</i>, instructs the Britons 5 <i>Ælfred</i>, enters the Saxon camp 50. His learning 70. His character ib. His studious disposition 72. His works ib. His time how divided ib. His revenue how divided ib. His patience ib. His battles ib. Swears the Danes on their bracelet 81 <i>Ale</i>, the drink of the Saxons 44. Drank in the skulls of enemies 17 <i>Almanack</i>, a Saxon one 20 <i>Ancient Saxons</i>, their original 16. Obey their generals 17. A hardy people ib. Delight in plunder ib. Opinion of an after state ib. Consult their wives ib. Their chastity 17, 74. Go singing to battle 57. Sit armed at their teasts 18. Cruel sacrifices ibid. Their marks of friendship ib. Prevent disgrace by death ib. A description of them ib. Their ranks and degrees ib. Their fondness of dicing 51 <i>Andraſte</i>, goddess of victory 12 <i>Angles</i>, who they are 16 <i>Anglo-Saxons</i>, rather graziers than ploughmen 45. Their sports and pastimes 51. Addicted to drinking 49. Fond of hunting and hawking 51. Their method of burial ibid. Their arts and learning 70. Their method of reckoning time ibid. Fond of poets and poetry 71. Their effeminacy complained of 88 <i>Anlafſ</i>, his stratagem 50 <i>Ardurna</i>, a goddess of the Britons 12 <i>Arms</i>, of the Britons 2. Of the ancient Saxons 16. Of the Anglo-Saxons 29. Of the Danes 83. Of the Normans 98. Of a soldier, buried with him 53. Thrown into the funeral pile ibid. Symbols painted upon them 84 <i>Army</i>, in shape of a wedge 84, 99 <i>Armour</i>, of the Normans 97. Provision for. in Normandy ibid. In England ibid</p>	<p><i>Arthur</i>, his tomb discovered 67 <i>Astrology</i>, affected by the Ang. Sax. 70 <i>Augustus Cæſar</i>, taxes the Britons 6 <i>Aune</i>, offers nine ſons to Woden 80 B. Back Gammon, whence ſo called 87 <i>Banquets</i>, of the Ang. Sax. 48 <i>Banners</i>, borne before the kings 30. Borne by priests 31 <i>Baptiſm</i>, ceremonies 77 <i>Baras</i>, an inferior ſort of Druids 10. Their office ibid. <i>Barley</i>, grown by the Brit. 7. Favorite grain of the Anc. Saxons 43. Carefully grown by the Ang. Sax. 44 <i>Barrows</i>, made of various materials 56. Only made for heroes 58. Various ſorts deſcribed 59. Not always ſepulchral 60. Their origin 55. Of Ninus its ſize 57 <i>Beſe Court</i>, its conſtruction 94 <i>Batavians</i>, their battle with the Britons 3 <i>Bath</i>, frequented by the Saxons 73 <i>Battle</i>, againſt the Scots deſcribed 100 Of Haliſings ibid. <i>Bed</i>, of the Ang. Sax. deſcribed 45. Of the Danes 86 <i>Beſford Caſtle</i>, the ſiege of 94 <i>Beer</i>, made by the Britons 7. The drink of the Anc. Sax. 21, 43 <i>Belenus</i>, a god of the Britons 2 <i>Beril</i>, windows glazed with 34 <i>Boats</i>, of the Britons made of leather 6. Of the Anc. Sax. 22 <i>Bolt</i>, a kind of arrow 95 <i>Boniſſace</i>, reproves Ethelbert 74 <i>Botany</i>, underſtood by the Sax. 70 <i>Bouduca</i> or <i>Boudicca</i>, her courage 4. Her habit deſcribed 8 <i>Boots</i>, worn by the Saxons 47 <i>Books</i> 70 <i>Botolph St.</i> the ruin deſcribed 102. Its materials 103 <i>Bracelet</i>, of the Saxons deſcribed 47. Of the Danes held ſacred 81 <i>Bride</i>, how ſhe was received 76 <i>Britiſh lady</i>, her reply to Julia 12 <i>Britons</i>, deſcription of them 2. Their method of making war 3, 4. Abſtain from food in voyages 6. Ig-</p>	<p>norant of huſbandry 7. Their ſimple food ibid. Their religion 9, 10. Burn animals with their dead 32. Their great agility 3 <i>Buckle</i>, a Saxon one deſcribed 46 <i>Buildings</i>, religious of the Ang. Sax. 33. Of the Norm. 103. Domeſtic of the Anc. Sax. 36. Of the Ang. Sax. 36, 37. Of the Normans 104 <i>Burials</i>, in church-yards firſt began 66, 69. The ancient hiſtory of 51 <i>Burning</i>, made for the dead 54 <i>Burrough hills</i>, deſcribed 60 C. Canaladunum 5. Suppoſed to be at Malden 107 <i>Camps</i>, of the Britons 5. Of the Romans at Wallbury 14. Of Carac-tacus deſcribed 5 <i>Caractacus</i>, his habit deſcribed 8 <i>Cafſibalan</i>, leader of the Brit. 2. His device to ſtop Cæſar 5 <i>Caſtle</i>, Saxon one at Malden 24. At Witham 25. At Caſtle Chun ib. Of Colcheſter deſcribed 26, 27. Reaſons why not Saxon 28. Of Bamborough built of wood 26. Of the Normans how conſtructed 89. The difference between the Saxon and Norm. 92. Of the Sax. and Norman why ſtrong 95 <i>Categern</i>, his monument 62 <i>Cavalry</i>, firſt introduced by the Normans 96 <i>Covinus</i>, a war chariot 4. <i>Cæſuwulf</i>, quits his crown for a cow 49. Permits the monks to drink wine ibid. <i>Chapel</i>, of Ina very rich 33. A Sax. one at Braintree 35. At Coggeſhall deſcribed 103 <i>Chariot</i>, of war of the Brit. 5. Of the Sax. 31. Of the Ang. Sax. 45. Sacred one of the Anc. Sax. 32 <i>Chartres</i>, a place in Gaul 9 <i>Cheſ</i>, the Danes fond of 87 <i>Cheſterſford</i>, a Roman town 14 <i>Chimnies</i>, want of in former times 104 <i>Church</i>, firſt Chriſtian one built 33. made of wood ibid. <i>Claudius</i></p>
---	---	--

- Claudius Cæsar*, temple built to him 5
Cnute, thares England 82. His re-
 proof of flatterers *ibid.* Offers his
 crown 83. A song by him com-
 posed *ibid.*
Cædmon, a learned Saxon 70
Coffins, of wood very ancient 68. Of
 stone *ibid.*
Coggeshall, conjecture concerning 103
 The abbey there *ibid.* Lamp
 there found burning 63
Coin, first made in Britain 5, 6. Of
 the Ang. Sax. 41
Cold Bath, disliked by the Ang. Sax. 73
Colchester Castle, not Norm. 28. Said
 to be built by Coel *ibid.*
Cromlech, described 61
Crofs Bow, not Saxon 23. Of the
 Norman 98
Crosses, erected before a battle 31
Croyland, church built 34
Cunobelin, first coins money 5, 6
Cuthbert, his monastery 36
 D.
DANES, their original disputed
 79. Their cruel sacrifices 80.
 Their steadfastness in death *ibid.*
 Cruel and lascivious 81. Great
 drinkers 49, 81. Their notions of
 Hell 81. Regardless of their oaths
ibid. Their funeral ceremonies 56
 Wear their hair long 73. Their
 government 82
Danish, gallant description of 86.
 Exercises of young men *ibid.*
Dead, how entered, from 51 to 61.
 Why burned 52, 53. To lie un-
 buried a dishonour 53. Given as
 pledges 55. Buried by the way-
 side 58. How buried by the Ang.
 Saxons 66
Defiance, how sent anciently 102
Dis, a god of the Gauls 72
Dove, keeper its antiquity 38
Dragon, a ship so called 85
Dragons, castles so called *ibid.*
Divids, their doctrine 10. Their
 cruel sacrifices 11. Had urns for
 their victims 59. The end of their
 worship 12. Female ones their
 classes 10. Never go to the wars
 9. Judges of disputes *ibid.* Meet
 once a year *ibid.* Had the tuition
 of youth 10
Dungeon, at Waldon castle 91
 E.
EBA chaste abbeys a story of 75
Edelfreda, her performances 74
Edgar, punishes the magistrates 40.
 His law to prevent hard drinking *ib.*
Edgitha, simplicity of her manners 45
Edwine, his justice 40. Good order
 during his reign *ibid.*
Embalming, amongst the Egyptians
 51, 55
England, divided into shires 41
Epitaphs, their antiquity 68
Ernulfus, builds St. Botolphs 102
Eschwine, his monument 68
Espringold, a warlike machine 95
Essecum, a war chariot 4
Ethelbert, his murder 77
Ethelburga, a wicked woman 75
Etheldreda, a virgin wife *ibid.*
Ethelred, his monument 68
Ethelwolf, offends his people 75
Eudo Dappifer, builds St. John's ab-
 bey 103
Evil m n, denied monuments 58
Exeter, walled with stone 26
 F.
FABLES, of the romancers ex-
 plained 85
Fitz Allen, his orders at London 104
Fires, made in the middle of rooms
ibid.
Fleet, of Cnute described 85
Flutes, two at once played on 50
Fortis, of the Romans 14, 15. Of
 the Danes and Saxons little differ-
 ence 85. Of wood erected 95
Fortifications, of the Romans 15. Dif-
 ferent from the Sax. 28. Of the
 Brit. 45. Of the Ang. Sax. 24.
 Of the Danes, 85. Of the Norm.
 89
Frea, a Saxon goddess 22
 G.
GATE, to St. John's abbey de-
 scribed 103. Its materials *ibid.*
Gavel kind 20
General, ceremonies of electing 17
Gith, her barbarous commerce 73
Gods, of the Brit. their ugliness 12
Government, of the Brit. 2. Of the
 Anc. Sax. 19. Of the Ang. Sax. 39.
 Of the Danes 82
Goodwin, his grand present 43
Grants, how made 41
Graves, adorned with flowers 69
Greeks, buried and burnt their dead
 52
Guanicum, a gown 8
 H.
HABIT, of the Brit. 7, 8. Of
 the Anc. Sax. 23. Of the Ang.
 Sax. 46. Of the Danes 86
Hacon, offers his son to Odin 80
Hair, long admired 75. Preached
 against *ibid.* The Danes careful
 of 86
Hardicute, a great glutton 49
Harding, becomes a christian 89. Set-
 tles in France *ibid.*
Harald, presents a ship 42
Harp, used by the Saxons 50
Health, first drank 48
Heddingham Castle, described 89. Sub-
 teraneous passage there 90. Con-
 jecture concerning *ibid.*
Henry III. his politic device 101
Helcor, his monument 55
Helmet, form of the Saxon 30
Henrich, his treachery 16
Heroines, Brit. and Sax. 64
Hesus, a god of the Britons 11
Historians, of the Saxons 70
Horn, used by the Ang. Sax. 32, 50.
 Used instead of glass 34
Horsa, his monument 68
Horse, sacred one 17
Horses, armed with mail 96. Expor-
 tation of forbid 73
Houses, of the Brit. 4. Of the Saxons
 34. In London meanly built 104
Hubble Stov, a monument 57
Hunting, the Brit. fond of it 7. The
 Saxons like it 44
Husbandry, the Brit. ignorant of it 7.
 Disliked by the Anc. Sax. 43. Of
 the Ang. Sax. *ibid.*
 I.
INFANTRY, the Britons chief
 strength 14
Ina, his laws 39
Julia, rallies a British lady 12
Jury, thought not to be Saxon 40.
 Some conjectures concerning 81
Justice, how administered 40
Jutes, their origin 16
 K.
KARNS, disgraceful monuments
 57. Not always sepulchral 61
Keels, improved by Ælfred 71
Keep, proved to be Norman 92
Kemp-fight, what it is 18, 32
Keys, carried on a spear 96
Kings, of the Ang. Sax. their habits,
 46. Offered by the Danes as sa-
 crifices 80. Elected in circles of
 stones 81. Why so elected *ibid.*
Kylvean, a Brit. monument 57, 59
Knight, how made 32
Knives, played with 50, 108
 L.
LAWs, of the Saxons very severe
 19. Of the Ang. Sax. 39
Lead, used for coverings 35
Learning

- Learning**, rare amongst the Ang. Sax. 70
- Letch y Gowres**, described 62
- Lent**, ordered to be kept strict 62
- Links of Skeal**, graves there 64
- Long Serpent**, a ship so called 85
- London**, wall originally Roman 15
- Lot**, manner of deciding by 20
- Lord Danes**, why so called 82
- Lothbrock**, story of 51
- Lyre**, of the Sax. 50
- M.**
- MAIL**, form of used by the Ang. Sax. 29
- Malcolme**, slain 96
- Magnet**, laid to be known to the Druids 95
- Mangonel**, a machine of war 10
- Manors**, how given 41
- Marriage**, ceremonies 76. **Health** 77
- Massacre**, of the Britons 16
- Material**, of Saxon buildings 34
- Mistletoe**, how gathered 11
- Monks**, forbid wine 49
- Months**, the Sax. names for 21. The employment for 43
- Monuments**, in memory of the dead 58. Why erected 54. Not always honorary ibid. Expensive ones forbid 58. Of stones raised by the Danes 57
- Moon**, her course observed 76, 77
- Morning Gift**, what it is 76, 77
- Mortimer**, surprized 91
- Mathers**, suckled their children 77
- Mundbora**, his claim 75. His fine 76
- Murder**, punishment for 40
- Musical**, instruments 108. Of the Ang. Sax. 50
- N.**
- Navigation**, of the Britons 6
- Navy**, of Edgar 42
- Needlework** 73
- Niding**, a name of contempt 101
- Ninus** his monument 55
- Normans**, who they were 88. Their ancient habitation ibid. Their attack on France 89. Their language changed ibid. Their method of battle 96. Their military arrangements 99. Behaviour at Hastings 100
- Norman**, castle embattled on both sides 94
- Northburn**, bones found there 65
- O.**
- OATH**, upon the holy bracelet 81
- Obelisks**, why set up 61
- Ochter**, his voyage 73
- Old Bale**, compassed with stone 26
- Ordeal**, by fire 19. By boiling water ibid. By cold water ibid.
- Organ**, of the Saxons 50
- Ornaments**, upon tombs 69
- Oswulf**, a banner over his tomb 30
- P.**
- Painting**, of bodies by the Brit. 8
- Painters**, and glaziers first come here 33, 34
- Patroclus**, his monument 55
- Paulinus Suetonius** 4
- Perspective**, not known by the Sax. 33
- Peter St.**, his church described 34
- Petriaria**, a warlike machine 95
- Pillars**, why set up 61
- Pillory**, origin of 40
- Pledging**, the old form of 49
- Pointed Arch**, its introduction 102
- Polynices**, his monument 55
- Priests**, forbid to make knights 32
- Punishment**, for adultery 19
- Q.**
- QUEENS**, forbid to sit in council 75
- R.**
- RAFEN**, the Danish standard 30
- Rauleigh Castle** 93
- Regal Courts**, of the Sax. 37, 38
- Richard I.**, lands at Cyprus 100
- Rbeda**, a war chariot 4
- Ring**, of iron token of bondage 18
- Rocking Stones** 62
- Rollo**, conquers Normandy 88
- Romans**, expert in arms 5. Their policy 6. Their fortifications 14, 15
- Opinion of the soul 52. Their method of sepulture ibid.
- Roman Bricks**, the measure of 15.
- Antiquities found at Wroxcetter 65. At Bishopsgate ibid.
- Runic Character**, invented by Woden 18. Engraved on spears 17. Set up over the dead 68
- S.**
- SADDLES**, used by the Ang. Sax. 48
- Sandwich**, a haven for ships 43
- Saul**, his bones burnt 52
- Saxons**, whence so called 16. Their navigation 22. Women fine embroiderers 74. Their religion 21
- Scalds**, carried to battle 87
- Scaphis**, a small boat 43
- Seals**, of wax first introduced 41
- Seator**, a Saxon god 22
- Sculpture**, better than designs 71
- Sepulchres**, of the kings of Israel 54
- Shield**, lost in battle a disgrace 17.
- The ancient form thereof 29
- Shrine**, of saints prayed to 31
- Shipping**, of the Ang. Sax. 41
- Ship**, a Sax. one described 42
- Ships**, to hold 3000 men each ibid.
- Of the Saxons grand ibid.
- Sigheim**, his voyage 73
- Singing**, in churches first done 33
- Siward**, dies in his armour 48
- Slippers**, worn by the Saxons 47
- Slingers**, go before the army 100
- Soldiers**, of the Ang. Sax. 46. Their noise in battle 100. Of the Normans described 96, 97
- Spinning**, a fashionable employment 45
- Spurs**, used by the Ang. Sax. 48
- Standard**, royal by whom borne 101.
- To lose a great disgrace ibid.
- Granted to each leader ibid. Sax. different from the Norman ibid.
- Stephen**, described in battle 100.
- Founder of Coggeshal abbey 103
- Stone Buildings**, of the Normans 33
- Stones**, with holes in them 62
- Stonehenge**, what it is 13. Not Danish, and why 82
- Swearing**, the ancient form of 39
- Sword**, borne by a chief peer 38.
- Sworn by 81
- T.**
- TEMPLE**, of the Sax. idols 22
- Tents**, of the Ang. Sax. their form 31
- Theft**, how punished 41
- Thor**, a Saxon idol 22
- Tin**, the British merchandize 15
- Tomb**, of Constantine found 63
- Toramus**, a god of the Eritons 7
- Traitors**, punished by death 41
- Trebuchet**, a war instrument 95
- Trees**, fell'd and why 100
- Trematon Castle**, described 91. Not Roman 93
- Triumph** 84
- Trumpet** 32, 50
- Tuscan**, the banner 31
- Tusko**, a Saxon god 22
- Tunic**, a Saxon one described 46
- Tutates**, a god of the Britons 7
- U.**
- URNS**, what found in them 63, 64
- Utsela**, a Saxon temple 22
- V.**
- VIOLIN**, a Saxon one 50
- Vines**, grown in England 7, 44
- W.**
- WALLS**, how built by the Romans 15
- Walled Towns**, of the Romans 14
- Ff ar

<i>War</i> , ceremonies on declaring of	17	<i>Witches</i> , the punishment of 20. The		<i>Woden's Hall</i>	37
<i>Warwolf</i> , a warlike engine	95	swimming of <i>ibid.</i> The proving		<i>Women</i> , their dress 47. Burnt and	
<i>Wedding Dresses</i> , particular	77	of <i>ibid.</i>		why	41
<i>Weaving</i> , practised by ladies	74	<i>Wives</i> , common amongst the Brit. 12		<i>Writing</i> , forbid by the Druids	2
<i>Westminster Abbey</i> , described	36	<i>Wood</i> , a colour used by the Brit. 7			
<i>Wifred</i> , teaches the art of fishing 73		<i>Woden</i> , leader of the Anc. Sax. 16		Y.	
How buried	67	His valour and policy, 21, 22. His		YORKSHIRE , reliques there found	66
<i>Wine</i> , made in England	44	ceremonies before a battle <i>ibid.</i>			

COMPLEAT INDEX to the SECOND VOLUME.

NOTE. Norm. stands for *Norman*, Eng. for *English*, and Anc. for *Ancient*.

A.		<i>Baneret</i> , a title of honour 33. How		<i>Bridges</i> 46. Erected at sieges	47
ABCOCKET	87	created	65	<i>Britons</i> , their coronation ceremonies	
<i>Ale</i> , the prices of 81. Its proper		<i>Banners</i> , set up in the field	35	not known	56
age	105	<i>Banner Royal</i> , when displayed	44	<i>Buccas</i> , a large ship	10
<i>Alderman</i> , their mumming	95	<i>Bannerers</i> , their office 34. Why close		<i>Buffoonery</i> , in old plays	97
<i>Alexander</i> , feast at his knighting	19	armed <i>ibid.</i>		<i>Building</i> , religious of the English	45
<i>Ancient Ornament</i> , worn by kings	57	<i>Banquets</i> , of the Normans	18	<i>Bull Baiting</i>	22, 99
<i>Anciently</i> , one ecclesiastic to crown		<i>Banquet</i> , at Lionel's marriage	100.	<i>Burial</i> , of the common people	109
the king	58	Made by Richard II. <i>ibid.</i>		<i>Burials</i> , the manner of	105.
<i>Anointing</i> , whence it came 57. First		<i>Banqueting</i> , the excess of. <i>ibid.</i>		C.	
performed in Britain 58. Used by		<i>Baptism</i> , form of	24	CALAIS , siege of	29
the Sax. and Norm. <i>ibid.</i>		<i>Barca</i> , a sort of boats	10	<i>Camp</i> , of the English how forti-	
<i>Antipodes</i> , known to the ancients	117	<i>Bards</i> , attend royal feasts	20	fied	35.
<i>Apparel</i> , excess of	85	<i>Baron</i> , the privileges of	6	<i>Cannons</i> , ancient form of 32. Used	
<i>Archbishop of Canterbury</i> , crowns the		<i>Barriers</i>	93	in ships	76
king	59	<i>Bathing</i> , before knighthood	66	<i>Caps</i> , worn by the kings, &c.	17.
<i>Archers</i> , their service in battle 39, 40		<i>Battle</i> , against the Welch 36. Of		<i>Caricks</i>	10
1 their armour	33	Faukirk <i>ibid.</i> Of Poitiers 37. Of		<i>Castles</i> , how besieged	28.
<i>Arches</i> , of the Sax. round 2. Much		Agincourt 38. Of Shrewel	39.	<i>Caxton</i> , first English printer	115.
ornamented not Sax. <i>ibid.</i> Saxon		<i>Battles</i> , chiefly gained by archers 40		<i>Chancel Bridge</i>	47
and Norman distinguished	3	<i>Bawds</i> , their punishment	72	<i>Chefs</i> , the game esteemed	21.
<i>Archery</i> , neglect of lamented.	40	<i>Beards</i> , shaved by the Normans	17	<i>Children</i> , their sports	99.
<i>Architecture</i> , its progress	1	<i>Bed Furniture</i> , of a prince's	88	<i>Christmas sports</i>	98.
<i>Arithmetic</i>	115	<i>Beds</i> , of the English described <i>ibid.</i>		<i>Churches</i> , their dedication <i>ibid.</i>	
<i>Arms</i> , ordinance for by Edw. I. 43.		<i>Beer</i> , how made	81	<i>Circus</i>	16
By Edw. II. 44. Offensive of the		<i>Berwick</i> , how besieged	30	<i>Clergy</i> , their habit 17. Buried in	
Eng. <i>ibid.</i> And devises on banners		<i>Bill</i> , a weapon so called	34	their canonicals	106
77. On sails of ships <i>ibid.</i>		<i>Black Prince</i> , his courage 42. His		<i>Clocks</i>	115
<i>Armies</i> , of the Eng. their degrees 33.		speech at Poitiers <i>ibid.</i>		<i>Coaches</i> , first made	90
Their arrangement 36. Divided		<i>Bear Baiting</i>	22, 29	<i>Collar</i> , used in knighthood	67.
into three bodies <i>ibid.</i>		<i>Bear's Head</i> , an esteemed dish 19.		<i>Columns</i> , of the Saxons	2
<i>Army</i> , of Edw. III. how arranged <i>ib.</i>		Brought to table with trumpets <i>ib.</i>		<i>Combat</i> , when granted 69. One per-	
<i>Arts</i> , and learning of the Norm. 25.		<i>Boats</i> , light portable ones	32, 75	formed <i>ib.</i> Process of <i>ib.</i> Prepara-	
Of the English	114	<i>Bowling Mill</i> , anciently not known		tion for <i>ib.</i> Fought at Westminster	
<i>Atthelstan</i> , his coronation	56		14		70
<i>Aurelius Ambrosius</i> , his election <i>ibid.</i>		<i>Bow Church</i> , lanthorn there	47	<i>Comedy</i> , the first	96
<i>Auriflamme</i> , the French banner	35	<i>Bow Bridge</i>	46	<i>Commerce</i> , of the Norm. 12. The	
<i>Aurifigium</i>	53	<i>Bows</i> , superior to muskets	40	extending of	77
B.		<i>Bread</i> , baked on the hearth 14. Af-		<i>Compass</i> , anciently not known <i>ibid.</i>	
BADGES , worn by soldiers	43	size of <i>ibid.</i> The statute for 81.		<i>Conqueror</i> , his tyranny 7. His fleet	
<i>Bakers</i> , their punishment 14. Set		Various sorts of <i>ibid.</i>		9. His profuteness 18. His oath	
on the pillory 73. Prices allowed		<i>Brewers</i> , the prices allowed them 82		at his coronation 58. Causes the	
to them	82	<i>Bridferts</i> a learned Saxon	25.	peers to swear <i>ibid.</i>	

Contrail, law concerning 24
Coronations, the history of 55
Coronation, of Richard I. 59. Of
 Hen. IV. 60
Coronets, their difference 65
Copernicus 116
Corps, of a king royally habited 106
 Served in lead ibid
Court, of Exchequer 7
Cross-bow, would shoot four rods 44
Cross Bowmen, their armour 34
Crown, of Eng. hereditary 6.
 antiquity 63
Crowns, worn by the Romans 57
Cry, of the soldiers in battle 36

D

DANBURY, monuments there 25
Dances, a law of theirs 5. How
 they elect a king 56
Darts, shot from guns 32
Dead, how treated 105
Deer Stealers, how punished 91
Defence, made by besieged towns 30
Degrees, of pre-eminence 5
Dice, forbid to sailors 12
Dignities, of honour 48
Dinner, the manner of sitting at 62
Dirge, for foreign princes 110
Domestic, buildings of the Eng. 45
Dress, of the Norm. 14. Of the
 Eng. very pompous 82. Very
 ridiculous 86
Duke, of Austria his death 25. An-
 tient name restored 6. Of Clarence
 how found 42. Antiquity of 64.
 How created ibid

E

EARL, whence derived 65
Ears, why cut off 72
Easter, games then play'd 22. Customs
 then 99
Edward I. his strength 41
Edward II. deprived of royalty 62
Edward III. his courage 42. Wears
 a chaplet of pearls 43. His vagrant
 act 94
Edward IV. meets the French king 49
Emperor, his fleet described 11, 12
Encampment, manner of 35
Engines, used at sieges 31
England, governed by a king 47
English, extend their commerce 73.
 Navy potent on the sea 75
Engraving, when first begun 114
Ensigns, of regality 63
Enthusiasms, specimens of 114
Etbeldreda, re-built Ely 2
Excess, in apparel forbid 87
Extreme unction 105

F

FAIRS, their origin 98
Fares, by water 77
Faithy, how done 78
Feast, 30,000 dishes prepar'd for 19.
 At Hen. IVth. marriage 100, 101.
 At Hen. Vth. marriage 102. At
 Hen. VIth. coronation 102, 103.
 At funerals 109
Fires, why formerly so destructive 46
Flour, how made from wheat 13
Forefellers, severe act against 82
Funeral Procession, of Edward III. 108.
 Of Richard II. ibid. Of Sir Rob.
 Knowles 109

G

GATEWAYS, how strengthened 28
Gallies, various sorts 10, 11
Gallows, ancient form of 73
Garland, worn by the chiefs 57
Garter, the order of 68
Geoffrey of Anjou, made a knight 66
Girdles, worn 16
Glove men, their armour 34
Globe or mound, antiquity of 63
Gothic Architecture, first in Eng. 3.
 Still much affected 45
Government, of the Norm. 4. Of
 the Eng. 47
Grain, the different sorts 43
Grinding maid, law concerning 16
Guns, cause alterations in castles 27.
 First invention of 32

H

HABIT, in the Confessors reign,
 14. Simple and elegant, 15.
 Of the Norm. kings, 16. Of the
 Norm. ladies ibid
Habit, of the virgins disting. 16. Of
 the common people 17. The
 luxury of describ. 83. For com-
 mon women 84. Of the Eng.
 in Rich. IId. time ib. In the
 reign of Edward IV. 87
Hanging, first appointed for murder 8
Hanging waggons, what they are 90
Harlots, the habits assigned them 84
Harley Sir Andrew, degraded 67
Harrow, antiently used 13
Harp, the form of a Norm. one 20
Hawking, affected 21, 90
Haven, Monk's tale of 111
Hill, in the middle of the earth 116.
 Monkish tale of 110
Helmet, variety of 35
Henry I. his act against long hair,
 15. His body salted 105. A
 story of 21

Henry II. divides England 8. His
 charity 19. His penance 114
Henry IV. his contrivance 39
Henry V. raises a mount 29. A noble
 warrior 42. His triumphal entry
 into London 50. His and his
 queen's habit 86
Henry Prince of Wales, his habit ib.
Henry VI. his entry in Lond. 51
High tower, at sieges erected 29
Historians, of the Norm. 25
Hogheads, filled with stones 31
Hobblers, whence that name 34
Hood, worn by king Hen. VI. 86
Horse litter 89
Houses, decked with leaves 99
Household furniture 89
Hosekeeping, of Rich. Nevill 104.
 Of the nobility ibid. Of gentle-
 men ib. Of tradesmen 105
Hunting, affected 21, 90
Husbandry, of the Norm. 12. Of
 the English 77

J

JEWS, refer the choice of their
 king to god 56
Imposers, their punishment 71
Infantry, of the Eng. 33
Interludes, of holy subjects 22. When
 set forth 96
John Mansell, his banquet 19. Made
 duke of Normandy 64
Jury, when first instituted 7
Justiciars, itinerant 8
Justs, at Smithfield 93. Various
 sorts of ibid.

K

KINGS, their power formerly 47,
 48. Of England, whence their
 power 48. Never deposed but by
 rebels ib. Of Eng. their customs
 ib. Their processions ib. Amongst
 the Brit. how chosen 55. Of the
 Norm. crown'd often 19, 63. their
 bodies embalm'd 105
Knight, whence so called 65. How
 created formerly 66. How created
 latterly 67. How degraded ibid

L

LAMPS, the want of at London 46
Lands, how holden of the king 78
Laws, of the Norm. 7. Of the
 Eng. 68. In the Norman Franco
 tongue 7. Of the confessor re-
 stored 8
Law,

Law, concerning big women 9. Respecting the highways ib. Of Eng. its three grounds 48. Concerning weight, &c. 7.

Laymen, permitted to baptize 24
Leaders, of the Eng. their courage 41
Learned men, of the Norm. 25
Leche, the name explained 20
Lent, the amusements then 22
Lime, used in sea fights 11
Light armed troops, their use 39
Linen cloth, put over the faces of the dead 105
London, its great trade 12. Narrowness of the streets 46. Streets new gravelled, ib. Bridge made of timber 47. Of stone ib.
Long hair, forbid by Hen. I. 15
Loss of Members, for what crimes 8. Why rather than death ib.

M.

MACHINE, at the siege of Reole 29
Man imbs Ship, a poem 111
Marriage, the ceremonies of 23. Ring a story of ib.
Marriages, mercenary condemned ib.
Married Ladies, their distinction 16
Marine affairs, of the Eng. 73
Mariners, their punishment 12
Ma quis, title when given 6
Martial Exercise 93
Mata Griffons, a wooden tower 29
Matings, account of 99
Mechanical improvements 115
Men of arms, their armour 33
Messiah, how expected by the Jews 56
Mill stones, cast by engines 31. Hand-mill, its antiquity 13. Water-mill, its antiquity ib. Wind-mill ib. Horse-mill ib. Ship-mill ib. Boulting mill 14
Mills, antient construction not known ibid.
Millers, the toll allowed them 82
Mistries, the first plays 96
Mirical quarry, what it is 95
Movements, the effigies thereon 25
Moralities, what they be 96
Mummings, an account of 95
Mummers, what they be 94
Murder, how punished 72
Musie, of the Norm. 20. On board the ship 11. Of war 45
Musical instruments 99

NEW Testament, stories of play'd 95
Normans, their courage 11. Expert in sea affairs ibid
Numerical figures, first used 115

ORGAN described 20, 99

PAGEANT, at London for Rich. II. 49. For Hen. V. 50. For Hen. VI. 51
Painting, its state 114
Parks, first made 21
Parliament, when assembled 5. Its three estates ibid.
Pauls St. set on fire 46
Pavises, their form 32
Perjury, how punished 72
Persons anointed, held sacred 58
Physicians, attend the royal banquets 20

Piked shoes, when worn 84
Pillory, who were punish'd by 9. Law concerning 73.
Planetary system 116
Plates of brass, put on tombs 110
Platforms, made of boats 30
Play, lasts eight days 96
Plays, wrote by schoolmasters ib.
Players, antiently servants 97
Plough, of the Norm. described 12.
Staff, its use 13. The English one 77
Painted shoes, an act against 87
Papery, the opposers 114
Porcupine, first seen in Eng. 21
Portrait of Catherine 114
Posture master 97
Preparations, in case of fire 46
Pressing, to death 68
Priests, their pride in habit 15. Law concerning ib. Antiently anointed 58
Prince of Wales, the first 64. How created ibid
Printing, when invented 115
Prices, of grain 79. Fixed for provisions 80.
Prison-breaking, not death 73
Purple, by whom worn 16, 63

QUEEN, her distinction 17.
Elizabeth her employment 89.
Mary, her coach 90
Quinten, the running at 21

REGAL, courts of the Norm. 4.
Religion, of the Eng. 110.
Reliques 113
Resignation, of the crown 63.
Retainers, numbers of kept by R. 2. 100.

Richard the Ist. dies of his wound 25.
 His fleet described 9. His arrival in Sicily 10. His acts 41. How buried 106.
Richard IId. meets the Franch king 49. Resigns his crown 63. His expensive apparel 84.
Richard IId. his procession 48.
Richard Earl of Cornwall, his feast 19.
Robert Winchelsea, his benevolence ib.
Roles, for new made knights 66
Roger Bolingbrook, how punished 71.
Round Table, when made 68, 92
Rufus, his pride in drefs 15. His skill in tournaments 92.

S.

SAXON, build. difficult to ascertain 2. Choose valiant men for kings. 56. Their ceremonies ibid
Scaling Ladders 32.
Scepter, antiquity of 63.
School boys, their sports 23.
Scots, their punishment 73.
Scots, their device 39
Sculpture, its state 114
Sea-fights, betw. en the French and Eng. 75. The Eng. and Flem. 76
Sheep-stealers, loose their hands 72
Shingels, the use of forbid 46
Ship, ornamented with gildings 77
Shipping, of the Norm. 9. Of the Eng. 73.
Short, hose 18. Mantel ibid
Siege, of a town or castle 28.
Silk, first worn 83.
Skaiting 23.
Skinkners *Walls*, play there 96
Sleeves, long ones condemned 86
Smithfield, a place of execution 9.
Soldier, a story of 15
Soldiers, their short tunics 16. Of the Eng. 33.
Solomon, crowned in public 56
Sons, of the kings crown'd 63.
Splendid Attire affected 4.
Sponsors, how many 24
Sports, of the Norm. 21. Of the Eng. 90
Stage, by whom improved 96
Stakes,

<i>Stakes</i> , used by Hen. V.	39	<i>Tomberel</i> , what it is	9	<i>W</i>	
<i>Stocks</i> , set up	72	<i>Tournaments</i> , account of 91.	Dan-	<i>WAKES</i> , their origin	98
<i>Stones</i> , shot from guns	32	gerous ib. Permitted ib.	En-	<i>Wall of Wood</i> , made by the	35
<i>Stratagem</i> , to annoy the enemy	38.	couraged by Rich. I.	ibid	French	
of Hen. V. at Agencourt	39.	<i>Troytars</i> , their punishment	72	<i>Ward</i> , of heirs	24
the Welch ib. Of the Scots	Of	<i>Trippet</i> , a warlike machine	32	<i>Warlike habits</i> , of the kings	42
<i>Stuffing out of garments</i> forbid	87	<i>Troylebaston</i> , when instituted	69	<i>Warlike habits</i> , of Hen. V.	ibid
<i>Sunday</i> , the prophanation forbid	98			<i>Watch</i> , ordain'd at London	46
<i>Surgery</i> , ill understood	25			<i>Warwolf</i> , what it is	31
<i>Sword</i> , offered on the altar	67			<i>Wheat</i> , forbid to be made malt	82
<i>System</i> , of nature 116. Call'd Coper-	ibid			<i>Weaving</i> , anciently done abroad	82.
nican				Encouraged in England	ibid
				<i>Wedge</i> , army in the shape of	37
				<i>Westminster, Abbey</i> , carving there	25
				<i>Wicliiff John</i> , his doctrine	114
				<i>Widow</i> , her time of mourning	24
				<i>Wild fire</i> , thrown from ships	76
				<i>Wine</i> , prices of	81
				<i>Witness</i> , perjurd the punishment	63
				<i>Women</i> , their drefs censured	84
				<i>Wool</i>	14

T

<i>TAXES</i> , of the landholders	78.
Paid in money	79
<i>Terms</i> , how kept	7
<i>Tertium Donarium</i>	6
<i>Theatre</i> ,	94
<i>Tilis</i> ,	93

U

UMBRELLA, ancient
Unction, performed only by priests

V

<i>VESSELS</i> , of the Eng. described	73, 74
<i>Violin</i> ,	20
<i>Vifcount</i> ,	6
<i>Vortigern</i> , king of the Brit.	55

COMPLEAT INDEX to the THIRD VOLUME. 97

A.

<i>ABBOY</i> , of Misrule	142
<i>Afts</i> , to prevent scarcity	55
<i>Afting</i> , on a Sunday, 141.	The
time of	142
<i>Aftors</i> , account of them	148
<i>Allallows</i> , whence the name	179
<i>All Souls Day</i>	ib.
<i>Apparel</i> , acts for reforming of,	82.
Decent of the la ties 99.	For
moun'ing	145
<i>Apprentices</i> , their habits	93
<i>Archers</i> , intermix'd with the gunners	9
<i>Archery</i> , the neglect of lamented	ib.
<i>Armies</i> , the arrangement of	2, 6
<i>Armour</i>	11
<i>Army</i> , of Hen. VIII. 6. Royal Offi-	
cers appertaining to	7
<i>Art</i> , state of amongst the Saxons	181
<i>Artists</i> , of the Saxons	ibid.
<i>Awdryons</i> , what they are	68

B.

<i>BACON</i> , how fetched	155
<i>Ballad-finging</i> , relative	118
<i>Balloon</i>	148
<i>Band</i> , when worn	98

<i>Banquets</i> 106. Various matters rela-	
tive to	113
<i>Baptista Poilly</i>	186
<i>Baron</i> , orders for his creation 39. Du-	
ties then paid 40. How-buried	167
<i>Bathing</i> , the English fond of 70. For	
beauty	ibid.
<i>Battle</i> , the fore and rereward of how	
ordained	3, 5
<i>Beaf steak</i> , at breakfast	110
<i>Beaf garden</i> , amusements there	149
<i>Beaf-baiting</i>	150
<i>Beasts</i> , that are to hunt	119
<i>Beau</i> , a description of	100
<i>beckst</i> , his disputation	184
<i>Bed</i> 64, 66, 67. Royal	68
<i>Beer</i> , how brewed	72
<i>Bells ringings</i> , prices of 171, 172.	
Their origin 175. Baptised	175,
176. By whom invented	176
<i>Elifrieth</i> , his designs	181
<i>Bokeland</i> and <i>Fokeland</i>	18
<i>Bonfires</i> , ordered to be made	151
<i>Boots</i> , some account of 98. Very	
thort	101
<i>Bordar</i> , why fo called	16
<i>Bore</i>	121
<i>Bore's head</i> , much esteemed	110

<i>Bowling</i>	148
<i>Bracket</i> , how made	74
<i>Branched-fattins</i>	89
<i>Bread</i> , brought to London, 57. The	
form of,	ibid.
<i>Breeches</i> , very close 79. Very large 84.	
Story of, ibid. Stuff'd with hair	
85. Song upon them, ibid. Ora-	
namented with lace and points	99
<i>Britons</i> , their paintings	181
<i>Buck-hunters</i> , rules concerning	123
<i>Buckles</i> , for shoes	91
<i>Buff jerkin</i> , worn by foldiers	11
<i>Bull-baiting</i>	150
<i>Bum-rolls</i>	86
<i>Butler</i> , his office	108
<i>Buttons</i> , of thread, of silk, of twist, 91	

C.

<i>Cambrick</i> , first brought to England	88
<i>Camp</i> , of Hen. 8. described 7. How	
it ought to be pitch'd 8. D'or,	
whence fo called	18
<i>Candlemas day</i>	177
<i>Cards</i> , the games of	148-149
<i>Carrol</i> , at bringing in the bore's head	110
<i>Carving</i> ,	

Carving, the ancient terms of 109
Castles, mulct rais'd thereon 54
Catherine Hayes burnt 47
Ceremonies, relative to marriage 154
 at Christmas, the reasons for 175
Chains of gold, by whom worn 100
Chamberlain, his office 74
Charles II. his habit 102
Chester plays, argument of 133
Children, finer than their parents 93
 Their sports 147
Christ buttons 91
Christmas, ceremonies then 176
Citizens wives, their drefs 92
City extravagance, in drefs 93.
 banquets 111
Clarke, how made 74
Classes, three of the people 14
Clergy, their habits condemned 77.
 Their pride blamed 78. Accused
 of excess 113
Clocks, various sorts of 70
Cloth, hoods 83. Hose 87
Cocket bread, what it is 57
Codpieces 83
Coff, worn by the sergeants at law 76
Combat, in cases of felony 40. The
 ceremonies thereof, *ibid.* In case
 of a writ of right 41
Conqueror, divides the land 13. Ex-
 acts an oath of fealty, *ib.*
Conclusion of the work 187
Coronation, the ceremonies of, 22.
 Offices then claim'd 37. Oath
 then made 26
Cotar, what he is 17
Coventry play, an account of, 136
 Specimen of *ib.*
Coats and Doublets 80
Croyland Abbey, bells there 176
Cruel customs 112
Custom, between lovers 153

D.

DANBURY, monuments there 183
Dancing, after dinner 146
Dancer, their rude designs 182
Designs, their use, 180. Of M. Paris
 well done 183. The merit of 181
Dialogue, before Hen. 8. 143
Dicing 146
Dinner, a plain one 142
Domesday Book 13
Doublets, fluff'd out 79
Dress, distinction of laid aside 93.
 In the reign of James Ist. 97. Of
 a young gent. 98. In the reign of
 Charles Ist 101

Drinking, at the playhouse 141. To
 each other as promising 155
Drinks, beloved by the Eng. 112
Duke, his array in battle 4.
 York his love-song 152
Dumb Cake, how made 180
Dunmow, custom there 155

E.

EARL, his array in battle 5.
 Orders for his creation 19. Du-
 ties paid then 39
Easter, three days before 174. Day
 ceremonies then 175
Eadwine, his psalter 182
Edward II. causes men to be knighted
 15. His coronation 184
Edward III. his tomb 183
Edgar portrait of 182
Elizabeth, queen, her grand-proces-
 sion 20—186
Ember Days 179
Encampment 7—8
Engraving, the antiquity of 186
Esquire, his service 15. Ancient
 names, *ibid.* Definition of, *ibid.*
 How buried, *ibid.*
Etching, by whom first perform'd 186
Evangelists, pictures of 181

F.

FARTHINGALES, when invented 86
Fashions, old ones new revived 97
Field Officers, how buried 168
Ferner Richard, his household 65
Fiends, fearful of thunder 175
First of January 177
Font hallowing 174
Fox, satyrized 76
Forestallers, acts against 55
Fox, the season for hunting of 121
Fray-makers, how punished 44
Freedom, how obtained 17
Freeholders, who they are 17. Their
 increase and why, *ib.*
Freemen, who they are 13
Funeral Procession, of Hen. 8th. 159.
 Of a nobleman how conducted
 160. Processions 161
Furniture, anciently very plain, 63,
 65. Of a rustic 71

G.

GALLANTRY, of the ancients 151
Garments, disguised ones ridiculed 96
Garters, the extravagant price of 71
Gavel kind, explained 13

Gentleman, whence the title 15. His
 state 71
Gerard Audran, his merit 186
Glasses, to look in 69
Gloves, perfumed 80. Presented to
 queen Elizabeth 89
Gods, of the Brit. their ugliness 181
Gold, broken by lovers 155
Good Friday, whence the name 175
Government 12
Gowns 79
Graves, the prices for making of
 171—172
Grant, for beer, how made 72

H.

HABIT, in the reign of Hen. 7th,
 75. Extravagant condemned
 78. Belonging to Hen. 8th, 80.
 Act for reformation of 81. In the
 reign of Edward 6th, 83. Of
 Mary, *ibid.* In the reign of
 Elizabeth 84. Of dukes daugh-
 ters 87. Of a gallant 92. Of
 citizens wives, *ibid.* Of a com-
 moner 97. Of a maiden, *ibid.*
 Of a rustic 98. In the reign of
 Charles Ist. *ibid.*
Hair, made to look like a wig 105
Hall, not mistaken 143
Hand, why cut off 43. Ceremonies
 of 44
Händlerchief, edged with gold 80
Hanging, the manner of 47
Hare-hunters, rules concerning 121
Harlots, their punishment 49
Hart 121
Hat, its antiquity 83. And feather
 84. Bands very costly, *ibid.*
Hawk, difficult to rear and teach 124.
 To draw her on your fist, *ibid.*
 Bells, rules concerning, *ibid.*
 Hoods, *ibid.* Gloves, *ibid.*
Hawks, allow'd to people after their
 degrees 124. Laws concerning 125
Hawking 123
Head malt 73
Head Drefs, act concerning 87. Of
 a lady 95. Very high 104
Henchman 21
Henry 5th, his portrait 184
Henry 8th, his pompous reign 18.
 meets the French king, *ibid.* His
 sumptuous apparel 80. His habit
 described 81. His fondness for
 music 117. His danger in hawk-
 ing 124. At a tournament 127.
 Fond of gaming 146. Of shoot-
 ing, &c. *ibid.*
High,

Hibb, winged doublets 83. Shoes 98
History Painting 185
Holbein, his merit 117
Horns, for hunting 120
Horn, how the hunter should blow it 120
Hounds, the different species of, 121.
 Their reward 117
Houſhold Furnituꝛe, of a knight 65.
 Of the king 106
Houſkeeping, of the nobility 111
Humphry, duke of Gloceſter, his tomb, &c. 170
Hunter, how he ſhould blow his horn 120
Hunting, the ancient manner of, 119.
 The ordinances when the king is preſent 121
Hurling 149
Huſbandry 54

I.

JAMES Iſt. his entry into London 20
Jewels, worn in the ears by men 95
Innocents Day 177

K.

KATHARINE, her dreſs 81
King, his privilege in battle 4.
 Orders when he is there, 2, 3. Of England how crowned 22. Edward his book of hawking 123.
 His corſe how treated 158
Kirtles 80
Knight, his tenure 15. His fee, ib. His burial 163, 164, 168
Knit Caps, when worn 83

L.

LABOURERS 16
Laces, ancient ſpecimen of 96
Ladies, their extravagance 72
Lanthorn, by whom invented 70
Large Hoops 105
Lawn, firſt brought into England 88
Laws, in the Norman tongue 13. 40.
 For ſhooting 147
Lilbourn John, portrait of 101
Livery, for noblemen at funerals 154
London, ordinances there 50. Lyckpenny, a ſong, 59. Separate from Weſtmiſter 63. Ill ſupplied with water 72
Loom, for weaving ſilk 87
Lord, how buried 167
Lord Mayor's Show, 21. Better by water than by land, ibid.
Lovers, their gifts 154
Leſs of members 44
Ludiſt, what they are 142

M.

MANDEVILLE 95
Manuſcripts, account of 189
Marriage Proceſſion 154
Marquis, how maintained in battle 5
Marſhals, their office 8
Marſial Exerciſes, uſed by princes 12
Masks, worn by ladies 105
Mafque, deſcribed 143
May, lord of 150. Day 177
Maying, of Hen 8. deſcribed 150
Mede, how made 73
Ment, paint their faces 103
Midſummer Night, tricks then play'd 179
Millers, their puniſhment 48. Advice to 49. Complaints againſt 48
Military Men, account of 10. Tenants obliged to ſerve the king 13. who they are 14. Reliefs by them paid, ibid. Fees their various ſorts, ibid.
Milites, whence ſo called 13
Minceꝛ Caps, deſcrib'd 92
Miſtreſs, account of 118
Mirrors, of ſteel 68
Myſteries, ſpecimens of 131. Greatly reſtored to 139
Money, ancient value of 18
Monks, their deceit 173. Their ignorance, ib.
Momth's-mind, explain'd 169
Monuments, the merit of 182
Mourning, colours of 170
Muſket, form of 9. Manner of firing 10. Staff its uſe, ib.
Muſketeer, when employ'd 9. His arms 11
Muſic, at banquets 107. Various inſtruments of 116, 117. At weddings 155

N.

NAKED Breſts, 102. Figures 185
Navy, its uſe 52
New River, brought to London 72
Nobility, their power 14
Norman Cuſtoms, introduced 13
Nuns, their lightneſs 173

O.

OATH, at Dunmow 155. At the coronation of a king 26
Obits, what they are 169
Offering, the manner of 162
Order, the effects of 5, 6. For proceſſion of a king 20
Outlines, their merit 181

P.

PAINTING, the face 103. Recipes for, ib. In oil when done 185
Pageant, a grand one deſcribed 129
Palm Sunday 174
Pantheon, of Penkethman 115
Paris Matthew, his deſigns 182
Pafſball, what it is 175
Pedlars, laws concerning, 49, 51. Their extenſive trade 51
Penance, various kinds 46, 47
Perſumung, of rooms 71
Perkin Werbeck 45
Petticoat Breaches 101, 102. Fring'd with gold 104
Petition, of foreign merchants 50. Againſt pedlars 11.
Pewee, a mourning cloth 170
Pikemen, their arms 11
Pilgrimages, the abuſe of 173
Pirates, their puniſhment 49
Plates, account of 191
Play, of Cheſter, 96. Before king Hen. 8th 143
Pleadings, by whom managed 13
Packets, perfum'd 89
Portraits, engraved by the French 187
Poultry, prices of 113
Prejudices, of the common people 58
Prentices, refrain'd from gaming 148
Priſt, for adultery puniſhed 49
Prize fighting 149
Prices, at the playhouſe 141. Granted to bakers 56, 58. At burials 104, 109
Privileges, allow'd to ſtrangers 50
Proceſſion, of a king 20
Proclamation, againſt ſquare-toed ſhoes 84. Concerning the Cheſter plays 133
Proviſion, prices of 113-14-15-16

Q.

QUEEN, ceremonies when ſhe takes her chamber 157. Elizabeth her habits 86. Her portrait deſcrib'd 84

R.

RACK, deſcrib'd 46.
Relief, when paid 14
Richard Wright, claims the bacon 156
Robert, for the order of St. George 78.
 For the Toiſon d'or 79. For St. Michael, ib.
Reſer, for ſhoes 91
Reſemary, at weddings 155
Rubens 185
Rudſtone Sir John, his funeral 169
Ruffs,

Ruffs, called cobweb 88. Their price, *ib.* Their enormous size *ib.*
Rustic, who he was 17
Rustles, strew'd in houses 72

S.

Sanctuaries, the privileges of 45.
 Two famous ones, *ib.* Charter concerning, *ib.* Abuse of them, *ib.* Not to protect rebels, *ib.* Quite abolished 46
Savioard, what it is 104
Scarfs, the prices of 91
Seats, made in the parliament-house, and why 85
Serjeants at Law, their habits 76
Servants, two sorts of them 17
Shifts, embroider'd 77
Ship, inventory of 53
Shipping 52
Shirts, border'd with lace 77
Shoes, with square toes 84. With picked points, *ib.* With high heels 99
Shooting, at the butts 147. With long bows *ib.*
Short Petticoats 105
Shrove Thursday 174
Silk, and Velvet, worn by the clergy, 77. Stockings first made 87, 100.
Stuffs, 89. Buttons first worn 91.
 Gowns 97
Slippers, worn by ladies 99
Smoking 141
Scenen, why so called 16
Spirits, belief of 180
Sports 119—145

Spots and Patches, condemned 102
Stage, nature of 140. Improv'd, *ibid.*
Starch, not to be made of wheat 55.
 made yellow 88
Starching, by whom invented 88.
 the price of to learn *ib.*
Steam Engines, set up 72
Stephen Samville claims the bacon 156
Stockings, embroidered 100. Garter below the knee 102. Two yards wide *ib.*
Striking, in court, law for 43. In church-yards, how punished 44
Styrrop Hose 102
Supper 112
Survey, of England made 13
Synnel, bread so called 58

T.

Tall Man, meaning of 12
Taxes, paid in money 54
Tenice 148
Tents, describ'd 19
Thane, what he is 14. His relief, *ib.* 130
Theatre 130
Thirves, burnt in the hand 44
Thomas le Fuller, claims the bacon 156
 ——— *Shakespeare*, ditto *ib.*
Thornhill, his works 185
Tilting habit 11
Torture, when used 40—46
Toilet, how set out 89
Trades, deceit of them 48
Trailing Curtails 83
Trinkets, of the women 90
Tuffed Tassies 89

V.

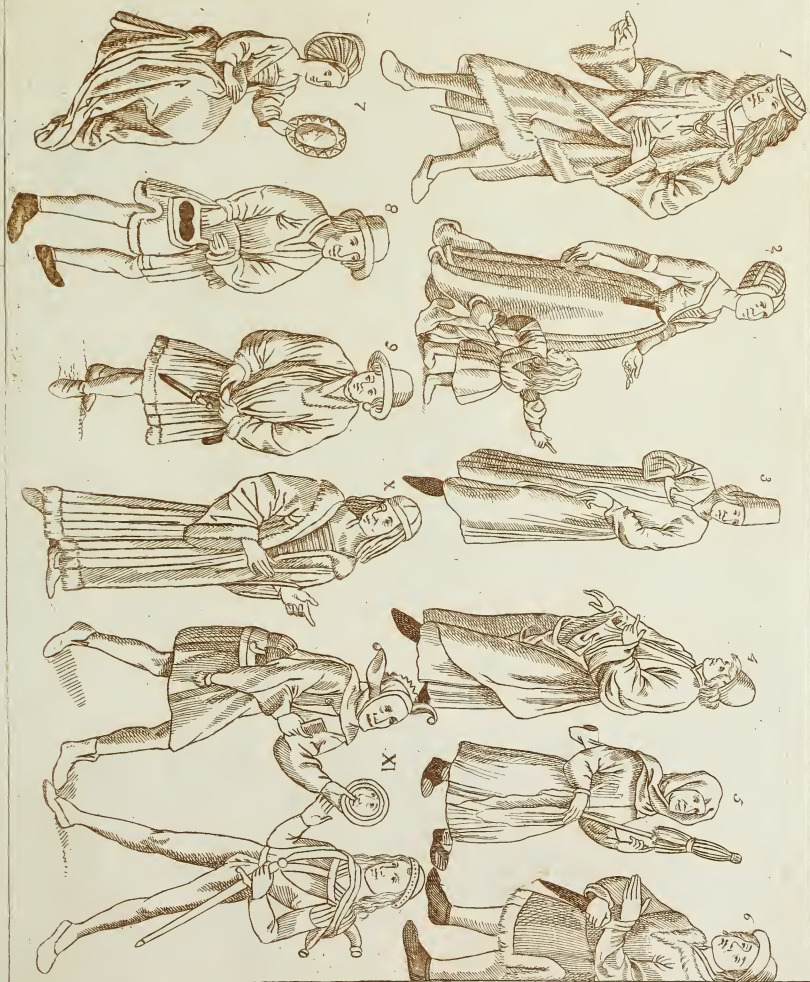
V. Valentine's Day 179
Vandyke 99
Velvet Gowns 98
Villain, what he is 17
Virtue and Vice, portray'd 102
Vivares, his merit 187
Vivafor, what he is 14. His relief, *ib.* 17, 18
Votes, to whom confined 17, 18

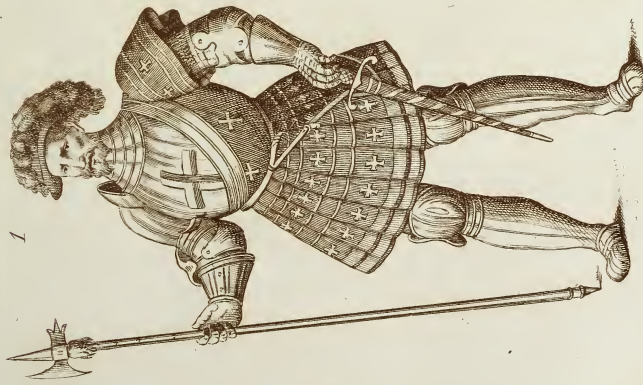
W.

W. Ailcoats, wrought 91
Wakes 178
War, destructive to the arts 182
Wards, who were so 14
Washes and Perfumes 89
Wastell, a sort of bread 57
Whicknoure, custom there 157
Whitsun Plays 136
Whit Sunday 176
Windsor Castle, picture there 19
Wire Ruff 97
Wolsey Cardinal, his pride 77
Womens Trinkets 90
Women, dress hair, 104, 105. Did not anciently act in plays 141
Wood, the cutting of 186
Woollet, his merit 187
Work, on Sundays allow'd 58
Worsted Stockings, first made 87
Wrestling 149
Wrought velvets 89

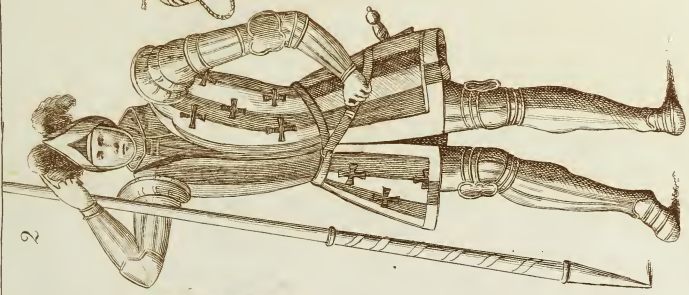
Y.

Y. Pocrafs, the price of 73. How it was made 74





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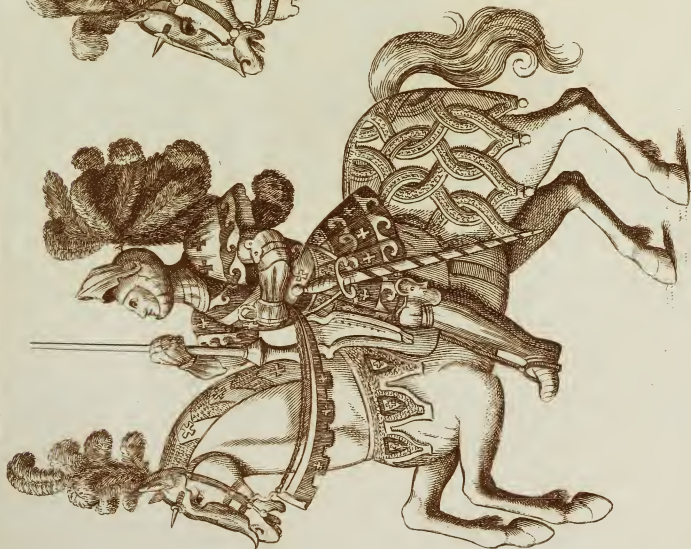
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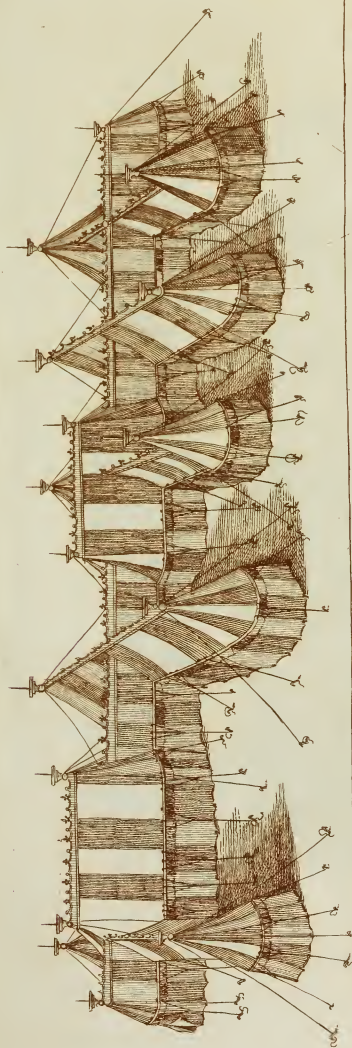
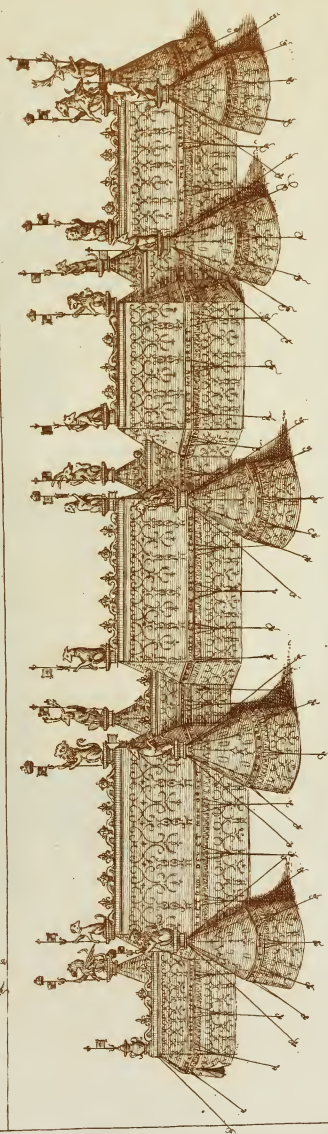


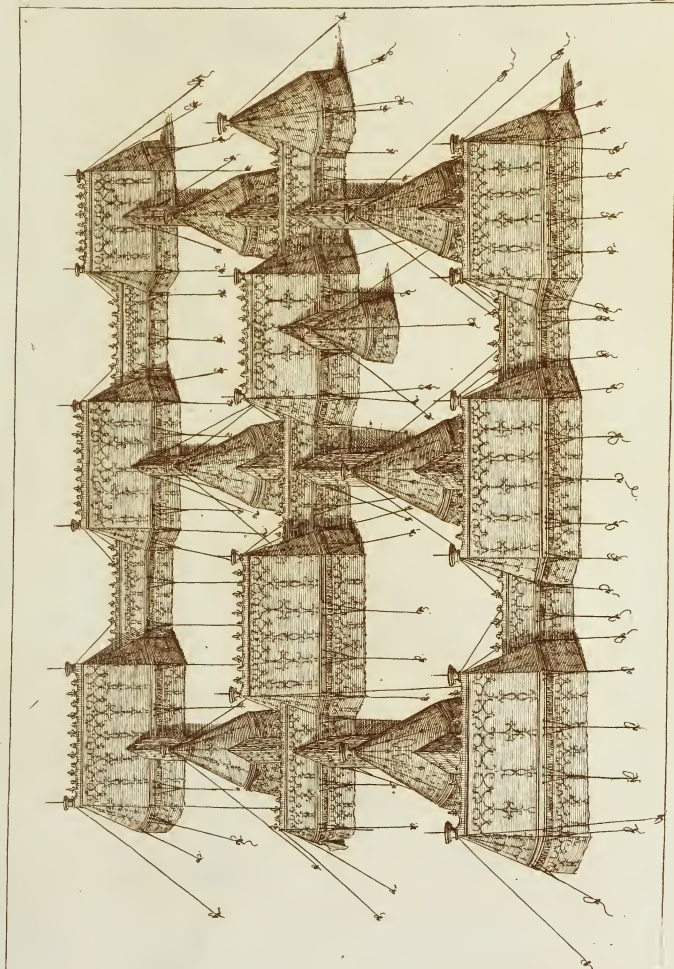


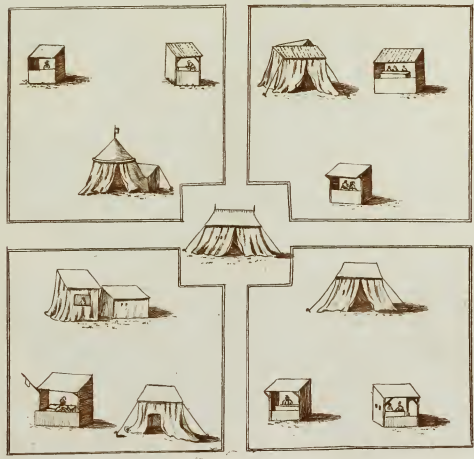
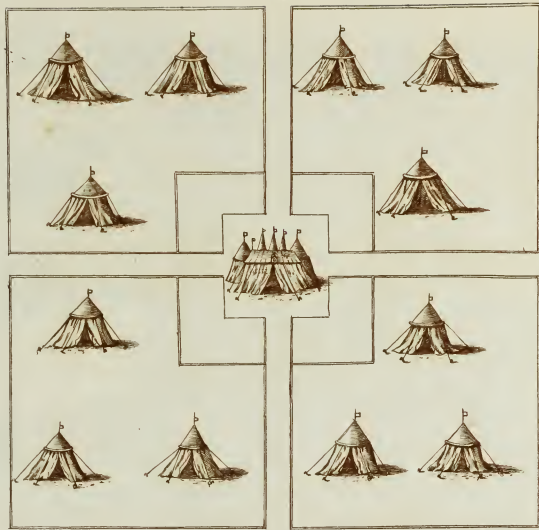
















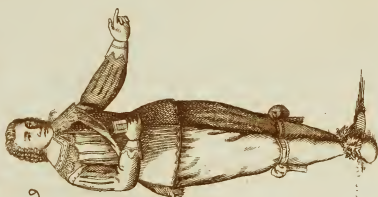
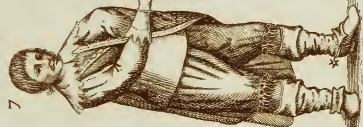
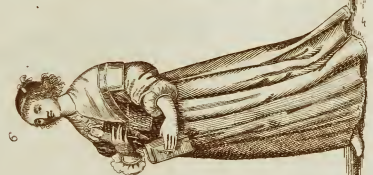
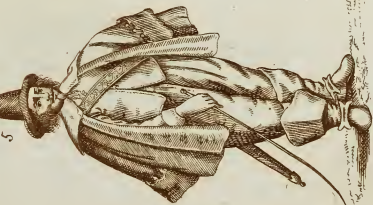
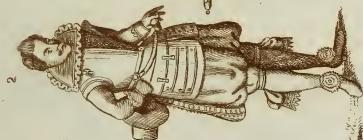


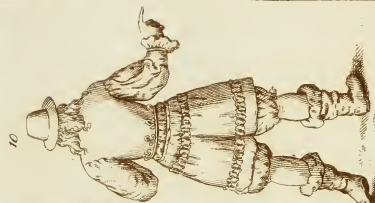
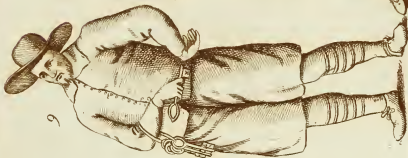
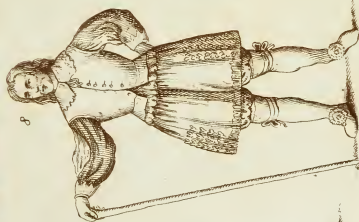
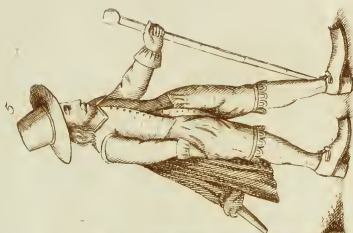
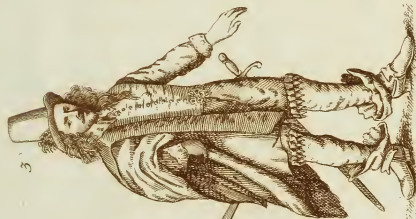
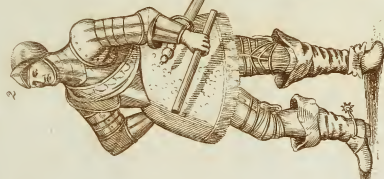
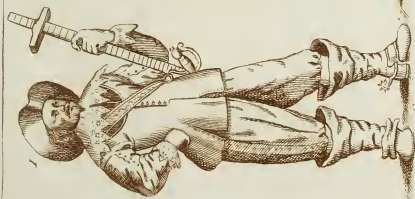






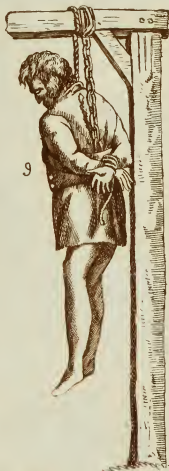
















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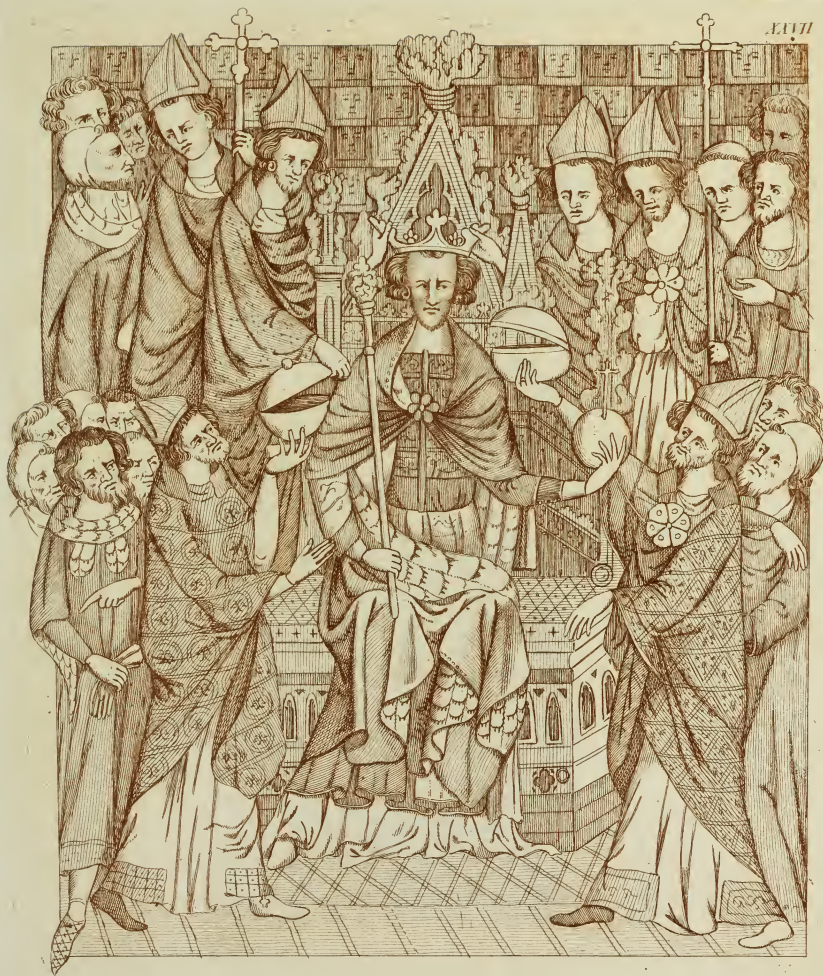
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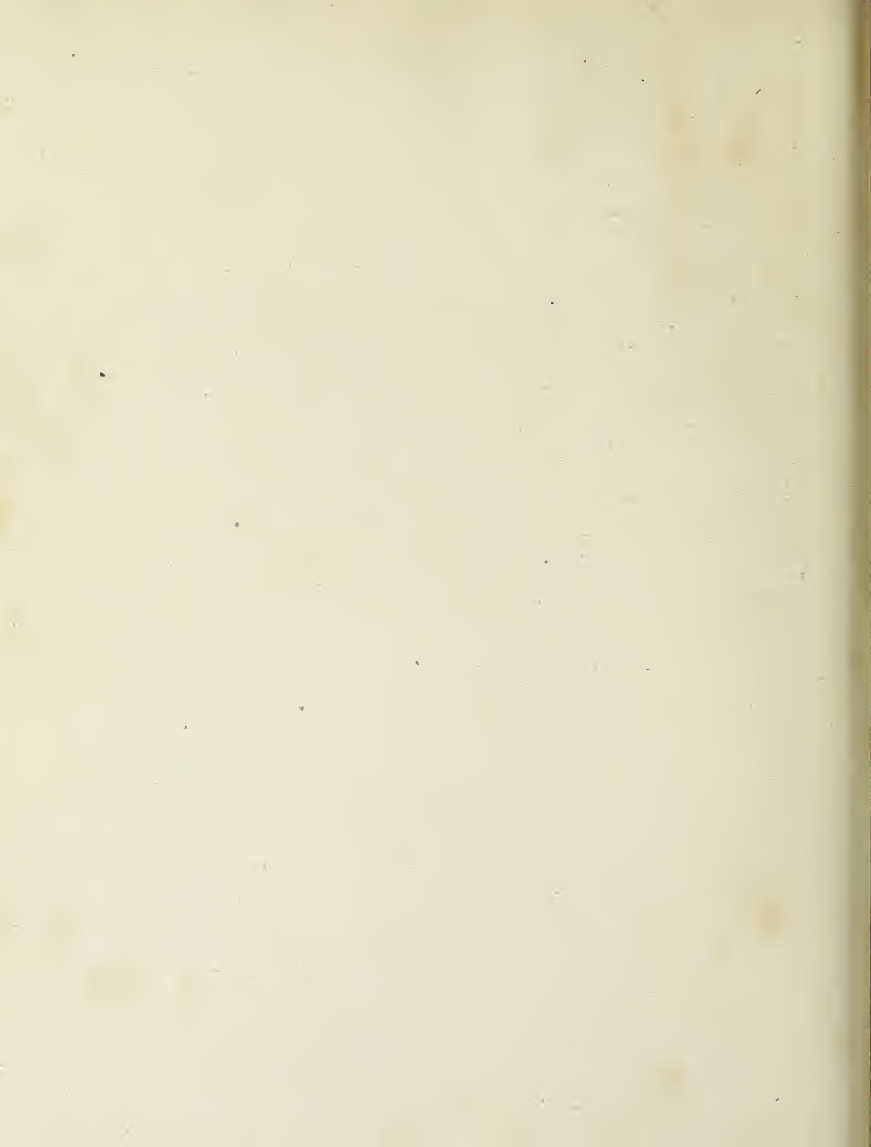




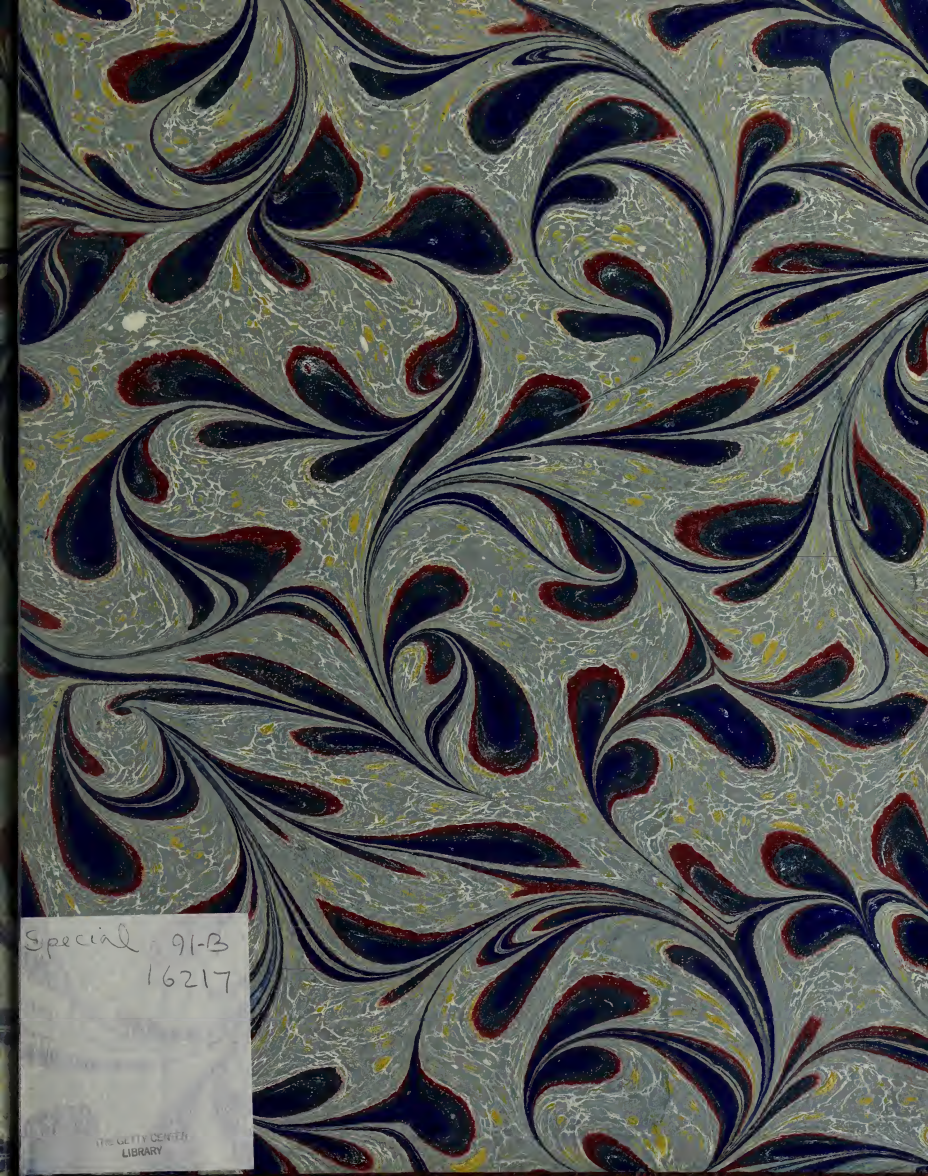










The background of the entire image is a traditional marbled paper pattern. It features a complex, swirling design with a light grey or off-white base. Overlaid on this are dark, almost black, teardrop-shaped or leaf-like motifs that curve and swirl across the surface. Interspersed within these dark shapes and the lighter background are small, irregular specks and streaks of a deep red or burgundy color, along with some very fine yellow or gold flecks. The overall effect is a dense, organic, and visually rich texture.

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